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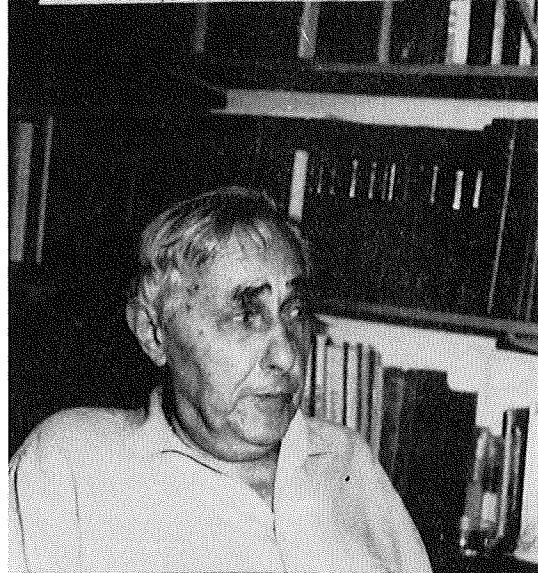
Cuneiform Studies
in Honor of
Samuel Noah Kramer

Edited by
Barry L. Eichler
with the assistance of
Jane W. Heimerdinger
Åke W. Sjöberg

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September 28, 1974 marks the seventy-seventh birthday of Professor Samuel Noah Kramer. At this milestone, one pauses to reflect upon Sam's many years of selfless devotion to cuneiform studies and to its students — his productive scholarship, helpful cooperation, patient tutelage, wise counsel, and above all, his warm friendship. Thus his colleagues and former students, wishing to honor him and to share in the joy of this occasion, tender him this volume with deep affection.

photos by David I. Owen

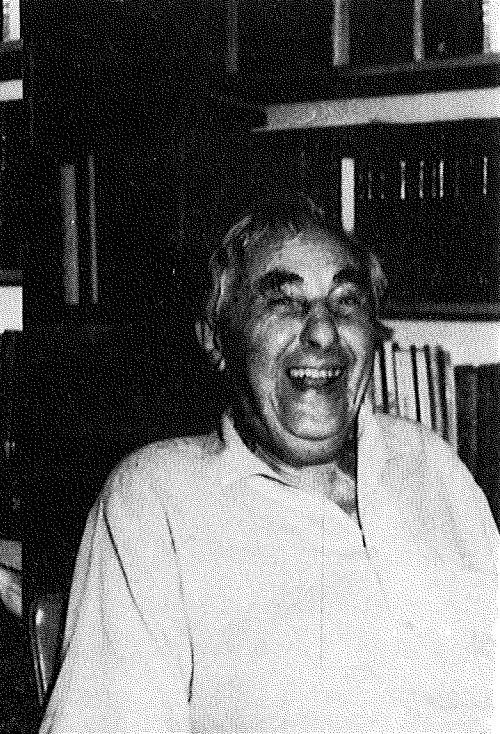
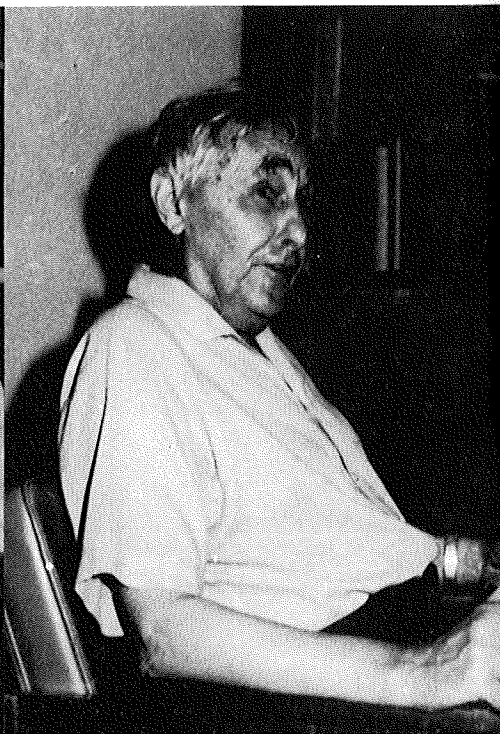


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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations employed in this volume are those used in the following standard reference works: A.L. Oppenheim, et al, The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CAD); W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (AHw), and G.A. Buttrick, The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Abbreviations not appearing in these works are listed below.

AAS	Annales archéologiques de Syrie (title now changed to Annales archéologiques Arabes syriennes).
Ac.Sc.-USSR	Academy of Sciences, USSR.
AI	Ancient India. Archaeological Survey of India.
Alster, DD	B. Alster, Dumuzi's Dream: Aspects of Oral Poetry in a Sumerian Myth (Mesopotamia 1), Copenhagen, 1972.
ANET	J.B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3rd edition, Princeton, 1969.
APN	H. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts, Baltimore, 1965.
Ch	E.J.H. Mackay, Chanh-Daro Excavations 1935-36 (American Oriental Series 20), New Haven, 1943.
Cohen, ELA	S. Cohen, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania), 1973.
Death of Urnammu	S.N. Kramer, "The Death of Urnammu and his Descent to the Netherworld" (JCS 21 [1967], 104 ff.).
Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta	S.N. Kramer, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (Museum Monograph), Philadelphia, 1952. Cf., also, Cohen, ELA.
EWO	S.N. Kramer — I. Bernhardt, "Enki und die Weltordnung" (WZJ 9 [1959/60], 231 ff.; A. Falkenstein, ZA [1964], 44 ff. and C. Benito, "Enki and Ninmah and Enki and the World Order [unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969], pp. 82 ff.).
FEMD	E.J.H. Mackay, Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro 1927-31, 2 volumes, New Delhi, 1938.
Gilgameš and Agga	S.N. Kramer, "Gilgameš and Agga" (AJA 53 [1949], 1 ff.).
GI.L	S.N. Kramer, "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (JCS 1 [1947], 3 ff.).
Grégoire, Archives	J.-P. Grégoire, Archives administratives sumériennes, Paris, 1970.
HAV	Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, Studies in Assyriology and Archaeology Dedicated to Herman V. Hilprecht, Chicago, 1909.
Har.	M.S. Vats, Excavations at Harappa, 2 volumes, New Delhi, 1938.
HED	Hymnal-Epic Dialect (see Soden, ZA 40 [1931], 163 ff.; 41 [1933], 90 ff.).
Heimpel, Tierbilder	W. Heimpel, Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur (Studia Pohl 2), Rome, 1968.
IA	Indian Archaeology: A Review, Archaeological Survey of India.
IJ	Indo-Iranian Journal.
Inanna's Descent	S.N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld" (JCS 5 [1951], 1 ff.).
Inst. Etno.An SSR	Institute of Ethnology, Academy of Sciences, USSR.
IRSA	E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper, Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 3), Paris, 1971.

ISET	M. Çağ and H. Kızılyay, Sumerian Literary Tablets and Fragments in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, Ankara, 1969.
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.
JTS	Journal of Tamil Studies.
Klein, Šulgi D	J. Klein, Šulgi D: A Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymn (unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania), 1968.
LAK	A. Deimel, Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen, Inschriften von Fara I (WVDOG 40), Leipzig, 1922.
LSUr	Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur (unpublished manuscript in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania).
MD	Sir J. Marshall, Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, 3 volumes, London, 1931.
RMSV	L. Heuzey and F. Thureau-Dangin, Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours, Paris, 1909.
S.E.	Seleucid Era, Babylonian style.
SH	Shemtob Collection, British Museum.
Shaffer, Gilgameš	A. Shaffer, Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš (unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania), 1963.
Šulgi A	A. Falkenstein "Sumerische religiöse Texte," (ZA 50 [1952], 64 ff., cf. revised edition by J. Klein in Three Šulgi Hymns, Chapter 5).
Šulgi B and C	G.R. Castellino, Two Šulgi Hymns (BC) (Studi Semitici 42), Rome, 1972.
Šulgi X	TLB 2,2 and duplicates (edited by J. Klein in his forthcoming Three Šulgi Hymns, Chapter 3).
Three Šulgi Hymns	J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, Paris, forthcoming.
SIAS	Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies.
SLTN	S.N. Kramer, Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur (AASOR 23), New Haven, 1944.
SOIPIT	Soobshchenie ob issledovanii, proto-indijskix tekstov (Report on the investigation of the Proto-Indian script).
SY	G. Dossin, "Deux listes nominatives du règne de Sûmu-Iamam," (RA 65 [1971], 37-66).
TEM	M. Birot, "Textes économiques de Mari (III)," (RA 49 [1955], 15-31); M. Birot, "Textes économiques de Mari (IV)," (RA 50 [1956], 52-72).
TIT	T. Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz and other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture, edited by W. Moran (HSS 21), Cambridge, Mass., 1970.
UPM	University of Pennsylvania Museum Excavations at Moenjo-Daro, 1964-65.
Waetzoldt, Textilindustrie	H. Waetzoldt, Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie, Rome, 1972.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.

Samuel Noah Kramer: An Appreciation

Sumerian and Samuel Noah Kramer go together — so well, in fact, that one finds oneself again and again unconsciously starting out from his contributions as were they not contributions but simply data: a clear readable copy of a badly worn tablet, a lacuna restored from a small fragment recognized to be a duplicate, and other more such precious aids to understanding, so that very substantial parts of his endeavors are already close to receiving that final accolade that comes only to the very best of scholarly work, that of anonymity, of becoming the common property of scholarship.

In this volume, however, written to honour him, some thought may well be given to what the field owes to him of insights and indefatigable labours; and to do that and gain perspective one will first of all cast the mind back, will seek to recall what the field of Sumerian Literature was actually like in the early Thirties when Kramer entered it, how little there was for a scholar to work with, how fragmentary it was, and how little the language itself was known.

Old Babylonian copies of Sumerian literary texts came to the attention of scholars around the turn of the century and publications* began to appear. A listing of available text publications does not however, give a true impression of what things were like then. The years since, and not least Kramer's own work, have set these publications in a new context and given them a depth they did not then have. As we now leaf through them or think of them we say to ourselves: "Aha! a large fragment of this or that myth or epic, or from this or that hymn or lament — quite a bit of these compositions were known already then!" — only, of course, they were *not* known then; the framework in which the present day reader fits them did not exist; what we had was a jumble of isolated, unconnected, blocks of text without background of situation, and so, over and over again meaningless, making no sense. Kramer expressed it very well at the time when, speaking of one composition, he said "The history of its decipherment is illuminating and not uninteresting. In 1934, when I first tried to decipher the contents, I found that eight pieces belonging to the poem — seven excavated in Nippur and one in Ur — had already been published thus: Hugo Radau, once of the University Museum, published two from Philadelphia in 1910; Stephen Langdon published two from Istanbul in 1914; Edward Chiera published one from Istanbul in 1924 and two more from Philadelphia in 1934; C.J. Gadd, of the British Museum, published an excellently preserved tablet from Ur in 1930. But an intelligent reconstruction and translation of the myth were still impossible, largely because the tablets and fragments, some of which seemd to duplicate each other without rhyme or reason and with but little variation in their wording, could not be properly arranged."

* Bought collections were copied by King (CT 15, 1902), Zimmern (SK 1-2, 1912/13), Gadd (CT 36, 1921), Langdon (OECT 1, 1923) and de Genouillac (TRS 1-2, 1930). In addition selections from the freat finds by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur began to appear from 1911 onwards: some separately, Radau (HAV, 1911), Barton (MBI, 1918) and Chiera (SRT, 1924); most of them in BE (Radau Vol. 29/1, 1911, Vol. 30/1, 1913, Langdon, Vol. 31, 1914) and in PBS (Myhrman, Vol. 1/1, 1911, Lutz, Vol. 1/2, 1919, Poebel, Vol. 5, 1914, Langdon, Vol. 10/1,2 & 4, 1915-19, Vol. 12/1, 1917 and Legrain, Vol. 13, 1922). A number of much broken fragments found at Kish were published by de Genouillac (PRAK 1-2, 1924-25).

What was needed, and needed desperately if Sumerian studies were to progress was therefore publication of as much supplementary materials as possible — even seemingly insignificant looking fragments lying about in museums, not to speak of recovering further treasures still waiting underground in the ancient mounds of Iraq. The clear, organizing mind of Edward Chiera had already seen this, and he had begun systematically to copy literary texts and fragments in Philadelphia and to note duplicates — the copies now in SEM and STVC — but his untimely death in 1934 prevented him from seeing the volumes through press.

Other difficulties besetting Sumerology in the early Thirties were, of course, those that stemmed from the near chaotic conditions of Sumerian grammar. Firm foundations had been laid but recently with Poebel's *Grundzüge* of 1927, and his conclusions were almost unanimously rejected by his own generation of scholars; so in those who were beginners a conscious personal choice had to be made. Of reliable solid translations, lastly, very little was available: Thureau-Dangin's splendid translations of the Gudea Cylinders and other royal inscriptions, Zimmern's treatment of one brief text, the Lipit-Eshtar Hymn, and Poebel's own masterly studies.

This, then, a thorny road, or worse, a road leading through quagmire with hardly any firm ground under one's feet anywhere — how well we remember the goings astray and the frustrations — was the situation in which Kramer found himself and to the relief of which he soon resolutely addressed himself. We have gone into this at some length because it is essential to a clear view of Kramer's position in the history of Sumerology and because it is difficult for a younger generation to realize that situation to the full depth of its frustrations.

When Kramer was appointed to the Assyrian Dictionary in Chicago in 1932 it gave him the opportunity to study with Poebel and to observe at first hand the infinite care, precision and thoroughness of his method. The experience was a decisive one and Kramer became a devoted pupil. Soon he showed his own mastery in his study of the prefix forms *be-* and *bi-* which is a model of its kind, closely reasoned, full of valuable observations, and still as fresh and rewarding as when it was written.

The firm grounding in method and critical acumen gained in working with Poebel proved of the utmost importance when circumstances catapulted him into what was to become his life's work.

At Chiera's death in 1934, Kramer was asked to prepare his copies of Sumerian literary texts for publication and see them through press. As he worked with these materials he became as convinced as Chiera had been that systematic copying and publication of all such materials was essential, and he committed himself without reserve to that task: "As the significance of the contents dawned upon me, I realized that all efforts to translate and interpret the material would remain scientifically inadequate unless and until more of the uncopied and unpublished material lying in Istanbul and Philadelphia should be made available. From that day to this I have concentrated all my efforts on the reconstruction and translation of the Sumerian literary compositions."

"From that day to this" is still true, and the manifold ways in which Kramer has been living up to that promise are truly remarkable.

He enthusiastically supported the plans for a joint excavation at Nippur to be undertaken by the University Museum at Philadelphia and the Oriental Institute of Chicago, and when — especially during the Third Campaign — literary tablets were recovered *en masse* he was indefatigable in reading, identifying, and translating every smallest bit. In similar ways he has read, identified and catalogued tablets in Istanbul, Jena and elsewhere, always ready to give freely of his incomparable knowledge and experience. Of actual copies we owe him the important volume SLTN with copies of 167 tablets and fragments while 232 further such were copied by him in Istanbul in 1952. To this add copies accompanying articles, and editions — e.g. the magnificent tablet with almost all of the story of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, 630 lines — and copies given as illustrations in his popular books. They are so numerous that they defy mention. With his activities as copyist should be mentioned his work as collator. His systematic and careful collation of major text publications such as BE 31, SRT, CT

15, and CT 42 have greatly enhanced the value of those important volumes. Secondary in importance only to his own copying, is the encouragement and help he has given others to undertake that demanding task. Drs. Çığ and Kızılyay in Istanbul were encouraged to produce ISET, Dr. Bernhardt in Jena to prepare TMHNF 3 and 4, not to mention numerous colleagues and students who were guided by him in Philadelphia. As he has been unstinting with help and supervision of copying, so he has provided identifications and outlines of content for the materials involved. Sometimes that contribution has been a decisive factor as in the collaboration of Kramer and Gadd on UET 6/1-2, for it is doubtful whether Gadd, heavily burdened as he was with other tasks, would have found time and strength to publish those volumes by himself.

Mentioning Kramer's work in identifying and outlining the content of texts and fragments leads up to what may rightly be said to stand in the center of his interest: editing of texts. To be mentioned first is his extremely valuable edition of the "Lament for Ur" (AS 12) with its innumerable textual notes testifying to immense patience and thoroughness. The text — perhaps the most beautiful of all Sumerian poems — is accompanied by a pioneering translation of the greatest merit and by informative notes. Next should probably rank the impressive epic tale of "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," the myth of the "Descent of Inanna," to which Kramer came back over and over again as he found new texts continuing the story, and the many Gilgamesh tales: "Gilgamesh and Agga", "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living", "Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Nether World" (edited in its first part as Gilgamesh and the Huluppu-Tree, AS 10) and "The Death of Gilgamesh". Here we also owe to his pen a most valuable, finely done, study of the Sumerian sources for the Akkadian Gilgamesh Epic. Many other editions of Kramers' could be mentioned, "Schooldays" which for the first time focused attention on Sumerian education, "Man and his God" with its foreshadowing of the problem of the righteous sufferer, and many, many more. A great many of these translations, together with new ones such as those of the important "Fall of Agade" and "Lament for Ur and Sumer" he contributed to ANET and the ANET Supplement. Characteristic of all of these editions is Kramer's unsurpassed knowledge of published and unpublished materials and his unusual gifts for sensing exactly what a tale, or composition, or single passage, is about and so to provide pioneer translation of the highest quality. He is probably unrivaled in this respect. His translations are down to earth and forthright, they never cover up lack of understanding by the use of general or vague terms. If anything they may on occasion fail in the opposite direction with a "literal" rendering that openly makes no more sense than the cryptic Sumerian passage did; but that way nobody is lulled into thinking that a passage is understood when it is not. But such cases are rare exceptions. Over and over again as one reads Kramer's treatment of new and difficult texts one feels that he is right, or near right, or on the right track. His work is open ended, leads forward, and personally I can recall no single case in which I have felt that his translation of a text ever lured me into a blind alley or badly astray as has been the case with not a few other translators. In coming years, as the texts he has worked on are taken up for further study by younger scholars these special excellencies of his translations will, we believe, be more and more appreciated.

As was the case with the copying of tablets so also with the editing of compositions: next to his own work in importance stands his help and encouragement of others. Few scholars have ever been more generous than he in handing over unpublished materials, preliminary reconstruction of texts, and suggestions as to meaning, to other scholars who wished to prepare editions. One may mention here Steele and his edition of the Lipit-Ishtar Code, Father Bergmann and Åke Sjöberg and their edition of the Temple Hymns, Bergmann's and van Dijk's work on Lugal-e; Castellino, Klein and the Shulgi hymns, Gordon and the Proverbs, Wilcke and the Lugalbanda Epic. Also, still to come, Shaffer's Gilgamesh stories and Civil's Disputations and not a few more. Kramer's inspiring influence here and its importance for the field can hardly be overvalued, nor can — and this is probably the point at which to mention it — the effect of his personality. His friendliness, openness, kindness and generosity has contributed greatly toward creating a sense of community and a climate of cooperation among the present generation of Sumerologists, a very decisive improvement upon the ways of the Twenties and earlier.

It remains to consider Kramer's endeavors to bring the importance of Sumerian literature home to wider circles than that of professional Sumerologists. His widely read popular books, *Sumerian Mythology*, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, *The Sumerians* and *The Sacred Marriage Rite*, deal with a broad range of Sumerian literary works presented simply and concisely and with a wealth of direct quotations in translation to give the reader an impression of the style of the ancient texts. As Kramer states in the preface to *From the Tablets of Sumer*: "The purpose of the essays is to present a cross section of the spiritual and cultural achievements of one of man's earliest and most creative civilizations" and in that — within the limits he has set himself — he has succeeded. His books are undoubtedly the source of most of what the average man knows about Sumer and Sumerians and the main reason why the average man is now apt to know *something* when he used to know nothing at all. Also for the scholar these books are of signal value. They often contain texts and copies published for the first time and Kramer is meticulous in citing the texts on which he bases his reconstructions of the various compositions he deals with. Mainly, though, they furnish a quick and reliable means of orientation in the field of Sumerian literature or in aspects of it which it would take years to obtain at first hand.

To a reader of less convinced positivistic turn of mind than Kramer — and it is well known that we are such a reader — the Sumerians in these books may seem perhaps a little too much like ourselves and their ways of thinking too much the ways in which we reason, but that will not prevent one from admiring the zest, the sweep, and the vast learning with which they are presented.

One could easily go on, but I believe I have mentioned enough to make my point. Almost never is a scholar's contribution to his field so basic that the field may be said to have been completely transformed, almost created by him. In the case of Kramer and his achievement in vastly broadening and securing the very foundation of the field, the basic data on which our knowledge rests, it holds brilliantly true.

Thorkild Jacobsen

Lexical Text from Dhibā'ī¹

Abdul-Hadi Al-Fouadi, Baghdad

This unpublished text was uncovered in 1965 by an Iraqi Expedition during the third season of excavation at *Dhibā'ī*². It is a large eight-column tablet³, four on each side, but only three columns on the reverse are inscribed. Originally, there were at least a total of 275 entries, of which about one third is either completely missing or partly broken. The rest is in good condition. Besides, it is a unilingual text, and the script is that of the Isin-Larsa period⁴.

In certain entries we encounter a number of inaccuracies (cf. I:34, 37 and 39). These grammatical *errata* clearly show a miscomprehension of Sumerian by the Babylonian scribes who copied down or wrote in Sumerian. In addition, it is a further evidence that Sumerian at this time was no longer a spoken language.

Furthermore, lexical and grammatical texts are extremely rare in comparison with the number of other varied texts found at *Dhibā'ī*. A fact which gives a certain importance to this text⁵.

Finally, the writer would take the occasion of Prof. Dr. Samuel Noah Kramer's 77th birthday to dedicate, respectfully, this article to him.

¹ In the suburban township of New Baghdad, where the "Army Canal" meets Baghdad-Ba'qūba Highway, a small site whose modern name is Tell edh-Dhibā'ī, is located. The ancient name of this site is *Ū-za-ar-za-lu-lu*. (For further discussion on this name and its variants see A.K. Abdullah, "The Paramount God and the Old Name of *Al-Dhibā'ī*," *Sumer* 23 [1967], 189ff. Also, cf. the unconvincing discussion on the same topic by Fawzi Raschid, *ibid.*, Arabic section, pp. 177ff.). For an informative article on the Dhibā'ī excavations, see Lamia al-Ghailani, "Tell edh-Dhibā'ī," *Sumer* 21 (1965), 33f.

² The field number of this text is Dh.3-634, and its Iraq Museum's registration number is IM. 70209. (Note that it was found in level V, about 10 cms. above its base).

³ Its approximate measurements are 20.00 × 17.05 × 4.00 cms.

⁴ It is to be noted that edh-Dhibā'ī was part of the kingdom of Ešnunna which flourished in the Isin-Larsa period. Moreover, a good number of texts found in this site were dated to the reign of Ibal-pî-el II (1790-1761) of Ešnunna to which our text might very well belong.

⁵ By and large, there are some unusual signs newly attested in the text under discussion (cf. IV: 31, 39 and VII: 23). In addition, many entries can be considered new variants of other already attested Sumerian verbs and terms (see commentary below).

Transliteration

Obverse

Column I.

[.]

25. [b]a-an-[x]
26. [b]a-an-na-sum
27. [b]a-an-dé
28. [b]a-an-zal
29. [b]a-an-ku₄
30. [b]a-ni-ná
31. [b]a-ab-ak
32. [b]a-ab-ra
33. [b]a-ab-du₁₁
34. [b]a-ki-ág
35. [b]a-an-du₁₁
36. [b]a-íl-la-éš
37. [b]a-la-ág
38. ba-dím
39. ba-u₄-zal-ak
40. nigín
41. ba-an-še-gar

Column II.

1. [šu] - díṃ
2. [šu b]a-an-ti
3. [šu ba]-an-ti-meš
4. [šu ba]-ti-a
5. []-u₆-dè
6. [x x]-ra
7. [tuk]um-bi
8. [x-x]-a
9. []-ušur
10. [šu]-bal
11. [šu]-sum
12. [šu ba-a]n-sum
13. [x-x]-dam
14. []-dam
15. []-daḥ
16. []
17. []
18. []
19. []-x
20. []-x
21. []-x

22. []-x
23. []
24. za-[]-x
25. kun(!)-giri-[]
26. RI-ba-a[n]
27. ri-ri-g[a]
28. ri-g[a]
29. in-gar
30. in-du₈
31. in-du₈-a
32. in-ba-al
33. in-íl
34. in-íl-meš
35. in-sír
36. in-SAR-ru
37. in-dù-a
38. in-[]-x
39. áš-g[i₄-gi₄]

Column III.

1. in-[]-x [(?)]
2. in-[]
3. in-gaz
4. in-gaz-meš
5. in-kin-gi₄-a
6. níg-gál-U₄-na
7. níg-šu
8. gar-ra
9. níg-túku
10. níg-nu-túku
11. níg-ga
12. níg-ga-lugala
13. NÍG-geštin-na
14. níg-ga-téš
15. níg-gi-na-ta a-na-am íb-ta-sá
16. nam-til-la ù-tu
17. níg-šudul
18. níg-šudul-lá
19. níg-erím
20. níg-erím-me-éš
21. níg-nam
22. níg-nam al-zi-ra
23. níg-šu-kíd-a

24. šám-bi
25. šám-til-la-bi -eš -šè
26. in-ši-šám
27. [x]-x-uš
28. [ní]g-akkil
29. níg-sila_x-gá
30. níg-ka₉
31. ? -SAL
32. KA-šu-du₈-du₈
33. giri_x-zal
34. inim-gá-gá-dam
35. dug₄-ga
36. inim-inim-ne-ne ba-an-sum-mu-uš
37. sag-ba
38. sag-arad
39. sag-sal
40. sag an-ni-il
41. u₄-kur-ra-a-ni

Bottom Edge

42. u₄-tu-ta-a-ni
43. zalag-ga

Column IV.

1. [u₄]-tu
2. [u₄-tu]-dè
3. []-NE
4. u₄-[] x
5. u₄-x[]
6. u₄-šu-[x]
7. u₄ ur-kú[š-x] ki-[x]
8. u₄ ur-ki-gál [] x []
9. u₄ ur-sag-mar-t[u] íb-ta-sa
10. u₄
11. itu!
12. mu
13. ḥa-la
14. ḥúl
15. gukkal

16. sig-ga
17. x
18. ki-[]
19. PA-[]
20. []
21. []
22. si
23. arḥuš
24. ú-dù-á
25. uš
26. tar
27. dù
28. asila
29. ná
30. dun
31. bàd
32. kú
33. nag
34. šud_x-dè
35. KAx?-KAx?-gá
36. dé
37. gíg
38. íb
39. ?
40. egir
41. ká

Bottom Edge

42. ká-gal
43. udùl

Column V.

1. AMAŠ
2. AMAŠ
3. AMAŠ
4. sig₄
5. sig₄-al-ùr-ra

6. [si]g₄-gíd¹-da
7. [mu]r₇-gu-la
8. sig₄-di₄-di₄
9. [sig₄]-anše
10. [g]i-uš-sig
11. [x-g]i-duru₅
12. []-nin
13. [x]-dub-ba
14. []-uš
15. [] x-AB

Column VI.

1. lú-AN-x-ta-a
2. lú-sag-AŠ
3. lú-dim₄-mà
4. lú-gi-na
5. lú-nu-gi-na
6. lú-tu-ra
7. lú-x-ra
8. lú-[x]-ninnu
9. lú-dù-luḥ-ḥa
10. adaman-aka
11. lú-suḥur-lá
12. lú-KA-kár-kár
13. lú-KA-kár-k[á]r
14. naṃ-lá-x
15. [] x
16. [] x
- 17-22. are completely missing.
23. []-KA
24. []-pa₆
25. [x]-ba
26. [x]-sar
27. [x]-lál
28. [x]-lál
29. [x]-la
30. [x]-ḥuḥ
31. [x]-lul
32. [x]-za-za

33. []-?
34. []-gul
35. []-zi
36. []-egir
37. []-x

Column VII.

1. IM-mar-tu
2. IM-kur-ra
3. IM-4-àm
4. im-lagab
5. IM-dé-a
6. im-sag
7. IM-šúr
8. im-šà-íd¹-da
9. nigín-na
10. mu-TÚM
11. mu-TÚM-dili-dili
12. a-šà
13. dub-ba
14. šub-ba
15. šu-dù-a
16. lú-dili dam-a-ni gemé-ni
17. kun
18. []
19. dílim
20. ià-dílim
21. nu-ià-dílim
22. ki-maḥ
23. ki-?
24. ki-in-dar
25. ki-sun
26. ki-bi
27. ki-gál
28. kislaḥ
29. ki-gál
30. ki-ba-gar-ra
31. ki-diri
32. number 10 (colophon)

Commentary

Col. I.

25. In view of the following line, the missing verb here could possibly be restored with - s u m.
34. The order of the verbal complex: b a - k i - á g, is certainly incorrect. We would expect k i b a - á g instead. This inaccuracy shows misuse of Sumerian.

37. The position of -l a- here is inexplicable. If it represented the negation particle *n u-*, we would, then, expect it to be placed before the thematic particle -b a-.
39. Again, this form is grammatically incorrect. For *u₄-z a l-a / l a / l e = namāru*, see ŠL 381:275, 277 and 278. Also, see Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 128, and AHW, p. 768 f, s.v. *nawāru(m)/namāru*.

Col. II.

1. The restoration of this line is based on similarity with some of the following lines. *d í m*, here, could be a phonetic orthography for *d í m₄*. For *š u - d i m₄ - m a = sanāqu (ša qāti)*, see AHW, p. 1021 s.v. *sanāqu(m)* I. *d í m*, however, is attested with the Akkadian *banū* (see CAD B, p. 83 q.v.; AHW, p. 103 q.v. IV).
5. To judge from the break, there is only one sign which is completely gone. Following that, is most probably *u₆*, whose beginning is damaged. Therefore, the preserved part of the line reads: [x IG]I.É- d è. In filling the missing sign with *š u-*, on analogy of the preceding as well as the following lines, *š u - u₆ - d è*, would then be difficult to render.
6. [*š u - r a*] - r a, could very well be restored here, which is equated in Akkadian with *maḥāṣu*. (See ŠL 354:291; AHW, p. 580 q.v. and van Dijk, La Sagesse, p. 83:106.
7. *t u k u m - b i*: [ŠU.GAR.TUR].LAL- b i.
8. [*š u - d u₆*] - a can be suggested here. For further discussion on this expression see: Sjöberg, Mondgott, pp. 51 and 54.
9. For the reading of LÁL+SAR as *u š u r*, see MSL 2, 40:77. Also, see Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, 1.170 n. 7 with references. In restoring the broken sign here with *š u-*, [*š u*] - *u š u r* could be considered as a phonetic variant for ŠL 354:294: *š u - š ú r* (CT 18, 46, 59b, Akkadian equivalent is, unfortunately damaged)?
10. *š u-*, is well suggested here for restoration, since *š u - b a l a = šupēlu* "to change," "to alter," "to violate," is quite common.
- 11-12. The restoration of these lines were based on the fact that *š u - u m = nadānu* is well attested.
- 13-14. [*š u - g í d*] -, is a possible restoration. It is equated with *ša qātu alpu* (see MSL 1, 115f.) which means "to stretch forth arm, hand . . . etc," (see CAD E, p. 86 s.v. *elēpu*). It could also be equated with *sanāqu ša amēli* (see AHW, p. 1021 s.v. *sanāqu*).
25. Although the first sign is not well written, perhaps it is *k u n-* followed by -*g í r i*. A restoration of -[*t a b*] at the end of this line might be useful since *g í r i - t a b = zuqaqīpu* "scorpion" (see CAD Z, p. 163 q.v.) and also = *aqrabu* (CAD A/2, p. 207) is attested. But unfortunately, the traces of the final sign seem to point to BAD, which makes *k u n - g í r i - BAD* difficult to understand.
26. In all references quoted by CAD, -*n a*, in the expression *d a l (=RI) - b a - (a n -) n a* is preserved, whereas in our entry it is dropped. For further discussion and references see CAD B pp. 252 ff. s.v. *birītu* "alley," "terrain," "balk".
27. The beginning of -*g a* here is noticable. For *ri - ri - g a = laqātu* "to collect," "to gather," see AHW, p. 537 q.v. and CAD L, p. 100 q.v. This term is also used in the economic texts to mean "losses generated by death of cattle and livestock," see Eames Coll, p. 62; Goetze, JCS 2 (1948), 82ff.; Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, commentary to proverb 1.33.
28. For *ri - g a*, see the commentary to the preceding line. Also, cf. MSL 4, 69:30: *še - ri - ri - g a* "gleaned barley," and ŠL, 86:92.
32. *b a - a l* is a phonetic writing for *b a l*.

38. Due to the limited space, it seems that the scribe forced this line and squeezed it between *i n - d ù - a* and the last line in this column. The remnant of the last sign points to -*g i₄*.
39. For *á š - g i₄ (- g i₄)* "to answer with a curse," see van Dijk, La Sagesse, p. 109 and Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, commentary to proverb 1.82.

Col. III.

5. Again we are faced with another grammatical violation. Hence, *k i n - g i₄ - a = šapāru* when in a sentence would appear as: *k i n i n - g i₄ - a* and not: *i n - k i n - g i₄ - a!*
6. *n í g - g á l (- l a) = būšu* "valuables," "goods," "movable property," (see CAD B, p. 353 q.v.). This term is also incorporated in Akkadian as a loan word cf. *niggallû/ê* (MSL 13, 116:58 and AHW, p. 787). On the other hand, both the reading and the meaning of *UD - n a*, here, is obscure. Nevertheless, could the alternative reading: *a d a n - n a*, though difficult to translate, for *UD - n a* be suggested?
7. For *n í g - š u = būšu* see CAD B, p. 353 q.v.
- 9-10. We understood TÚG to be a phonetic writing for *t u k u*. *n í g - t u k u = šarū* "rich," cf. ŠL 597:106. *n í g - n u - t u k u = la šarū* "not rich". Also cf. MSL 13, 116:
77: *n í g - t u k u = ša - ru - ú - um*
78: *n í g - n u - t u k u = la - ap - nu - ū - um*¹
- 11-12. For *n í g - g a = makkūru* "goods," "property," see AHW, p. 589 s.v. *makkūru(m)* I; CAD B, p. 353 s.v. *būšu* and MSL 13, 115:1.
For *n í g - g a - l u g a l a = makkūr šarri* "king's property," see Lambert, BWL, p. 275 and MSL 13, 115:2.
13. All the variants of *geštin - n a* which attested with *karānu* "wine" do not have *n í g -*, in their orthography. Therefore, *n i n d a g e š t i n - n a* "bread and wine" is suggested.
14. *t é š = išēniš; mitharu* "all together," "jointly," (see CAD I/J, p. 279 s.v. *išēniš*). *n í g - g a - t é š*, would therefore mean "jointly owned property".
- 15-16. From the context, these two lines must form one quotation which, apparently, represents a proverb incorporated in our lexical texts. (For more examples on such incorporations, see Lambert, BWL, p. 275). As to the meaning of this proverb, the following is suggested: "What will you attain from justice? It generates life!" For *s á = kašādu* "to attain, to find . . .," see CAD K, p. 271 q.v. For *n a m - t i l - l a ù - t u* "to generate life," cf. Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, commentary to proverb 1.4 where he quotes TCL 1 25:17 (Hymn to Ningiškida): *n a m - t i ù - t u z a - d a š a - m u - u n - g á l* "to generate life is in your power (lit. 'has been placed with you')".
Note, that in the expression: *a - n a - a m* "what," we would rather expect -*à m*, instead of -*a m*.
- 21-22. *n í g - n a m (- m e / m a) = mimma* "everything". The meaning of *z i (r)*, according to Oppenheim, (Eames Coll. 132f.) should correspond to that of the Akkadian *ḥepū* "to break, to crush". Therefore, the meaning of *n í g - n a m a l - z i - r a* will be: everything is broken".
23. Our *NÍG - š u - k í d - a* and ŠL 354b:107: *NÍG - š u - k í d - à m* are variants of *n i n d a - š u - g í d - d a = kamānu* "sweetened cake," see CAD K, p. 110 s.v. *kamānu*. Also cf. ŠL 597:292.
25. This term is very common in the economic texts which means: *ana š i - i - im* (var. *š i m i š u*) *gam - ru - ti* "as its full price" (see MSL 5, 31:303 and CAD G, p. 37 s.v. *gamru*).
The usual form of this expression in Sumerian is: *š á m - t i l - l a - b i - š è*, but adding -*e š -* between -*b i -* and -*š è -* as in our entry is uncommon orthography. For further discussion on -*e š - š è*, see: Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 32.

27. This line could most probably be restored as: [n i n d a - g] u - ú s. According to Jacobsen (JNES 12 [1953], 181), g u can be translated with "flax" from which linseed oil as well as linen thread can be produced. But, nevertheless, its flour can hardly be fit for making bread for human consumption. Deimel (ŠL 536:298) however, translates z ì - g u - ú s with a "quality of g u - flour". Oppenheim, (Eames Coll. 54, E-29) suggests "pea" as a translation for "g u", and therefore translates z ì - g u - ú s with "pea-flour of second quality". The flour and the bread made of it which is listed in the entries quoted by Deimel (cf. ŠL 559:8), as well as the bread mentioned in our entry is made of g u - f l o u r. Flour, however, from either flax or pea is not fit for making bread for human consumption.
28. Most probably: [n í] g - a k k i l. For further discussion on a k k i l = *ikkillu* "rumor," "clamor," "uproar," see: CAD I/J, pp. 57 f. s.v. *ikkillu*, and Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 97:228.
29. For this expression cf. MSL 13, 116:45: [NÍG- s i] l a_x (= ŠID)- g á = *l[i-i]-šum*. Also, see: AHW, p. 556 s.v. *līšu(m)* "dough".
30. For n í g - k a₉ (= ŠID) = *nikkassu* "settlement (of account)", see AHW, p. 789 q.v.
31. The first sign here is, indeed, very puzzling. Its structure looks like MAXZA. It cannot be considered an erroneous ù r, since the latter is well written in the same text (cf. col. v 5).
32. KA- š u - d u₈ - d u₈, is another variant of (lú) k a - š u - d ù - d ù / a = *munaggiru* = *ākil karši* "denouncer". Cf. AHW, p. 672 s.v. *munaggiru*. Also cf. MSL 12, 201:19 and 207: 143: l ú KA- š u - d ù - d ù / a = *mu-na(-an)-gi₄-ru-um*, and Sjöberg, JCS 24 (1971-72), 111.
33. For g i r i_x (= KA) - z a l = *tašiltu* "delight", see the detailed discussion on the term by Sjöberg TCS 3, p. 137:475 with note 89.
- 34-36. These terms are business phrases.
37. For s a g - b a = *māmītu* "oath," "jurisdiction" see: AHW, p. 599 q.v.
38. For s a g - a r a d = *ardu* "slave," "servant" see: MSL 5, 18:129. Also, see CAD A/2, p. 243 q.v.
39. For s a g - g e m e = *amtum* "female slave," "servant girl," see: MSL 5, 18:129, 131. Also CAD A/2, p. 80 q.v.
40. The Akkadian *dinānu*, *andunānu*, *ardunānu*, have been attested with different orthographies of s a g - í l. Ours eg. s a g - a n - n i - i l, might very well be a new equation of *dinānu* "substitute," "wraith". For further discussion on *dinānu*, see CAD D, p. 148 q.v.
- 41-42. u₄ - k u r - r a - a - n i, on analogy of the line that follows should mean in Akkadian *ūm mātīšu* "the day of his death". For k u r = *mātu* "sterben," see: ŠL 366:15 and AHW, p. 634 q.v. Therefore, u₄ - t u - t a - a - n i (line 42) should mean "the day of his birth".

Col. IV.

6. By taking - š u - here as a phonetic writing for - š ú -, the suggested restoration of this line, therefore, will be u₄ - š u - [u š] "daily". It is to be noted, however, that the break here can provide a space for one or two signs.
7. Because of the damaged text the restoration as well as the meaning of this line is difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, it may mean "the day when Y and Z-dog [existed?]" Cf. the following line.
8. The preserved part of this line would mean "the day when the u r - k i - dog existed". For u r - k i = *kalab urši*, see, CAD K, pp. 68 ff. s.v. *kalbu*. Note that the indented part of this line possibly starts with g [i₄].
9. In accord with the context of this line, no other meaning could be sought for - s a, here, except that of s á = *kašādu* "to defeat," "to conquer," see CAD K, pp. 271 ff. q.v. (Hence, s a here is written phonetically for s á). The meaning of this line, therefore, will be "the day when the warlike Amorite(s) were defeated".

11. i t u is here written erroneously with five inside *winkelhaken* instead of three as usual.
13. For h a - l a = *zittu* "share," see: CAD Z, p. 139 q.v.
15. For g u k k a l (= UDU.ĤÚL) = *gukkallu* "breed of sheep," see CAD G, p. 126 q.v.
17. Certainly there is no sign at the beginning of this line. The traces at the end is definitely that of [t ú] m (= DU).
18. In view of the preceding line, it becomes safe to restore this line as: k i - [t ú] m, which is equated with *qebēru* "to bury," see: AHW, p. 912 q.v.
23. For a r h u š (= ÉxSAL) = *rēmu* "sich erbarmen," "Mitleid haben," see AHW, p. 970 q.v.
24. Is it possible to consider ú - d ù - a, as a variant of g i - d ù - a = *kikkišu* "reed-fence/wall/hut (plaited in a specific way)"? For the latter see CAD K, p. 352 q.v.
31. Since the shape of this sign is unusual i.e. *gunl*+B^{AD}, its reading as well as its meaning remain obscure.
34. š u d_x (= KA_xŠU) = *karābu* "to pronounce formulas of blessing, praise, adoration . . . etc," see: CAD K, p. 192 q.v.
35. The sign inside KA is either LAM, or TU. We believe it more likely to be TU, and the line will therefore read: KA_xTU-KA_xTU- g á. According to Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 73 in his commentary to line 96, KA_xTU is to be read as š i g₅. In reading š i g₅- š i g₅- g á, we are faced with the problem that in Sjöberg's line š i g₅ is followed by - g a and not - g á.
39. This sign ÍBxKÁR, is newly attested. No reading or meaning is available to the writer at present.

Bottom Edge:

43. Although this sign is the same as the following three signs, (i.e. AMAS^š), at the beginning of next column, we read it: u d ù l, in order to keep the rest undifferentiated.

Col. V.

1. At the beginning of this line there are traces of slight impression of a sign which looks like ĤI¹ followed by AMAS^š. We actually think that it is an erasure. Therefore, we ignored it in the transliteration.
4. s i g₄ = *libittu* "unbaked mud-brick," see CAD L, 176 q.v.
5. s i g₄ - a l - ù r - r a = *agurru* "kiln-fired brick," see: CAD A/1, pp. 160 ff. q.v.
6. - g í d¹ - here is written over an erasure, possibly the beginning of - g u - which the scribe wrote again in the line that follows. g í d - d a = *arku* "to be long," see CAD A/2, p. 283 q.v. Therefore, this type of brick is "long kiln-fired brick".
7. m u r₇ (= SIG₄) - g u - l a, is attested with the Akkadian *amaru* "pile of bricks (often of standard dimensions)," see CAD A/2, p. 4 q.v. This in view of line 9, which will follow, must be kiln-fired bricks.
8. s i g₄ - d i₄ - d i₄, is "small kiln-fired brick". For the reading of TUR-TUR as d i₄ - d i₄ "klein," see: Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 19. Also, cf. Smith, Misc. Assy. Texts, 24:24f. (reference quoted by CAD Š, p. 180 s.v. *šihru*): TUR-TUR- l á k i - e - n e - d i - t a n a m - m a - r a - a b - è - d è - e n = *ši-ih-ru-tu a-šar mi-lul-ti la tu-še-eš-ša-a* "do not drive out the young people from the place of rejoicing". TUR-TUR- l á, in this quotation, must therefore be read as d i₄ - d i₄ - l á. (For more variants, see CAD Š, s.v. *šihirūtu*).
9. s i g₄ -, can be restored here with certainty. Although s i g₄ - a n š e and m u r₇ - g u (var. - g ú) - l a are both attested with the Akkadian *amaru* (see line 7 above), they are not identical terms. While m u r₇ - g u - l a is used to denote "pile of kiln-fired bricks (often of standard dimensions)," s i g₄ - a n š e, on the other hand, denotes "pile of *libin*," cf. Antagal 8 18f.: m u r₇ ^{mur-ur} - g ú = *a-ma-rum*, SIG₄ - a n š e = MIN š á *li-bit-ti* (ref. is quoted by CAD A/2, p. 4 s.v. *amāru A*).

10. The meaning of *gi-uš-síg* is, so far, unavailable to the writer. It might turn out, however, to be some kind of "gihinnu-reed basket" which was used for transporting or holding wool. For more discussion on this type of basket, see CAD G, pp. 70 f. q.v.
11. There is a space for one missing sign before the *-[g]i-*. For *gi-duru₅* = *appāru* "lagoon," and *sippatu* "reed," see: CAD A/2 and S q.v. respectively.
13. Most probably: *[gi-du]b-ba* = *qan tuppi* "stylus". Note that there is an erasure between the *-du* and *-ba* which one can assume that the ancient scribe started first at this place to write the *-ba*, but then realized he ought to write it at the very end of the line and so he erased it.
15. Possibly: *[gi-z]i-AB*. It may denote something made of reed, or perhaps read as *gi-zi-ēš* "temple's reed". For *gi-zi* = *kīsu* "reed," see: CAD K, p. 433 s.v. *kīsu* C.


Col. VI. (reverse)

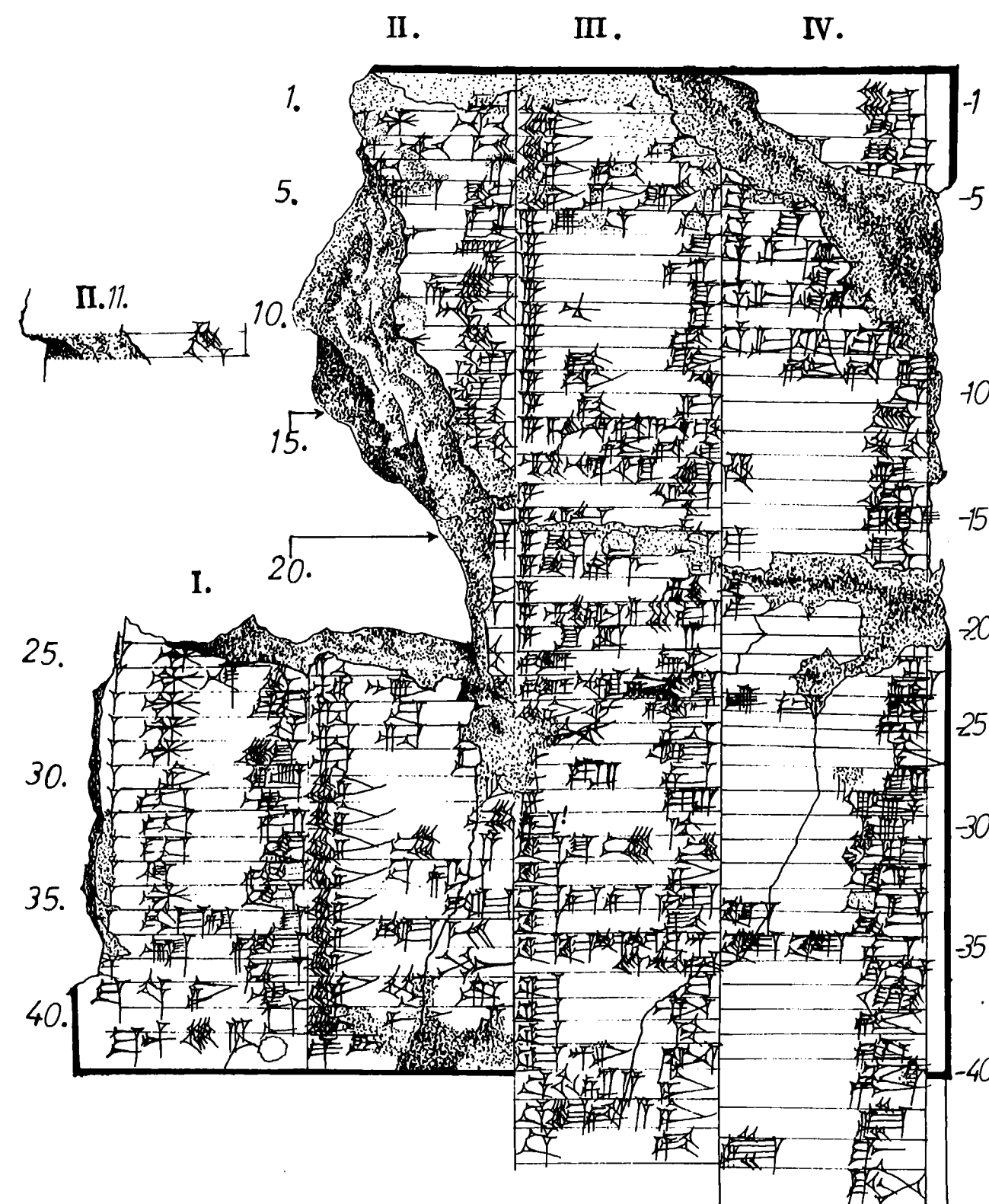
1. This line could possibly be read: *lú-AN-ĶA-ta-a* (obscure!).
2. *sa-g-AŠ* = *pirištu* "Geheimnis," see: AHW, p. 866 q.v. *lú₅ a-g-AŠ*, could mean a "confidential person".
3. *lú₅ d i m₄-mà*: a "great person," *d i m₄-mà* = *rabū*, see AHW, p. 936 s.v. *rabū* I (where *d i m₄* is quoted as *b u l ù g*).
6. *lú₅ t u - r a* = *maršu* a "sick person," see: AHW, p. 613 q.v.
7. This line would most probably be read: *lú₅ ū r - r a*, which means an "angry person," a "furious person". For *š ū r (- r a)* = *ezzu* "to be angry, furious," see: CAD E, p. 432 q.v.
8. The missing sign here is most likely to be *[d i n g i r]*. The line therefore will read: *lú₅ - [d] n i n n u* "the people of god Enlil". Enlil is the one who was given in the Sumerian Pantheon the "ninna (= 50)-rank". Also, god Ningirsu-Ninurta son of Enlil was given the same epithet-rank. For more references and further discussion see ŠL 475:1, 4-6.
9. *lú₅ d ù - l u ħ - ħ a*: a "terrifying person," an "awe-inspiring person". For *d ù - l u ħ - ħ a* = *mugallitu* "der erschreckt," see: AHW, p. 667 q.v.
10. *a d a m a n* (= *LÚ.LÚ*)-*a k a*: "to make dispute," "to challenge". For *a d a m a n* = *tēšītu*, *šutēšū*, *ultēšū*, *kalū ša zamāri*, *e-du-tum* see van Dijk, La Sagesse, pp. 31 f. and references especially p. 32 n. 16. Also, cf. CAD A/2, pp. 356f. s.v. *ašū*.
11. *lú₅ u ħ u r - l á* = *kezru* "person with curled hair," see: CAD K, p. 316 q.v.
- 12-13. *lú₅ K A - k á r - k á r*, is repeated here twice. *k á r - k á r*, is attested to mean: *nabātu ša ūmi* "to shine, referring to the daylight," and *napāhu* "to shine," "to illuminate," see: ŠL 105 IIa 5-6. Also see: AHW, p. 732 s.v. *napāhu*. Hence, the reading and meaning of these lines may be one of the following suggestions:
 - a. *lú₅ k i r₄ - k á r - k á r*: "person with a bright nose".
 - b. *lú₅ z ú - k á r - k á r*: "person with shining teeth".
 - c. *lú₅ d u g₄ - k á r - k á r*: "person with lucid speech/word(s)".
 - d. *lú₅ i n i m - k á r - k á r*
14. Possibly *na-m-lá-ga*. Since *lú₅ a-ga* = *sarru* "liar," "dishonest person," (see: AHW, p. 1030 q.v.), *na-m-lá-ga*, therefore, would be equated with the Akkadian *sarrūtu* "dishonesty," "insincerity,". For *sarrūtu* (without Sumerian equivalent) see AHW, p. 1031 q.v.
24. Most probably no sign would be expected in the break at the beginning of this line. *pa₆* (= *PAB+IŠ*) = *miširtu*, *mišru*, *palgu* ... etc. (See: AHW, pp. 663 and 815 q.v. respectively).
25. Most probably *[du]b-ba*.

26. Most likely *[du]b-sa-r*.
27. Very likely *[du]b-là-l*.
28. Possibly, either: *[nu]m-là-l* (= *zumbi dišpi*), or: *[GAB]-LÀL* (= *ki-x-x* (perhaps *ki-is-bi*) *diš-bi*) would be expected. For the restored examples utilized here, see CAD D, p. 161 s.v. *dišpu*.
29. This line might very well be restored as *[lu]l-lá*.
30. This line could very well be restored as *[ki]-ħul* = *kihullū* "place used, destined or fit for mourning rites," see CAD K, p. 350 q.v.
31. The following restoration is suggested here *[ki]-lu-l* = *šaggaštu* "bloodshed". (See Reiner, Šurpu 31: 48/49: *áš-ki-lu-l lú-ra nu-un-zu-a* = *lu-u ár-rat šag-gaš-te šá LÚ NU ZU-ú* "be it the curse of a bloodshed unknown to him").
32. *[ki]-za-za*, would be suggested here. It is attested with the Akkadian *šukēnu*, see van Dijk, La Sagesse, p. 111:21 (with references).
33. The preserved traces of this sign do not allow for a reasonable guess.
37. The traces of the remaining sign could possibly point to *-lá*.

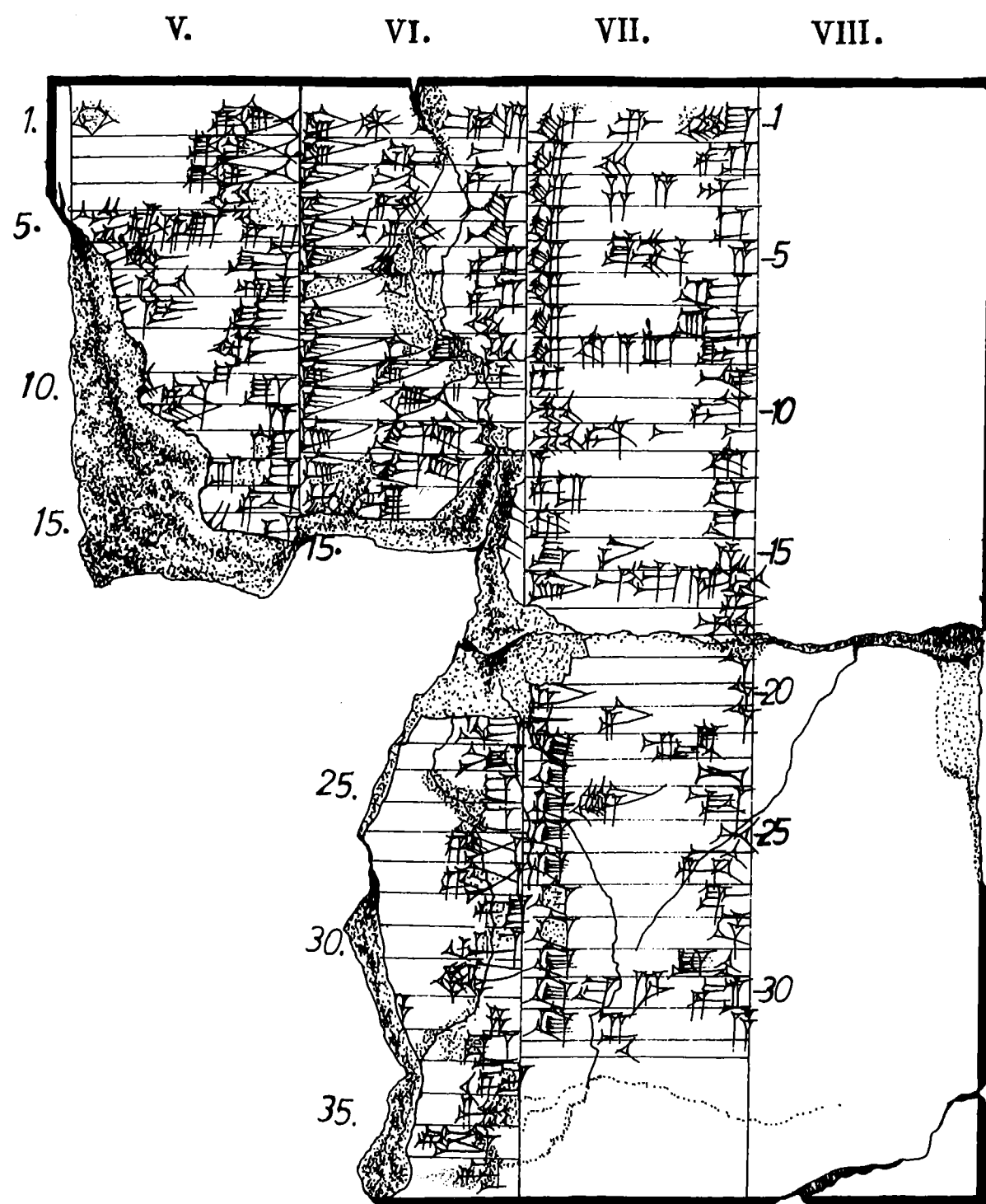
Col. VII (reverse)

1. *IM-ma-r-tu* = *amurru* "west wind," see: CAD A/2, p. 92 q.v.
2. *IM-kur-ra* = *šadū* "east wind," ibid.
3. *IM-4-àm* = 4 *šārim* "four winds," cf. MSL 13, 244:6': *[IM-4-bi]* = 4 *šā-ri-im*.
4. *im-lagab* = *pišiltu* "lump of clay," cf. MSL 7, 106:508: *im-lagab* *LAGAB* = *pi-šil-tum*. For further references see; AHW, p. 868 s.v. *pišiltu*.
5. *IM-dé-a* = "sweeping wind". For *dé* = *abālu* "to carry off," "to sweep away (said of water, wind ... etc)," see CAD A/1, p. 10 s.v. *abālu* A (meaning 4).
6. *im-sag* = *imtanū* "tuft of black hair (from the rump of a donkey)," see CAD I/J, p. 139 q.v.
7. *IM-šūr* = *šāru ezzu* "fierce wind," see CAD E, p. 432 s.v. *ezzu* (meaning 1c).
8. In modern Iraq and certainly in ancient Mesopotamia, the best and purest kind of clay can customarily be obtained from nearby canals, rivers and also from the area located alongside their banks. This clay has been used through the millennia for making the best ceramics as well as tablets. Therefore, *im-šā-íd-da*, in our line would most probably denote this type of clay.
Nevertheless, since the Akkadian equivalent is as yet unavailable, another alternative is possible. It may possibly denote the "breeze of the midst of the river".
Note, that the ancient scribe wrote incorrectly: A.AMBAR for *íd*, instead of A.ENGUR(= *íd*).
9. For *nigín-na* = *saḫāru* "sich wenden, herumgehen, suchen" see AHW, pp. 1005 f. q.v.
- 10-11. The reading *mu-TÚM* is suggested by Oppenheim for *mu-DU*. It means in the economic texts the "incoming amounts," contrary to *zi-ga* the "outgoing amounts". For further discussion, see Eames Coll., pp. 20f., with commentary to B-10 where several references and occurrences are cited. Also, cf. ŠL 61:105. For *dili-dili* = *ma'dūtu* "Vielheit," see ŠL 1:33 and MSL 13, 190:221: *dili-dili* = *ma-x¹-[x-x]*. The term *mu-TÚM-dili-dili* would, therefore, mean "multitudinous incoming amounts (of cattle, objects)".
16. This line means "one man, his wife and his slave girl". It denotes an economic phrase.
17. Judging from the size of the break, it is certain that there was no sign before *ku* n.

19. Although this line is slightly broken at the beginning, there is no sign before *dílím* (= *LIŠ*) = *itquru*/*itqurtu* "spoon (for eating, dipping up ointment)" made of both metal and wood is attested, see CAD I/J, pp. 300 ff. s.v. *itquru*.
- 20-21. On the analogy of an O.Akk. reference (ITT 1 1091:2): 5 'z' *dílím* "five spoons for flour," (ref. cited by CAD I/J, p. 300 ff. s.v. *itquru*), we take *la dílím* (line 20) to mean: "spoon for oil". This kind of spoon (i.e. for oil) is also attested but from later periods (see *ibid.*, meaning 1-3^b). Could *la dílím* be considered a variant representing a short form of (*giš*)*dílím-la-šéš* = *nap-ša-áš-tum*/*napšaltu*. (For further references, see AHW, p. 741 s.v. *napšaltu*). Accordingly, line 21 would mean "spoon not used for oil".
22. For *ki-maḥ* = *kimāḥu* "grave," "tomb," see CAD K, p. 370 q.v.
23. The sign following the *ki-* is crucial. The shape of it (i.e. ) is composed of a horizontal wedge whose tail runs below a tail of another reversed horizontal. It cannot, however, be a BAD sign, since we have the latter (cf. col. VII: 25) which is written in a different manner.
24. For *ki-in-dar* = *nigissu* "cleft," "split," "crack," see Al-Fouadi, *Enki's Journey to Nippur* (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969), pp. 110f.
25. The reading *ki-sun* for *ki-BAD*, is based on an analogy to some references quoted by CAD B, p. 312 s.v. *bulû* A, where we find that *giš^{su}-un-BAD*, *gi-ḥad-a* and *gi-sun-na* are attested with *bulû* (*bula'u* or *pulû*) "fire wood," "dry wood," "reed". Furthermore, in MSL 13, 238:3 we read: *ki-BAD* = *p[u-x-x]*. Accordingly, *pulû* may be a reasonable equation for the latter.
26. For *ki-bi* = *it-ti-š[u]*, see MSL 13, 241: 138.
28. For *ki-laḥ* (= *KI.UD*), see AHW, p. 787 s.v. *nidûtu(m)*: *ki^{ki-is-làḥ}laḥ* = *ni-du-tum* "unbebautes," "unbebauter Zustand".
30. For *ki-ba* (var. -*bi*)-*gar(-ra)* = *pūḥu(m)* "Tausch," "Ersatz" (as an economic term used when speaking of exchange of fields, barley, etc), see AHW, pp. 877 f. q.v.
31. *ki-diri* means an "additional territory".
32. In the middle of this line a puzzling colophon is written. Namely, the numeral 10, which might be interpreted as a reference to the number of the listed above *ki*-entries.



IM.70209 (Obverse)



IM 70209 (Reverse)

Early Pattern in Mesopotamian Literature

Bendt Alster, Copenhagen

In the later years it has gradually become more and more apparent that the Sumerian literary corpus which has been handed down to us from the Old Babylonian period rests on very old tradition. An increasing number of archaic literary sources has been identified, but the interpretation of these early texts is still hampered by almost insurmountable difficulties. At first glance it would seem that the literary tradition has been completely reorganized at a given period.¹ However, at closer inspection little seems to speak in favour of such an idea. Apart from certain similarities in phraseology between the archaic and the "classical" sources, we can now see that at least one composition, the Kesh Temple Hymn, has been transmitted in basically the same shape from the Early Dynastic to the Old Babylonian period, and we have other examples of texts which rest on equally old tradition, although admittedly they have undergone more thorough changes.²

In dedicating the present study of some archaic sources to Prof. S.N. Kramer on the occasion of his 77th birthday, the writer, who for one year has been a pupil of Prof. Kramer, would like to express his indebtedness to the general line of approach in his numerous invaluable contributions to Sumerology. Taking his approach for a model, I will try to use the context of the compositions as a starting point. A clear evaluation of the context in which a given difficult passage occurs will frequently contribute more to the understanding than a whole page of references.

I have tried elsewhere to point out that the Sumerian literary corpus represents a traditional poetic art, the creation of many generations of poets.³ I do not wish to repeat my arguments here, but I would point out that, if this is true, the literary tradition is not likely to have changed drastically within a specific limited

¹ Cf. e. g. A. Falkenstein, CRRA 2 (1951), 19: "Aber wenn die Mythen der altbabylonischen Abschriften keine durchgehende Überarbeitung erfahren hätten, wäre nicht zu verstehen, warum sich dieser alte Mythos [MBI 1] fast völlig dem Verständnis entzieht".

² The relevant literature can be found in R.D. Biggs, ZA 61 (1971), 193-207.

³ Cf. my monograph *Dumuzi's Dream (Mesopotamia 1)*, Copenhagen, 1972.

period. On the contrary, since all poets in principle have utilized the same poetic language and built on the same structural patterns, changes would only take place slowly, and even in case the wording of a text might have changed completely after a period of several hundred years, it is not unlikely that some basic structural patterns could still be recognized. Of course, we cannot prove this as long as we understand so little of the archaic compositions. However, the assumption that the same underlying patterns could be found in some archaic and "classical" texts, is very likely to be true. One could prove that the narrative patterns in "classical" Sumerian myths, epics, and folktales are nearly universal, and they do not basically differ from those observed in e.g. Russian folktales.⁴ In view of this, why should we assume that these patterns have changed much within a single culture and within the relatively short period of 700 years? Once the archaic texts are fully understood, the study and identification of the recurring patterns will probably turn out to be a *conditio sine qua non*.

In order to illustrate this we will look at a small Sumerian incantation from Nippur, N 1235 + 6283. The text was identified and copied in the University Museum, Philadelphia, by Aage Westenholz, who generously has made his copy available to me.⁵ The high quality of the copy was confirmed by a photograph. For epigraphic reasons A. Westenholz would date it to the time of Šarkališarri, or at least earlier than Ur III. It is very similar in writing to Barton, MBI 2. The following is a transliteration of the text:

Obv. 1 é.n.é.[nu.ru]
 kur-kur gurum-ù d_{en}.líl an.zag-šè
 [n]in-mu d_{in}anna n[in š]à(?) dagal-[la]
 ki-bala [hul.gig] d[_{su}]en-[na]⁶
 5 sag m[en x(?)]-bi
 é.kur èš d_{KAL}.x⁷
 gidri kù šu-ba gál-l[a-b]i
 kur-ra igi gál d_e[n.líl]-lá-šè
 eme ha.mun [x x] UŠ ba-n[i(?)-x]
 10 d_{nisa}[ba x x]

Approximately 2 lines missing.

Rev. 1 šid-bi [. . .]
 di [ku₅-d]u g[a.ra]s(?) bar zi-[d]a-e⁸

⁴ See for the moment H. Limet, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 1 (1972), 9-12.

⁵ The copy will be published in A. Westenholz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia*, I, no. 6. The conclusions to be expressed here are my own, but I have received much help from A. Westenholz's accurate knowledge of the archaic texts.

⁶ The restitution is based on Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra 397 = TMHNF 3, 9 rev.(!) 13 (cf. below). I would combine this with Nin.me.šar.ra 93: ki.bala hul.gig d_{nanna} za-a-kam an-né ha-ba-a b-su-m-mu. I suspect that an astronomic term of a very specific meaning is involved. W. Hallo and J. van Dijk, *YNER* 3, p. 26, translated: "(Uruk) is a malevolent rebel against your Nanna — may An make it surrender!" — a translation which is totally unjustified. An alternative interpretation will be suggested in my forthcoming *The Eternal Cycle*, n. 48. One should note that ki.bala is not only = *māt nukurti* "rebellious country", but also *nabalkattu* (cf. AHW, s. v.: "Überschreitung"). In Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra the term should be interpreted in close connection with hur.sag šà.sig d_{su}en-na, "Suen's horrible(?) mountain" (line 273 = HAV 4 rev. 46, cf. below). I suggest that these are stages on the journey of the moon. The exact implication will have to be pinpointed, however.

⁷ It is very tempting, indeed, to read d_kal [k a]l, the gatekeeper of Enlil, for which see e. g. Å. Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, pp. 156-157. However, the traces of the second sign look like [m] e.

⁸ The reading is based on Barton, MBI 2 obv. I 1-2: gal+IAK 159 ku₅-du, ras+ga bar zi-da. I suspect that MBI 2 is closely related to our text, but it is considerably more difficult to understand. ga.ras bar is an archaic writing for ka.a š bar = *purussû*, as pointed out by J. Klein, *JCS* 23 (1970-71), 118-122.

d_{utu} an.šà-ga [b]a(?) -an-e₁₁
 ki.bala-ka ús.bala h_é-da-kúr
 KA d_{en}.[l]íl-lá-ka-m

Subscript:

URUXA sag [k]a(?) mè-ka-kam

I by no means claim to be able to understand this text fully, but I can suggest a clue to its interpretation which, however, will require some introductory remarks. It seems to me that this little incantation expresses in less than 20 lines an idea which is elsewhere expanded into a more than 500 line long poem, the epic Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra. This idea is the eternal return of the sun, viewed as a victory over the powers of darkness. Since my reconstruction of the plot of Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra differs slightly from those hitherto suggested, a brief summary will have to follow.⁹

After the separation of heaven and earth (1-11), the kingdom of Uruk was given to Enmerkar, who very appropriately is called "the son of the Sun (Utu)" (12-19). He decides to make an expedition to conquer Aratta (20-23). He therefore summons his city (24: uru-a-ni zi.ga₁₄ ba-ni-gar) by the sounding of trumpets (25: si gù ba-ni-ra), and collects a huge army (20-34). They set out on the expedition with Enmerkar in the front (35-58). He and his army are depicted as almost supernatural powers (e. g. 54-55: a-n-ta ki.gal-šè gub-ba-àm níg.barbar-ra sag mu-na-his-his "he stood (reaching) from heaven to earth, white rays made his head shine"). Seven brothers are appointed as leaders (59-69), and Lugalbanda becomes "their eighth" (70-71). When they have reached half the way, Lugalbanda becomes sick (72-81). Since the friends cannot bring him back (82-84), they leave him in a cave and provide him with various kinds of food and weapons (85-119). They decide that if Utu will not have helped him to recover before they return, they will take his dead body with them on their way back to Uruk (120-139). After three and a half days Lugalbanda wakes up (140-146) and addresses a prayer to Utu (147-171), to Inanna (172-197), to Suen (198-225), and a second time to Utu (226-260). i. e. the three greatest cosmic lights. They help him to recover. After he has obtained "the food of life" (261-266), he walks the entire night (267-272), and arrives at hur.sag šà.sig d_{su}en-na, where he eats the food left to him by his friends (273-279). He makes fire by primitive means (280-287), and bakes breads (288-295). This attracts the attention of the wild animals (296-298), but he gives them food (299-308), catches them (309-310), and domesticates them (311-321). He then has a dream (322-344) which tells him to overpower bulls and present them as offerings to the sun (351: d_{utu} è-a-ra), and to pacify the wild snakes by letting them sniff the blood (345-355). Lugalbanda does as the dream tells him (356-365). A divine banquet then takes place (366-378). The remainder of the text is difficult to follow, but of crucial importance. Suen, the moon, appears in the sky (379-388), and then it seems that the powers of darkness arrive (from Abzu, 447) at ki.bala.hul.gig d_{su}en-na (397). They are described at great length as the enemies of the gods (389-447), but less powerful, and completely deprived of humanity. Then Inanna arrives as the morning star (477: mul u₄.zal-le) at the entrance to kur.šuba (448-477). She enters the "gate of battle" (462: ka.mè-k a)¹⁰ together with a large number of horrible powers. Finally Utu, the Sun, appears in the sky (478-492), and with him the powers of light and justice fill the universe. Here the text breaks off, but we are certainly not far from the end of the composition, where Lugalbanda must have played some significant role.

⁹ The best summary of the plot is to be found in S.N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, pp. 237-238. My line counting follows a manuscript kindly made available to me by Sol Cohen; However, all the crucial points can be made out by means of the published sources together with S.N. Kramer's summary. The major sources are enumerated in Cl. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, p. 6, n. 18.

¹⁰ Which I take as an ancient phonetic writing for k á . m è - k a, cf. below, n. 16.

It is not the place here to describe the many interesting links that exist between this and other compositions. One could think of "Inanna's Descent" where the goddess is revived by "the food of life", the Sumerian "Flood Story" where Ziusudra prepares a banquet for the gods after the disaster, and even the Akkadian Gilgameš Epic.¹¹ What is more important is the recognition that this is really a myth rather than an epic. The historical frame is so obviously secondary. Behind it lie the understones of a myth of the dead persons being equipped with food and weapons for the journey to the netherworld, the dying and reviving god, the cultural hero (Prometheus) who provides fire and tames the wild animals, and the powers of light defeating the powers of darkness. Specifically it is a myth of the three great lights, Sun, Moon, and Venus, and a praise to the returning Sun as the supreme cosmic victor.

In my study "The Eternal Cycle"¹² I have tried to show the important role the eternal return of the celestial bodies played as the central concerns of Mesopotamian religion. The astral bodies constantly descend through the entrance to the nether world (dag.é.nun.na),¹³ pass through the deep ocean (Abzu) where they receive "measures" (me.šut.i-a) from Enki, and appear again at the entrance to heaven on the "mountain" (hursag), where they are continually regenerated by the mothergoddess, Ninhursag. The place where they disappear is the hostile mountain (kur). By pronouncing his incantations at the entrance to the netherworld or the entrance to heaven, Enki can control which powers shall be allowed to enter the universe. The human spirits had to pass the same way, and so the goddess Nungal, whose house was situated at the entrance to the netherworld, could bestow life and death, e. g. participation and exclusion from the eternal cycle, to all good and evil individuals.¹⁴ Specifically it is to be noted that the sun reappears at Zabalam, and Inanna, the morning star Venus, at the "Suba-mountain" (kur.šub.a), probably identical with Zabalam.¹⁵ When she enters the sky, it is said that she opens "the gate of battle" (kám.è-k.a).¹⁶ It is simply this pro-

¹¹ The earlier generations of Assyriologists viewed Gilgameš as the hero of the sun. If one took this seriously today, one would run the risk of making a fool of oneself. But perhaps this idea should not have been so easily dismissed. Through the entire epic one finds allusions to the journey of the sun, and in particular, tablet nine seems to describe the journey around the twelve zodiacal constellations. I would point out here that the creation of the cosmic lights has played a major role from the very beginning of Mesopotamian literature. In my opinion the so-called UD.GAL.NUN texts deal with this problem (see below). Early mythological texts, e.g. Sollberger, Corpus, Ukg 15, NBC 11108 (courtesy J. van Dijk), and the Barton Cylinder (MBI 1) explicitly state that originally light did not exist. The next step in the myths is the creation of light. In the Barton Cylinder we find this in the third column (copy "col. XII"). This involves the institution of the celestial functions. The next step is a cosmic disaster. Thus, in the Barton Cylinder the gods Enlil, Inanna, and Enki leave their cities (IV-VI). In the Istanbul fragment (Kramer, From the Tablets of Sumer, p. 106 a), Īškur, the son of Enlil, is held back in the netherworld. This is followed by the appointment of a mediator, in the Barton Cylinder it is Ninurta (VI 8), in the Istanbul fragment the fox (as in the later myth Enki and Ninhursaga). What remains of the Barton Cylinder is difficult to follow, but apparently the equipment of the hero (VI 9-VII), his dispatch (IX-X), presentation of a magic scepter (XII), various difficult tasks preceding the battle (XII-XVIII), and victory on the battlefield (XIX, copy "col. IX", 9: ki.na.m.ni.ta.h-ni) are involved. If we do not learn to argue from the structural similarity between the texts we shall probably never be able to understand the simplest points in the archaic sources.

¹² Now in press.

¹³ For which see R. Caplice, É.NUN in Mesopotamian Literature, Or NS 42 (1973), 299-305. This article has played a considerable role in my argumentation.

¹⁴ This is in my opinion the mythological background behind the hymn to Nungal, now published by Å. Sjöberg, AfO 24 (1973), 19-46. A comparison with e. g. Egyptian and Mexican mythology would probably turn out to be most revealing. See for the moment "The Eternal Cycle" IX. One could also refer to the important remarks on Gilgameš, in G. de Santillana and H. von Dechend, Hamlet's Mill (London, 1970), in particular pp. 317-325 and 430-451.

¹⁵ The relevant references can be found in Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 113.

¹⁶ Crucial in this regard is Inanna and Ebih 132. See for the moment H. Limet, OrNs 40 (1971), 15, "line 9", which should be read kám.è-k.a gál ba-an-ta.gá. See also TCS 3, p. 47:516.

cess which is described in great detail at the end of Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra. The basic sequence is: Moon, Venus (morning star), and Sun.

Bearing this in mind, we can now return to our incantation. If we observe the order in which the gods appear, we find: Enlil (2), Inanna = Venus (3), Suen = Moon (4),¹⁷ a deity at the entrance to é.kur, here probably representing the netherworld, again Enlil (8), this time clearly stated as being the supervisor of the mountains, and finally Nisaba (10-rev. 1), and the sun ascending into the sky (rev. 3). I would point out that Enlil in the introduction to "The Hymn to the Hoe" is described as the one who instituted the celestial terms and keeps them going,¹⁸ and that Nisaba is the one who counts the stars.¹⁹ It is tempting to suggest, therefore, that their function here is to keep the celestial rotation going. Our interest is now focused on the sequence: Venus, Moon, and Sun, very similar to the one we found in Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra. If we look at the sky and observe the astral bodies slowly emerging in the East and disappearing in the western horizon, we have a movement from the left to the right, here viewed as steered by the decisions of the gods (rev. 1). Towards the East, the mountains appear to be slowly giving way ("bending") to the ecliptic. This is apparently what is implied in line 2.²⁰ The astral bodies in the sky are viewed as crowns carried on the heads of the gods (5), a frequent motif in Sumerian texts.²¹ They descend in the West to the netherworld, at the entrance of which we find the guardians with their staffs (7), a symbol of authority. Obviously they are supposed to allow them to pass. At the end the sun appears (rev. 3). Unfortunately the subscript "it is the first URUXA of the [gate] of the battle", is difficult, but it is clear that the interest is concentrated on the place where the astral bodies emerge, viewed as the place of an eternal cosmic battle.

We can now venture a most tentative translation of the incantation: Obv. 1

Obv.	1	Incantation:
		The mountains, "bending" (themselves) (for?) Enlil at the ecliptic(?),
		My queen, Ianna, the queen(?) whose secrets are impenetrable(?),
		The "[Hated] Passage(?) of [Su]en",
	5	their crowns on (their) heads –
		"The House of the netherworld", sanctuary of Kalkal(?),
		their pure staffs being in their hands –
		in the mountains, at the supervision of Enlil,
		the various languages . . . ²²
	10	Nisaba [. . .]
Lacuna		[.]

¹⁷ Taking it for granted, of course, that the restitution of line 4 is justified.

¹⁸ See "The Eternal Cycle" VI.

¹⁹ The argumentation is based on UET 6/1,68:33-34, and numerous texts which hint at a relationship between Nisaba and stars, cf. "The Eternal Cycle" II and passim. This is also referred to in Gudea Cylinder A XIX 21: dnisaba šà šid zu-àm "Nisaba who knows the secrets of the numbers".

²⁰ On the western horizon the movement will be described as the mountains "lifting themselves", cf. Kesh Hymn 5 (TCS 3, p. 167), and "The Eternal Cycle" V. – Our passage could be compared to a somewhat similar incantation to stars, CT 42, 6 (pl. 12-13), III 1-IV 11. In III 6-7 we find: den.líl dumu-zu nam. tar-ra ab-gub, an-na inim-zu-šè kur-kur ma-gurum-ma "Enlil, your son serves (to execute) the fixed terms. At your word all the mountains "bend" for me in the sky". Later in the same text the star give way to the sun (III 30 ff.).

²¹ Cf. e.g. Kesh Hymn 7, archaic variant: kèš men-gim sag mu-gál "he wore Kesh like a crown on his head" (ZA 61 [1971], 200), and numerous other references (see "The Eternal Cycle" VI).

²² References for e me. ja. mun "the various languages" can be found in Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 83. I suspect that the implication here is that Enlil is the supervisor of all nations. Unfortunately the end of the line is broken.

period. On the contrary, since all poets in principle have utilized the same poetic language and built on the same structural patterns, changes would only take place slowly, and even in case the wording of a text might have changed completely after a period of several hundred years, it is not unlikely that some basic structural patterns could still be recognized. Of course, we cannot prove this as long as we understand so little of the archaic compositions. However, the assumption that the same underlying patterns could be found in some archaic and "classical" texts, is very likely to be true. One could prove that the narrative patterns in "classical" Sumerian myths, epics, and folktales are nearly universal, and they do not basically differ from those observed in e.g. Russian folktales.⁴ In view of this, why should we assume that these patterns have changed much within a single culture and within the relatively short period of 700 years? Once the archaic texts are fully understood, the study and identification of the recurring patterns will probably turn out to be a *conditio sine qua non*.

In order to illustrate this we will look at a small Sumerian incantation from Nippur, N 1235 + 6283. The text was identified and copied in the University Museum, Philadelphia, by Aage Westenholz, who generously has made his copy available to me.⁵ The high quality of the copy was confirmed by a photograph. For epigraphic reasons A. Westenholz would date it to the time of Šarkališarri, or at least earlier than Ur III. It is very similar in writing to Barton, MBI 2. The following is a transliteration of the text:

Obv. 1 é.n.é.[nu.ru]
kur-kur gūrum-ù dēn.líl an.zag-šè
[n]in-mu dīnanna n[in š]à(?) dagal-[la]
ki-bala [hul.gig] d[su]en-[na]⁶
5 sag m[en x(?)]-bi
é.kur èš dKAL.x⁷
gidri kù šu-ba gál-l[a-b]i
kur-ra igi gál dē[n.líl]-lá-šè
eme ha.mun [x x] UŠ ba-n[i(?)]-x]
10 dnisa[ba x x]

Approximately 2 lines missing.

Rev. 1 šid-bi [. . .]
di [ku₅-d]u g[a.ra]s(?) bar zi-[d]a-e⁸

⁴ See for the moment H. Limet, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 1 (1972), 9-12.

⁵ The copy will be published in A. Westenholz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia*, I, no. 6. The conclusions to be expressed here are my own, but I have received much help from A. Westenholz's accurate knowledge of the archaic texts.

⁶ The restitution is based on Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra 397 = TMHNF 3, 9 rev.(!) 13 (cf. below). I would combine this with Nin.me.šar.ra 93: ki.bala hul.gig dnanna za-a-kam an-né ha-ba-a b-su-m-mu. I suspect that an astronomic term of a very specific meaning is involved. W. Hallo and J. van Dijk, *YNER* 3, p. 26, translated: "(Uruk) is a malevolent rebel against your Nanna — may An make it surrender!" — a translation which is totally unjustified. An alternative interpretation will be suggested in my forthcoming *The Eternal Cycle*, n. 48. One should note that ki.bala is not only = *māt nukurti* "rebellious country", but also *nabalkattu* (cf. AHW, s. v.: "Überschreitung"). In Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra the term should be interpreted in close connection with hur.sag šà.sig dsu en-na, "Suen's horrible(?) mountain" (line 273 = HAV 4 rev. 46, cf. below). I suggest that these are stages on the journey of the moon. The exact implication will have to be pinpointed, however.

⁷ It is very tempting, indeed, to read dka l. [ka] l, the gatekeeper of Enlil, for which see e. g. Å. Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, pp. 156-157. However, the traces of the second sign look like [m] e.

⁸ The reading is based on Barton, MBI 2 obv. I 1-2: gal+LAK 159 ku₅-du, ras+ga bar zi-da. I suspect that MBI 2 is closely related to our text, but it is considerably more difficult to understand. ga.ras bar is an archaic writing for ka.a š bar = *purussu*, as pointed out by J. Klein, *JCS* 23 (1970-71), 118-122.

dutu an.šà-ga [b]a(?) -an-e₁₁
ki.bala-ka ús.bala hē-da-kúr
KA dēn.[l]íl-lá-kam

Subscript:

URUXA sag [k]a(?) mè-ka-kam

I by no means claim to be able to understand this text fully, but I can suggest a clue to its interpretation which, however, will require some introductory remarks. It seems to me that this little incantation expresses in less than 20 lines an idea which is elsewhere expanded into a more than 500 line long poem, the epic Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra. This idea is the eternal return of the sun, viewed as a victory over the powers of darkness. Since my reconstruction of the plot of Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra differs slightly from those hitherto suggested, a brief summary will have to follow.⁹

After the separation of heaven and earth (1-11), the kingdom of Uruk was given to Enmerkar, who very appropriately is called "the son of the Sun (Utu)" (12-19). He decides to make an expedition to conquer Aratta (20-23). He therefore summons his city (24: uru-a-ni zi.ga₁₄ ba-ni-gar) by the sounding of trumpets (25: si gù ba-ni-ra), and collects a huge army (20-34). They set out on the expedition with Enmerkar in the front (35-58). He and his army are depicted as almost supernatural powers (e. g. 54-55: an-ta ki.gal-šè gub-ba-àm níg: barbar-ra sag mu-na-his-his "he stood (reaching) from heaven to earth, white rays made his head shine"). Seven brothers are appointed as leaders (59-69), and Lugalbanda becomes "their eighth" (70-71). When they have reached half the way, Lugalbanda becomes sick (72-81). Since the friends cannot bring him back (82-84), they leave him in a cave and provide him with various kinds of food and weapons (85-119). They decide that if Utu will not have helped him to recover before they return, they will take his dead body with them on their way back to Uruk (120-139). After three and a half days Lugalbanda wakes up (140-146) and addresses a prayer to Utu (147-171), to Inanna (172-197), to Suen (198-225), and a second time to Utu (226-260). i. e. the three greatest cosmic lights. They help him to recover. After he has obtained "the food of life" (261-266), he walks the entire night (267-272), and arrives at hur.sag šà.sig dsu en-na, where he eats the food left to him by his friends (273-279). He makes fire by primitive means (280-287), and bakes breads (288-295). This attracts the attention of the wild animals (296-298), but he gives them food (299-308), catches them (309-310), and domesticates them (311-321). He then has a dream (322-344) which tells him to overpower bulls and present them as offerings to the sun (351: dutu è-a-ra), and to pacify the wild snakes by letting them sniff the blood (345-355). Lugalbanda does as the dream tells him (356-365). A divine banquet then takes place (366-378). The remainder of the text is difficult to follow, but of crucial importance. Suen, the moon, appears in the sky (379-388), and then it seems that the powers of darkness arrive (from Abzu, 447) at ki.bala.hul.gig dsu en-na (397). They are described at great length as the enemies of the gods (389-447), but less powerful, and completely deprived of humanity. Then Inanna arrives as the morning star (477: mul u₄.zal-le) at the entrance to kur.šuba (448-477). She enters the "gate of battle" (462: ka.mè-k a)¹⁰ together with a large number of horrible powers. Finally Utu, the Sun, appears in the sky (478-492), and with him the powers of light and justice fill the universe. Here the text breaks off, but we are certainly not far from the end of the composition, where Lugalbanda must have played some significant role.

⁹ The best summary of the plot is to be found in S.N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, pp. 237-238. My line counting follows a manuscript kindly made available to me by Sol Cohen; However, all the crucial points can be made out by means of the published sources together with S.N. Kramer's summary. The major sources are enumerated in Cl. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, p. 6, n. 18.

¹⁰ Which I take as an ancient phonetic writing for ká.mè-k a, cf. below, n. 16.

It is not the place here to describe the many interesting links that exist between this and other compositions. One could think of "Inanna's Descent" where the goddess is revived by "the food of life", the Sumerian "Flood Story" where Ziusudra prepares a banquet for the gods after the disaster, and even the Akkadian Gilgameš Epic.¹¹ What is more important is the recognition that this is really a myth rather than an epic. The historical frame is so obviously secondary. Behind it lie the understones of a myth of the dead persons being equipped with food and weapons for the journey to the netherworld, the dying and reviving god, the cultural hero (Prometheus) who provides fire and tames the wild animals, and the powers of light defeating the powers of darkness. Specifically it is a myth of the three great lights, Sun, Moon, and Venus, and a praise to the returning Sun as the supreme cosmic victor.

In my study "The Eternal Cycle"¹² I have tried to show the important role the eternal return of the celestial bodies played as the central concerns of Mesopotamian religion. The astral bodies constantly descend through the entrance to the nether world (dag.é.nun.na),¹³ pass through the deep ocean (Abzu) where they receive "measures" (me.šut-ti-a) from Enki, and appear again at the entrance to heaven on the "mountain" (hursag), where they are continually regenerated by the mothergoddess, Ninhursag. The place where they disappear is the hostile mountain (kur). By pronouncing his incantations at the entrance to the netherworld or the entrance to heaven, Enki can control which powers shall be allowed to enter the universe. The human spirits had to pass the same way, and so the goddess Nungal, whose house was situated at the entrance to the netherworld, could bestow life and death, e. g. participation and exclusion from the eternal cycle, to all good and evil individuals.¹⁴ Specifically it is to be noted that the sun reappears at Zabalam, and Inanna, the morning star Venus, at the "Suba-mountain" (kur.šub.a), probably identical with Zabalam.¹⁵ When she enters the sky, it is said that she opens "the gate of battle" (kám-è-k.a).¹⁶ It is simply this pro-

¹¹ The earlier generations of Assyriologists viewed Gilgameš as the hero of the sun. If one took this seriously today, one would run the risk of making a fool of oneself. But perhaps this idea should not have been so easily dismissed. Through the entire epic one finds allusions to the journey of the sun, and in particular, tablet nine seems to describe the journey around the twelve zodiacal constellations. I would point out here that the creation of the cosmic lights has played a major role from the very beginning of Mesopotamian literature. In my opinion the so-called UD.GAL.NUN texts deal with this problem (see below). Early mythological texts, e.g. Sollberger, Corpus, Ukg 15, NBC 11108 (courtesy J. van Dijk), and the Barton Cylinder (MBI 1) explicitly state that originally light did not exist. The next step in the myths is the creation of light. In the Barton Cylinder we find this in the third column (copy "col. XII"). This involves the institution of the celestial functions. The next step is a cosmic disaster. Thus, in the Barton Cylinder the gods Enlil, Inanna, and Enki leave their cities (IV-VI). In the Istanbul fragment (Kramer, From the Tablets of Sumer, p. 106 a), Īkur, the son of Enlil, is held back in the netherworld. This is followed by the appointment of a mediator, in the Barton Cylinder it is Ninurta (VI 8), in the Istanbul fragment the fox (as in the later myth Enki and Ninhursaga). What remains of the Barton Cylinder is difficult to follow, but apparently the equipment of the hero (VI 9-VII), his dispatch (IX-X), presentation of a magic scepter (XII), various difficult tasks preceding the battle (XII-XVIII), and victory on the battlefield (XIX, copy "col. IX", 9: ki.na.m.ni.ta.h-ni) are involved. If we do not learn to argue from the structural similarity between the texts we shall probably never be able to understand the simplest points in the archaic sources.

¹² Now in press.

¹³ For which see R. Caplice, É.NUN in Mesopotamian Literature, Or NS 42 (1973), 299-305. This article has played a considerable role in my argumentation.

¹⁴ This is in my opinion the mythological background behind the hymn to Nungal, now published by Å. Sjöberg, AFO 24 (1973), 19-46. A comparison with e. g. Egyptian and Mexican mythology would probably turn out to be most revealing. See for the moment "The Eternal Cycle" IX. One could also refer to the important remarks on Gilgameš, in G. de Santillana and H. von Dechend, Hamlet's Mill (London, 1970), in particular pp. 317-325 and 430-451.

¹⁵ The relevant references can be found in Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 113.

¹⁶ Crucial in this regard is Inanna and Ebih 132. See for the moment H. Limet, OrNs 40 (1971), 15, "line 9", which should be read kám-è-k.a gál ba-an-ta.gá. See also TCS 3, p. 47:516.

cess which is described in great detail at the end of Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra. The basic sequence is: Moon, Venus (morning star), and Sun.

Bearing this in mind, we can now return to our incantation. If we observe the order in which the gods appear, we find: Enlil (2), Inanna = Venus (3), Suen = Moon (4),¹⁷ a deity at the entrance to é.kur, here probably representing the netherworld, again Enlil (8), this time clearly stated as being the supervisor of the mountains, and finally Nisaba (10-rev. 1), and the sun ascending into the sky (rev. 3). I would point out that Enlil in the introduction to "The Hymn to the Hoe" is described as the one who instituted the celestial terms and keeps them going,¹⁸ and that Nisaba is the one who counts the stars.¹⁹ It is tempting to suggest, therefore, that their function here is to keep the celestial rotation going. Our interest is now focused on the sequence: Venus, Moon, and Sun, very similar to the one we found in Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra. If we look at the sky and observe the astral bodies slowly emerging in the East and disappearing in the western horizon, we have a movement from the left to the right, here viewed as steered by the decisions of the gods (rev. 1). Towards the East, the mountains appear to be slowly giving way ("bending") to the ecliptic. This is apparently what is implied in line 2.²⁰ The astral bodies in the sky are viewed as crowns carried on the heads of the gods (5), a frequent motif in Sumerian texts.²¹ They descend in the West to the netherworld, at the entrance of which we find the guardians with their staffs (7), a symbol of authority. Obviously they are supposed to allow them to pass. At the end the sun appears (rev. 3). Unfortunately the subscript "it is the first URUXA of the [gate] of the battle", is difficult, but it is clear that the interest is concentrated on the place where the astral bodies emerge, viewed as the place of an eternal cosmic battle.

We can now venture a most tentative translation of the incantation: Obv. 1

Obv. 1 Incantation:

The mountains, "bending" (themselves) (for?) Enlil at the ecliptic(?),
My queen, Inanna, the queen(?) whose secrets are impenetrable(?),
The "[Hated] Passage(?) of [Su]en",

5 their crowns on (their) heads –
"The House of the netherworld", sanctuary of Kalkal(?),
their pure staffs being in their hands –
in the mountains, at the supervision of Enlil,
the various languages . . .²²

10 Nisaba [. . .]

Lacuna [.]

¹⁷ Taking it for granted, of course, that the restitution of line 4 is justified.

¹⁸ See "The Eternal Cycle" VI.

¹⁹ The argumentation is based on UET 6/1, 68:33-34, and numerous texts which hint at a relationship between Nisaba and stars, cf. "The Eternal Cycle" II and passim. This is also referred to in Gudea Cylinder A XIX 21: d_nisaba šà šid zu-à-m "Nisaba who knows the secrets of the numbers".

²⁰ On the western horizon the movement will be described as the mountains "lifting themselves", cf. Kesh Hymn 5 (TCS 3, p. 167), and "The Eternal Cycle" V. – Our passage could be compared to a somewhat similar incantation to stars, CT 42, 6 (pl. 12-13), III 1-IV 11. In III 6-7 we find: d_{en}.líl dumu-zu nam. tar-ra ab-gub, an-na inim-zu-šè kur-kur ma-gurum-ma "Enlil, your son serves (to execute) the fixed terms. At your word all the mountains "bend" for me in the sky". Later in the same text the star give way to the sun (III 30 ff.).

²¹ Cf. e. g. Kesh Hymn 7, archaic variant: kèš men-gim sag mu-gál "he wore Kesh like a crown on his head" (ZA 61 [1971], 200), and numerous other references (see "The Eternal Cycle" VI).

²² References for e me.ha.mun "the various languages" can be found in Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 83. I suspect that the implication here is that Enlil is the supervisor of all nations. Unfortunately the end of the line is broken.

- Rev. 1 [registers] their number.
 At the judgment and the true decisions
 Utu ascends into heaven's midst.
 At "the place of the passage(?)" let the passing track(?) be changed.
 It is an incantation for Enlil.

Subscript: It is the first URUXA of the "[gate] of the battle".

The assumption that the Sumerians at this early period made observations on such celestial phenomena as the rotation of the Sun, the moon, and Venus, may take some Assyriologists by surprise, but we can present further evidence.

It is well known by now that the genre usually called "temple hymns" already belonged to the literary repertory of the Early Dynastic period.²³ I will now quote the better preserved parts from such an early hymn. It has also become known to me through a copy kindly placed at my disposal by A. Westenholz, who has identified and joined the two fragments UM 29-16-273 and N 99 in the University Museum, Philadelphia.

III	4	áb kù u ₆ -e	Pur cow, admirable
	5	u ₆ .ga-gim	like the raven, ²⁴
	6	amar za.gìn dur ₅	shining lapis lazuli calf,
	7	ŠU.TUR dū-a-gim	like a growing . . . ,
	8	uri ₃ +na	like a standard,
	9	an-né si-gim	filling the heaven,
	10	udu.bu mušen adab ^{ki} u ₆ .ga	like the urabu-Adab-bird, the raven, ²⁵
	11	an-né diri-ga-gim	floating in the sky . . .

After a lacuna we find:

IV	2	giš-taškarin tūn bar-gim	Like the taškarin-tree, cut by an axe,
	3	erin ildag ₂	like the cedar, the ildag-tree,
	4	u ₆ .g[a]-gim	the raven,
	5	AM(?) [x]-gim	like the . . .
	6	an x ús-gim	like a . . . , reaching the sky,
	7	dur sur an lá-gim	like the twisted rope that binds heaven . . .

Only by assuming that these descriptions deal with astronomic phenomena, can any sense be made out of them at all. Such words as "cow, calf, lapis lazuli" are frequently found in texts which describe events on the starry sphere.²⁶ It is not the place here to discuss such interesting phenomena as the cosmic trees and the cosmic rope, but let us dwell for a moment at these strange birds. Why these constant allusions to the u g a -bird, the "raven"? F. Thureau-Dangin gives in RA 16 (1919), after p. 132, pl. II, an illustration of the top of a *kudurru*, which obviously represents the sky. We find there two birds, one at the head of the Hydra, and

²³ Cf. R.D. Biggs, JCS 20 (1966), 80-81.

²⁴ I take u₆.g a as a phonetic writing of the well known u g a mušen.

²⁵ Compare with this RA 8 (1911), 189, no. 8, 4: 2 u d u . b u a d a b mušen, among other birds in list of offerings to Tummal. Å. Sjöberg, TCS, 3 p. 144 explains udu.bu as a "gloss". The u₄.r á . b u -bird is the bird of war, and therefore associated with Inanna (for references, see loc.cit.). The connection between cities and animals is in particular illustrated by the text published by R.D. Biggs, JNES 32 (1973), 26-33, and the link is in my opinion astronomic phenomena, if any.

²⁶ Cf. "The Eternal Cycle" I and passim.

one at its tail. The illustration *ibid.*, p. 135, will inform us that the latter is mul_u g a, the constellation "raven". I think it is reasonable to assume that the tail and the head of the Hydra represent the entrance to the netherworld and the entrance to the sky respectively. I suggest that the other bird is the so-called "swallow-star", later called mulŠIM₂.MAH (cf. P. Gössmann, Planetarium Babylonicum, no. 389). We find it e. g. on the famous Adda-seal (H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XIX), where we have the sun emerging between the mountains and at his head Venus, the morning star, corresponding nicely to the texts we have treated. To their right is the god Enki, from whose shoulders the rivers Euphrates and Tigris emerge. The fish shown in these rivers are in my opinion identical with the shining cosmic fish described in the hymn to Nanše, VS 10 199 III 42 - IV 23, and the bird at his shoulder is the swallow mentioned in the same text, IV 12, as flying above the fish.²⁷ To be sure, the u g a -bird is also mentioned in a Sumerian text, the myth of Inanna and Šukalletuda. It helps Šukalletuda make an orchard, exactly at the entrance to the netherworld (d a g é . n u n . n a, lines 44, 54, and 62), the place where Inanna descends! I think this is enough to show that the astral aspect of these birds is not just a "late" invention, no matter how uncertain the specific identifications may be at the moment. The "temple hymns" are from the very beginning much more concerned with the celestial archetypes of the temples than the concrete temples on earth which really are no more than secondary representations of the celestial "houses".²⁸

Should we proceed along these lines we would have to mention some archaic compositions which R.D. Biggs calls "UD.GAL.NUN" texts.²⁹ Would it be too naive to suggest that this simply means "noble great light"? I cannot believe it, for in later texts we frequently find e. g. u₄.g a l "great light" in descriptions of Venus,³⁰

²⁷ As already correctly suggested by Gössmann, op. cit., p. 389. Cf. a forthcoming treatment of the text by Marie-Louise Thomsen. Admittedly, it is not certain that this bird is identical with the bird at the head of the Hydra (cf. Th. Dangin, RA 16 [1919], 137).

²⁸ I first outlined this theory in "The Eternal Cycle" III, on the basis of a passage in Gudea's dream which explicitly states that Eninnu is the counterpart of a concrete star in the sky. However, this is no more than a rediscovery of ideas which were well known to the earlier generations of Assyriologists. From them they passed over to such useful works as Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (London, 1959). I did not know of this book when I wrote "The Eternal Cycle", but the following quote from pp. 6-9 will demonstrate how well my ideas correspond with what is known from elsewhere: "According to Mesopotamian beliefs, the Tigris has its model in the star Anunit and the Euphrates in the star of the Swallow . . . For the Ural-Altaic peoples the mountains, in the same way, have an ideal prototype in the sky. In Egypt, places and nomes were named after the celestial "fields": first the celestial fields were known, then they were identified in terrestrial geography . . . The temple in particular — pre-eminently the sacred place — had a celestial prototype. On Mount Sinai, Jehovah shows Moses the "form" of the sanctuary that he is to build for him . . . The earliest document referring to the archetype of a sanctuary is Gudea's inscription concerning the temple he built at Lagash. In a dream the king sees the goddess Nidaba, who shows him a tablet on which the beneficent stars are named, and a god who reveals the plan of the temple to him. Cities too have their archetypes in the constellations: Sippar in Cancer, Nineveh in Ursa Major, Assur in Arcturus, etc. Sennacherib has Nineveh built according to the "form . . . delineated from distant ages by the writing of the heaven-of-stars." . . . A celestial Jerusalem was created by God before the city was built by the hand of man . . . We find the same theory in India: all the Indian royal cities, even the modern ones, are built after the mythical model of the celestial city where, in the age of gold (*in illo tempore*) the Universal Sovereign dwelt. And, like the latter, the king attempts to revive the age of gold, to make a perfect reign a present reality . . .". It is tragicomic to observe that the essential ideas in the Gudea Cylinders have been better understood by scholars who have never been able to read a cuneiform sign, than by Assyriologists who wrote entire books about them.

²⁹ Cf. R.D. Biggs, JCS 20 (1966), 81, with n. 57. Published sources: Deimel, Fāra 2 no. 37, dupl. Jestin NTSŠ 117 + Fāra 2 no. 38 (join recognized by A. Westenholz), Fāra 2 no. 39, Jestin, Šuruppak, 79. The texts have been collated from photographs.

³⁰ Thus the incipit to the Inanna-Ninegalla Hymn: u₄.g a l p i r i g a n - n a "Great light, heaven's lion" (SEM 86 obv. 1, dupl. CBS 14187). The text continues by describing Inanna as a cosmic light. When Inanna ascends she spreads a great light on earth (Inanna and Ebih 134: m è m a h b a - r a - a n - è u₄.g a l k i b í - i n - ú a).

and *nun*, "noble", fits well as an epithet to astral phenomena.³¹ Within the texts we find what I suggest could be invocations of cosmic lights, e. g. Fāra 2, no. 37 XII 1'6', partial duplicate Jestin, NTSS 117, rev. 2, 2'8':

u ₄ uru nám.nun-kam ₄	It is the light of "The Noble City",
u ₄ kur ki-kam ₄	it is the light of the mountain of the netherworld,
u ₄ kur an-kam ₄	it is the light of the mountain of heaven, ³²
u ₄ kur ĤAR-kam ₄	it is the light of the mountain of . . .
u ₄ kur IGI.ĤAR-kam ₄	it is the light of the mountain of . . .
u ₄ kur urudu-kam ₄	it is the light of the mountain of copper.

Within the text various birds seem to be mentioned,³³ and we note the frequent mention of Šuruppak (e. g. Fāra 2 no. 39 IV 5), as well as the "whirl" (ibid. V 15). It is too early to suggest an interpretation of these, but there is a passage which can be translated with reasonable certainty (Fāra 2 no. 39, VII 5 - VIII 8). In VII 8-18 we note the sequence: *dnanna*, *dinanna*, *dnisaba*, *dgibil*, *dašgi*. The exact identification of Nisaba and Ašgi would demand a lengthy study,³⁴ but I think there are reasons to believe that this sequence represents the moon, Venus, Mercury, celestial fire, and Jupiter.³⁵

³¹ Cf. e. g. Kesh Hymn 24 (TCS 3, p. 168): *má.gur₈ nun-gim an-na diri-ga* "floating in the sky like the noble magur-boat", referring to the moon. Actually, *nun* seems to imply something supernatural. Thus, in Gudea Cylinder A I 26: *sipa-me nam.nun.né sag ma-a-b-sum-sum*, I would translate freely: "I, the shepherd, have experienced something supernatural". In the incipit to the Kesh Hymn (and other incipits as well), why not simply take *nám.nun-né* as a phonetic writing for *nam.nun-né*? Actually the archaic version has *[n]am.nun-né* (see R.D. Biggs, ZA 61 [1971], 200 and 204), and it is not "obviously an epithet of Enlil" (G. Gragg, TCS 3, p. 177), for the parallelism in line 3 demands a word parallel to *nam.lugal-la*.

³² This certainly remains of the term *hur.sag an ki-bi-da*, for which see now Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 51, n. 2. I also refer to R.D. Biggs, JNES 32 (1973), 31, col. X 6': *dnin.tu nin an.ki* "Nintu, lady of heaven and underworld". It would be naive to believe that one could understand such a term simply by collecting a number of references, but again Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, p. 12-15 might be useful: "The architectonic symbolism of the Center may be formulated as follows: 1. The Sacred Mountain — where heaven and earth meet — is situated at the center of the world. 2. Every temple or palace — and, by extension, every sacred city or royal residence — is a Sacred Mountain, thus becoming a Center. 3. Being an *axis mundi*, the sacred city or temple is regarded as the meeting point of heaven, earth, and hell. — A few examples will illustrate each of these symbols: 1. According to Indian beliefs, Mount Meru rises at the center of the world, and above it shines the polestar. The Ural-Altaic peoples also knew of a central mountain, Sumeru, to whose summit the polestar is fixed . . . According to Mesopotamian beliefs, a central mountain joins heaven and earth; it is the Mount of the Lands, the connection between territories. Properly speaking, the ziggurat was a cosmic mountain, i. e., a symbolic image of the cosmos . . . 2. The names of the Babylonian temples and sacred towers themselves testify to their assimilation to the cosmic mountain: "Mount of the House," "House of the Mount of All Lands." . . . 3. Finally, because of its situation at the center of the cosmos, the temple or sacred city is always the meeting point of the three cosmic regions: heaven, earth, and hell. *Dur-an-ki*, "Bond of Heaven and Earth," was the name given to the sanctuaries of Nippur and Larsa . . ." We should not too readily dismiss all the valuable information we receive here. Unless we understand these ideas, we shall never hope to be able to translate basic terms in Mesopotamian texts with some degree of justification.

³³ Apparently Fāra 2 no. 39 ends with a praise to a bird. We read (X 3-4): *ŠIR.BUR.GIMušen kur LAK 654 UDU, PA UD NUN za.g.me*. One could perhaps obtain useful information from a comparison with birds in Egyptian mythology.

³⁴ Cf. "The Eternal Cycle", Introduction, IV and V.

³⁵ The celestial fire should be viewed in relation to the phenomenon I call "the cosmic oven", cf. "The Eternal Cycle" IV. As to the mythological implications I refer to G. de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend, *Hamlet's Mill*, p. 321: "It was stated earlier [p. 140] and should be re-stated here that "fire" was thought of as a great circle reaching from one celestial pole to the other . . . Considering that the equinoctial colure of the Golden Age ran through Gemini (and Sagittarius), the fire sticks in Gemini offer a correct thyme to a verse in a Mon-

This passage reads:

8	<i>dnanna uri₃ +na áb MUN</i>
9	<i>nám mu-rig₇ (DU+KAB)</i>
10	<i>dinanna UD u₄.si_x (SIG).an_x (EZEN×AN)</i>
11	<i>nám mu-ur₄</i>
12	<i>áb si UD.UD mu-rig₇</i>
13	<i>dnisaba UDU naga</i>
14	<i>nám mu-ur₄</i>
15	<i>dgibil áb si ŠÈ</i>
16	<i>nám mu-rig₇</i>
17	<i>dŠARXDIŠ nir GÍD NUN</i>
18	<i>nám mu-ur₄</i>

- 8-9 Nanna was bestowed a standard, a . . . cow, as his distinctive mark,³⁶
 10-11 Inanna was provided with the evening light as her distinctive mark,³⁷
 12 she was bestowed a cow with shining horns as her distinctive mark,
 13-14 Nisaba was provided with the lye plant(?)³⁸ as her distinctive mark,
 15-16 Gibil was bestowed a cow with . . . horns as his distinctive mark,
 17-18 Ašgi was provided with a . . . as his distinctive mark.

I definitely believe that these texts speak in favor of the assumption that the astral aspect of the Sumerian gods is as old as Sumerian literature itself.

The final step in our investigation will be another archaic literary composition, Fāra 2, no. 40.³⁹ I would point out that, although it largely remains unintelligible, its introductory passage seems to follow a pattern which is very similar to "Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra". I suggest that a danger threatening the city Šuruppak is referred to in II 4-5: *uru sá₈ág DI nu-du₄, é šuruppak sá₈ág DI nu-du₄* "let not(?) the city be destroyed, let not(?) the House Šuruppak be destroyed". This is followed by a great summoning (II 12 - IV 10). The similarity in phraseology with Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra is obvious.⁴⁰ Compare the former *si gù ba-ra*, and (name of place) *zi.ga ba-gar* (passim), with the latter 24: *uru-a-ni zi.ga₁₄ ba-ni-gar*, and 25: *si gù ba-ni-ra*. It is not impossible that the structural similarity between the two compositions goes farther than that. However, the summoned "army" which we would

golian nuptial prayer which says: "Fire was born, when Heaven and Earth separated"; in other words, before the falling apart of ecliptic and equator, there was no "fire", the first being kindled in the Golden Age of the Twins."

³⁶ This simply refers to the horns always seen on the heads of the gods on the cylinder seals. Note that our text uses *nám* where later texts would use *me*. This cannot surprise us in view of the observations made by J. van Dijk, OLZ 62 (1967), 234: *nam* is derived from *ana.me*. A. Draffkorn Kilmer, *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 3 (1971), 309, has made a fine observation with regard to the understanding of the term *me*: "lines 22-24 [of Inanna's Descent] describe Inanna's gathering together the necessary *me's* . . . There follows an enumeration of nine ornaments with which she adorns herself. Later in the story, when she reaches the gateway of the netherworld, she is forced to remove seven of these same articles at each of seven gates. If one identifies these seven ornaments with the seven *me's* of line 22, then Inanna's powerlessness while in the netherworld . . . may clearly be understood". This expresses the quintessence of *me*, which is really something visible, in fact basically divine radiance. The similarity between our text and *Enuma Eliš* V 16 is obvious.

³⁷ This of course refers to Inanna as the evening star.

³⁸ Nisaba is elsewhere connected with the *naga*-plant, cf. Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 148.

³⁹ According to R.D. Biggs, JCS 20 (1966), 81, n. 61, there exists a similar text from Abu Salabikh, AbS-T 281.

⁴⁰ Cf. already Å. Sjöberg, *Studien Falkenstein*, p. 205, n. 7.

then have to assume in our text, is hardly an earthly one. The following section of the text takes place in Abzu, where they call upon Enki (e. g. V 1-2: *en ensi₂.gal abzu GAR ak gù mu-na-dé*, and VII 10-11: *é.ná EZENXKÙ₂ d₂en.ki DU, d₂en.ki ná gù mu-dé⁴¹*). We know that the astral bodies had to pass through the Abzu, and that they received their power to return from Enki, and I would suggest that this is referred to here.⁴² Their request is perhaps expressed in VII 7-8, namely to grant eternal life to the House Šuruppak (I read tentatively: *é šuruppak nam.ma.ti da.rí da.rí*). In my opinion the standard introduction to a large number of hymns, such as the Kesh hymn, archaic texts like Jestin, NTSŠ 82, Gudea Cylinder A, and the Nanše Hymn (Kramer, SLTN 67 and dupls.), is a praise to the rising of the "house" as a constellation.⁴³ Thus, the eternal return of "The House Šuruppak" on the starry sphere could be intended here. It remains to be mentioned that the text is filled with entries which presumably have cosmic significance, e. g. the uga-bird, mentioned together with Inanna in IV 14-16, the "observation post and matrix of the netherworld(?)" (IV 18: *é.uri₃ aga_x (ERIN).rin unu⁴⁴*), and various birds (VI 3: *gi₆ DU ŠIR.BURmušen gi₆* "at(?) night, the black ŠIR.BUR-bird", VII 4-5: *tu^{mušen} mu-da-du-du* "the tu-bird is following", VII 6: *ŠIM₂ mušen*, and VII 7: *su-din^{mušen} mušen dingir-ra mu-da-du-du⁴⁵*). To penetrate into the implications of these phenomena is not the concern of a lexicographical study, but future study should prove fruitful along the lines suggested here. At the moment we must be satisfied with a tentative approach. However, the conception of Šuruppak as an eternal mythical city, which I think is involved here, would seem to be on the right track. It agrees nicely with the tradition of the Gilgameš epic, according to which Šuruppak was the city of eternal life, the place where the gods lived before the flood, and could be viewed in connection with the information contained in the Sumerian king list, and the Sumerian flood story as well, that Šuruppak was one of the five ante-diluvian cities.⁴⁶ Further, it explains why the famous wisdom composition,

⁴¹ We find a very similar idea in the introduction to Enki and Ninmah, for which see J. van Dijk, Acta Or. 28 (1964), 24-26. EZENXKÙ would seem to be an archaic writing for kù.

⁴² Cf. "The Eternal Cycle" II and IX.

⁴³ The most interesting text in this regard is Nanše Hymn 40-57. We find there described the ritual songs at the sound of which the "house" rises "to the little sickle" (43: *uruduKIN tur-re*). Actually, "The House Šuruppak" has wide mythological implications. We learn from Akkadian Gilgameš XI 13 that in ancient times the gods lived in Šuruppak. It is a basic thought in G. de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend, Hamlet's Mill, that in the golden age the entrance to the netherworld coincided with the place where the gods lived. Later (as a result of the astronomic phenomenon called the precession) this happy state of things was changed. Therefore, in order to obtain eternal life, Gilgameš has to search for a "new way" (op. cit., p. 448) to the netherworld. It would take many scholars by surprise if we could prove that these ideas go back to the Fāra period, but why should they not?

⁴⁴ The Akkadian equivalent of *é.uri₃* is *bīt dimmātim*. This appears from an unpublished *dingir.šà. dib.ba* text which has kindly been made available to me by W.G. Lambert. The term is used in SLTN 61, 88 and 91-93 as an epithet to Ninurta. — *agarin*, "matrix, as a cosmic symbol, is known from Nanše Hymn 10.

⁴⁵ Note that according to The Hymn to the Hoe 83, the "bird of the gods" is called *al.ti.rí.k^{mušen}*. I suspect that the similarity between the sequence in our text, VII 4-7: *tu^{mušen}, ŠIM₂ mušen, su-din^{mušen}*, and the following one in Akkadian Gilgameš XI 146-153: *summatu(TU)mušen, sinūtu(ŠIM₂)mušen, āribu*, is more than accidental. — In UET 6,70 obv. 3, dupl. Ni 9808. Ningišzida is called "the falcon on the gods".

⁴⁶ Scholars have been much too eager to reduce the ante-diluvian section of the King List to a not integral part of the composition (see Th. Jacobsen, AS 11, pp. 55-68; cf. also E. Sollberger, JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 280, n. 7). G. de Santillana and H. von Dechend, Hamlet's Mill, pp. 57 ff. and passim have tried to explain the myth of the flood by means of an astronomic phenomenon, the precession of the sun. The slow "backwards" movement of the position of the sun at vernal equinox from one zodiacal constellation into another marks the world ages. Anyway, the ante-diluvian section deals with the most important thing of all, the frame of time. Why should it be so profitable to deprive the Sumerian literature of a whole dimension? And how could a text possibly start with "After the Flood had swept thereover" if the existence of a preceding tale is not taken for granted?

The Instructions of Šuruppak to his Son Ziusudra, already according to Early Dynastic sources was handed down from that very place through the father who bears the name of the city.⁴⁷

The evolutionary conception of mankind has dominated Oriental studies so long that even today outstanding cuneiformists believe that within the few thousand years of Mesopotamian history covered by our sources, the gods changed from being numina to anthropomorphic gods.⁴⁸ Not until "later" periods would such people be able to make astronomic observations. Yet, as the evidence stands out, the earliest aspects of Mesopotamian literature seem to be exactly these: celestial functions and wisdom literature. Stonehenge has witnessed about detailed neolithic knowledge of complicated astronomic cycles, so accurate, that it has taken modern experts equipped with computers by surprise. Reasonably thinking scholars have thought similar observations to be depicted on prehistoric paintings.⁴⁹ With this in mind it would be interesting to compare our Sumerian king list with the great Iranian Epic of the Kings, Šāhnāma.⁵⁰ It contains material which goes so far back in history that we find it reflected in otherwise independent Indian tradition. Scholars of the capacity of G. de Santillana and H. von Dechend (Hamlet's Mill, pp. 36-50) have shown that its essential parts represent a cosmological drama. Who has ever thought of the possibility that an astronomer might be able to contribute something to the understanding of all these strange numbers in the king list? Is it conceivable that the king list which has been handed down to us represents only the frame of a multitude of stories which could have been expanded into a large epic, similar to the Iranian one? I definitely believe that the few "bibliographical" data scattered in the text suggest this. The mythical disappearance of Kai Khusrāu in the sky would throw new light on the story of Etana "who ascended to heaven".⁵¹ The mythical reign of the sun is clearly hinted by a phrase which states that Meskiaggāšer, the predecessor of Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgameš, himself being "the son of the Sun", undertook the journey of the sun.⁵² When Firdawsi collected his poem, he knew what it was

⁴⁷ I have refrained from discussing the archaic sources to this composition here, since it will be done in my forthcoming edition. Th. Jacobsen, AS 11, p. 76, n. 32, comments on the name of Šuruppak as follows: "As Landsberger . . . has convincingly suggested, SU-KUR-LAM should be read simply Shuruppak, and this ruler owes his existence to an old misinterpretation of the phrase *zi-u-sud-ra dumu* SU-KUR-LAM (i. e. Šuruppak), "Zi-u-sud-ra, the man from Shuruppak," in which the city name was taken to be a personal name: "Zi-u-sud-ra, the son of Shuruppak." An admirable scrutiny enabled the modern scholars to trace a "misinterpretation" back to the third millennium B.C. However, the ancient scribes knew what they were doing. In the archaic sources the father is called Šuruppak, while the name of the son is not even given. (It should be noted that ÚR.AŠ, taken by R. Biggs, and M. Civil, RA 60 [1966], 2, as the name of the son in the archaic sources, presumably should be understood as an epithet to Šuruppak).

⁴⁸ Th. Jacobsen, Or NS 42 (1973), 295.

⁴⁹ W. Gaerte, Kosmische Vorstellungen im Bilde prähistorischer Zeit: Erdberg, Himmelberg, Erdnabel und Weltströme, (Anthropos 9), Salzburg, 1914, pp. 956-79. The book mentioned in Antiquity, vol 47 no. 187, p. 248, Rolf Müller, Der Himmel über dem Menschen der Steinzeit, Astronomie und Mathematik der Megalithkulturen (Berlin, 1970), has not been accessible to me. See further G.S. Hawkins and J.B. White, Stonehenge explained (Copenhagen, 1968), original English title: Stonehenge Decoded.

⁵⁰ I have used an English prose translation, Ferdowsi, The Epic of the Kings, translated by Reuben Levy (London, 1967). In passing I mention the obvious similarity in structure between the Enmerkar epics and some Iranian epic tales which have been treated by Arthur Christensen, "La légende du sage Buzurjmihr", Acta Or. 8 (1930), 81-128.

⁵¹ The myth of Etana is not only reflected in the king list, but also in another similar text, cf. M. Civil, JNES 28 (1969), 72, and RA 63 (1969), 179.

⁵² AS 11, pp. 85-86, III 1-6: "Meskiaggāšer, son of Utu . . . went into the sea and came out (from it) to the mountains." Th. Jacobsen states, very appropriately (n. 114): "that the journey of Meskiaggāšer, . . . obviously reflects the daily journey of the sun. In the evening the sun goes down into the sea in the west. During the night it travels underground, and in the morning it comes out to the mountains in the east. Crossing over them, it then appears again to the world". However, our reflections should not stop here. The idea that an early ruler undertook the journey of the sun may express a whole philosophy.

about. No wonder, therefore, that he introduced it by a prologue which contains: 1) a praise to wisdom, 2) a description of the creation of the world, specifically the planets, fire, sun and moon. The similarity with Sumerian texts, even in the details of the descriptions, are not accidental. These have been the central concerns of mankind for thousands of years. It would be a mistake to assume that astronomic observations could only be expressed through lists of explicitly stated numbers. Numerous Sumerian hymns take place solely on the starry sphere, describing gods and temples as shining cosmic lights, constantly repeating the terms of the celestial colours, "green, lapis lazuli, divine radiance," etc. (*si g₇, za.gìn, me.lám*). These are the central concerns of Mesopotamian religion.⁵³

Anzu and Šimurgh

Jussi Aro, Helsinki

The purpose of this paper is to show how certain folkloristic motifs that are somehow connected with a mythical giant bird (Sumerian *A n z u*) or an eagle, have survived in various contexts until the present day, especially in the Near East and in Europe, and perhaps more frequently than elsewhere in an area that, geographically, is not very far from the ancient Sumer, viz., Kurdistan. It is hoped that Professor Kramer, who, among many other things, has contributed to the recovery of the Sumerian Lugalbanda Epic and has written about the "firsts" in Sumerian literature, will be delighted by the following "lasts".

The mythical bird Anzu in Mesopotamian literature has two opposite functions. In the Lugalbanda Epic, with which we are primarily concerned here, it is a positive, friendly being. The hero comes to the nest of Anzu when the bird itself is absent and feeds its young with honey cakes and sheep's fat and decorates it with antimon paste and cedar twigs. The returning bird, not hearing the cry of its young, becomes anxious; but when it sees how its young has been fed and decorated, the anxiety gives way to self-congratulatory exclamations. Then the hero comes from his hiding-place and praises the bird which rewards the hero with its blessings. The rest of the contents of the epic are not relevant for our present theme.¹

Another type of Anzu occurs in the Sumerian composition *L u g a l - e* and in the Akkadian Anzû (formerly Zû) Epic, in which the bird represents demonic powers and is vanquished by the god Ninurta. This type of Anzu does not concern us here.²

For our present purpose we are also interested in the eagle occurring in the Akkadian Etana Epic. An eagle and a snake make a holy covenant that neither of them will harm the other. In spite of this, the eagle later devours the young of the snake and is punished by the Sun-God. Some kind of atonement is provided by the hero Etana who is looking for the "plant of birth" in order to obtain offspring. The eagle is willing to carry him to heaven upon its shoulders. The plan does not seem to lead to a successful completion, because Etana is frightened by the terrible height. He seems, however, to have obtained the plant, because other fragments of the epic presuppose that he sired a son. What interests us here is the idea of "space-travel" with an eagle and the conversation between Etana and the eagle:

⁵³ In Th. Jacobsen's study, "Ancient Mesopotamian Religion: The Central Concerns", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963), 473-484, one will find expressed the evolutionary idea par excellence. According to Th. Jacobsen, the "central concerns" of the fourth, third, second, and first millennium were famine, the sword, guilt, and moral responsibility respectively.

¹ Cf. C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, pp. 97 ff.

² Cf. H.W. Haussig, ed., *Wörterbuch der Mythologie, Mesopotamien*, s.v. Zu; ANET, pp. 111-113.

The eagle says to him, to Etana:
 "See, my friend, how the land appears!
 Peer at the sea at the sides of E[kur]!"
 "The land . . . a mountain,
 the sea has become like waters of [. . .]"
 When he had born him aloft a second league,
 the eagle says to him, to Etana:
 "See, my friend, how the land appears!"
 "The land has turned to a gardener's ditch."³

Etana and the eagle arrive at the heaven of Anu, and there is a break in the text; after that they presumably rise even higher. The conversation is continued on similar lines: e.g. the sea looks after one league's flight like an enclosure, after two leagues the land is like a garden and the sea like a trough. At last Etana cannot see anything, and he is panicked: "My friend, I will not ascend to heaven." The eagle descends with enormous speed to the ground.

The motif of Etana's flight to heaven with an eagle occurs again in Hellenistic, Jewish, and Arabic literature, usually with a moralizing bias: man must not attempt to ascend to heaven. The story contained in the so-called Alexander-romance is summarized by Langdon in his "Semitic Mythology".⁴ The conception of the story differs from the Etana myth in that the eagle of Etana conceived of as half-human is replaced by two great birds whom Alexander deprived of food for three days. "He then put them under a yoke, and attached the hide of a bull to the yoke. A basket was fastened to the yoke, into which he climbed, bearing a long spear. To the end of this spear he attached the liver of a horse. The liver he held high above the heads of the hungry birds; in their eagerness to reach it they carried him upward." High above in space Alexander is rebuked for his hybris by a bird-man and he has to turn back. When he looked at the earth, it was like a threshing-floor, surrounded by a serpent, which was the sea.

In Islamic legends told by the commentators of the Qur'an, especially at-Tabarī, the same story is told about Nimrod (ar. Namrūd), and utilized to explain the words of Surah 14,46: "They plotted their plots: but God could master their plots, even though their plots had been so powerful as to move the mountains." When Nimrod was unable to burn Abraham in the fiery furnace, he wanted to ascend unto heaven and fight the God of Abraham. He fed four young eagles until they became big and strong, attached them to a box and held bits of flesh above their heads so that they began flying towards heaven. When Nimrod was reasonably high up in the air he looked to the earth. The mountains were like ants. After a while he looked again, and the earth was like a round disk surrounded by the sea. In another tradition quoted by at-Tabarī he has a companion with him, whom he asks: "What do you see?" — "I see water and an island." After a while he asks again: "What do you see?" — "We are still far from heaven." Nimrod was frightened and let the flesh fall. Then the eagles descended with such speed that mountains bowed down when they heard the sound caused by their wings. This detail provides the connection to the Qur'anic verse: "even though their plots had been so powerful as to move the mountains."⁵

The Arabic tale is later retold with approximately identical contents but with more detail and appropriate curses on Nimrod in the first chapter of *Sīrat 'Antar*.⁶ In Firdausi's *Shāhnāme* the same theme is applied to the mythical Iranian king Kai Kaus, who resorts to a similar undertaking at the instigation of the Devil. The dialogue characteristic to the motif does not figure in the *Shāhnāme*.⁷

³ Translation adapted from that of E.A. Speiser in ANET, p. 118.

⁴ The Mythology of All Races 5: Semitic (Norwood, Mass. 1931), p. 174, with reference to Millet, "L'Ascension d'Alexandre", Syria 4 (1925), 83-133.

⁵ At-Tabarī, Ta'riḥ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk (Leiden ed.), 1, pp. 321-323.

⁶ *Sīrat 'Antar* (Cairo, A.H. 130 6) pp. 32 ff.

⁷ *Shāhnāme* (ed. Mohl), 2, 31-34; cf. also Encyclopedia of Islam, s.v. Namrūd.

In later Iranian folklore the space-travel motif is attached to the Iranian mythical bird Sīmurgh. The name is known already from the Avesta and the Pahlavi books (*sæna*, pahl. *sēn*, *sēn-murv*) but the holy books mention the bird only in passing. In the *Shāhnāme*, the Sīmurgh occurs (as in the Sumerian tradition) in two different aspects. It plays a benevolent role for example, when it carries the child Zāl to its nest and fosters him. When Zāl is ready to leave the bird, it gives one of its feathers to him to be used in case of need. In other stories a maleficent Sīmurgh occurs; such a one is killed by the hero Isfandiyār. The *Shāhnāme* stories about Sīmurgh do not much resemble the ancient Mesopotamian myths with which we are concerned.⁸

The Mesopotamian background comes more clearly to the fore in some Kurdish folk-tales that have recently been collected and published. The Sīmurgh or eagle motif is usually combined with various other stories which do not necessarily have anything to do with it. The hero has been sent, for one reason or the other, on a dangerous journey, and he has arrived at an uninhabited place. There he rests under a big tree and sees that a snake or a dragon is just about to eat the young of a big bird. The hero kills the snake and goes to sleep. The bird arrives and sees the hero sleeping. It thinks that this is the enemy who has eaten its young in several previous years, but the young tell the bird that the hero has, on the contrary, saved them. The bird is thankful and promises to do for the hero anything he wishes. The hero has an arduous task to accomplish and he has to get to a far-away place; the difficulties are so great that even the bird exclaims: "Would it be that my young had been devoured this time too, it would be more pleasant to me than helping you to get there!" But because of the solemn vow that the bird has given, it carries the hero to his destination and in some versions also gives him a feather that he has to burn at a critical juncture so that the bird can come to help him again.

A good example of this kind of a story is that of "Usufschah und seine Brüder, Gul und Simo", a Kurmandji story from Tūr 'Abdīn.⁹ The episode of the Sīmurgh (kurdish *Sīmīr*) occurs, after many other adventures, in the paragraphs 237 ff. "Er marschierte zwei nächte und zwei tage in der steppe, einem gebirge ohne mutter und vater (ohne menschen) . . ." Already this resembles Lugalbanda, lines 3-4: a m a n u - m u - u n - d a - a n - t i n a <n u> - m u - u n - r i - r i / a - a n u - m u - u n - d [a - a n - t i] i n i m n u - m u - u n - d i - n i - b - b é. Then the story continues along similar lines as in the general summary given above. When the Sīmurgh promises to carry Usufschah to the place of Gul and Simo and Usufschah rides on its back towards the skies, we get an episode that reminds us of Etana and the eagle: "(254) Usufschah schwang sich auf den rücken des Vogels Simurgh, und der Vogel Simurgh erhob sich gen himmel. (255) Er erhob sich gen himmel und stieg immer höher und höher und höher. Da sagte er zu Usufschah: Wie groß siehst du jetzt die welt? — Ich sehe sie so groß wie ein teppich. — Der Vogel sprach: Halte dich gut fest! (256) Er stieg noch höher und sprach: Wie groß siehst du jetzt die welt? — So groß wie ein tablett. — Halte dich gut fest! Er flog noch höher und sprach: Wie groß erscheint dir die welt? — Ich sehe gar nichts mehr, die welt ist ganz (wie) ein meer. — Wieder sprach der vogel: Halte dich gut fest! Ich werde dich hinunterlassen. — (257) Usufschah klammerte sich an den flügel des vogels und das tier ließ sich "mirrrrr" wie ein flugzeug, mitten auf dem dache von Sīmō nieder."

Similar Kurdish stories are those of Ahmad and Fāzūhur and Mahmud and Simenswar;¹⁰ but these differ in that they place no emphasis on the terrifying height of the flight. In the last-mentioned story the hero has to get provisions for the eagle (seven oxhide waterskins and seven young fatted rams, as fat as full-grown rams), and he completes a journey of seven years in seven months with Sīmurgh. The motif of procuring provisions is also wellknown from European variants of the motif of travelling with an eagle.¹¹

⁸ Cf. Encyclopedia of Islam s.v. Sīmurgh with literature.

⁹ H. Ritter, Oriens 21-22 (1969), 17 ff.

¹⁰ D.N. Mackenzie, Kurdish Dialect Studies, 2 (London, 1962), pp. 42 ff, 121.

¹¹ Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens, 1 (Leipzig, 1930-33) s.v. "Adler".

The motif of the grateful bird also occurs in Turkish fairytales, e.g. in the well-known collection Billur Köşk.¹² The episode, situated in the midst of a complicated fairy-tale, contains the Anzu-motif (the hero saves the young of the bird) and the motif of feeding the bird (the hero gives at last his own flesh to the bird to eat) which are told in an artistically detailed way. Because in this tale the bird brings the hero back from the netherworld, the space-travel motif of Etana is absent. But this motif appears again (without the Anzu motif) in the Neo-syriac tale published by H. Ritter where a wise old bird is fed so that it is able to carry the hero to a faraway place: "So, wie heutzutage ein flugzeug startet, erhob sich der vogel gen himmel, bis der jüdling die erde nicht mehr sah. Er trug ihn empor, so hoch, daß die erde vor seinen blicken in den volken verschwand. Dann, nachdem er ihn erst so hoch gehoben hatte, ließ er den jüdling über dem garten des Gúlbārān herab . . ."¹³ The space-travel motif is present, but the dialogue has disappeared.

Thus the two motifs which go back to Lugalbanda and Etana respectively, are not always combined. Such combination must, however, be rather frequent in a more distant Iranian area too. I can only refer to a recent publication in Uzbek and Russian where the motif which belongs to otherwise unpublished variants of manuscript no. 802, is summarized as follows (translated from the Russian): "Rustam travels together with his mother to the country of the devs and the peris. They stop at a desert spot and there spend two days. On the third day Rustam asks his mother whether it is possible for him to go to the steppe of Izgir. She gives her permission and Rustam sets off. When he climbs upon a hill at the juncture of the seven rivers, Rustam sees a plane-tree growing at the river bank and a bird's nest on its top. Rustam looks to the other side and sees two dragons lying on the black ground. He leaps from his horse, goes to the dragons and kills them. The bird Sī-murgh comes to the spot and is delighted upon seeing the killed dragons. It says to Rustam: 'You did a good deed in killing the dragons. Every day they ate one of my young. Say what good deed can I do for you?' Rustam says that he has to get to the bottom of the river of the brilliants. Sīmurgh answers: 'Sit on my back, and I shall fly off. You look to the earth and when the earth becomes as small as a kettle, you say to me: "Catch!", and I shall throw myself as a stone into the river and divide it into two halves; then you can pick up the brilliants from the bottom.'"¹⁴

It is certain that a good many other variants and references could be added almost in infinitum. Let us only mention that the Etana tale has reached even Finland, via Eastern Europe.¹⁵

Can we be sure that the fairy-tale motifs mentioned above really go back to ancient Mesopotamian sources and that they have been transmitted either orally or in a literary form for some four thousand years? I think we can. It is true that the fairy-tale versions of the Lugalbanda-Anzu story differ from the original: the hero does not feed or decorate the young but saves them from a dragon or a snake; the latter versions are of course more logical and expressive. But still the modern versions preserve many characteristic features of the original: there is the lonely place, the tree, the bird's nest with the young, the bird's suspicions when returning to the nest, the role of the young in appeasing the bird, the help bestowed by the bird on the hero, etc. The most characteristic feature of the Etana-motif again is the speculation on space-travel and the successively diminished appearance of the earth that is described preferably by a dialogue between the bird and the hero or between two persons in the primitive spaceship. In this episode there is a bit of old Mesopotamian "science-fiction" that has subsequently been turned in Hellenistic and later literature into a warning against hybris and in the folk-tales to a mere embellishment of the story.

¹² Cf. O. Spies, *Türkische Volksmärchen*, 4 (Düsseldorf - Köln, 1967), p. 313.

¹³ H. Ritter, *Tūrōyo: Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Tūr'abdīn*, 2 (Beirut, 1969), p. 67.

¹⁴ N.V. Kidais-Pokrovskaja, *Rustamkhan* (Moscow, 1972), p. 322. This work also contains further references to a similar story occurring in a Tajik tale "The bear-hero" (Med'ved-bogatyr), *Tadžikskije skazki* (1961), p. 151, in S.E. Malov, "Lobnorskiy yazyk" (Frunze, 1956), p. 30, and in an Uzbek tale *Semurg kuš* (manuscript in the possession of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences).

¹⁵ Cf. M. Haavio, *Der Etanamythos in Finnland*, and Aarne-Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, no. 537.

HS 156: Verteilung von ħarbu-Grundstücksbau

Inez Bernhardt, Radebeul-West

* * * *

In honor of Professor Samuel Noah Kramer, as a small token of gratitude, it is my pleasure to make available to the scholarly world the transliteration of the following cuneiform text from the Hilprecht-Sammlung, HS 156 (Pl. I-II*).*

* * * *

Vorderseite

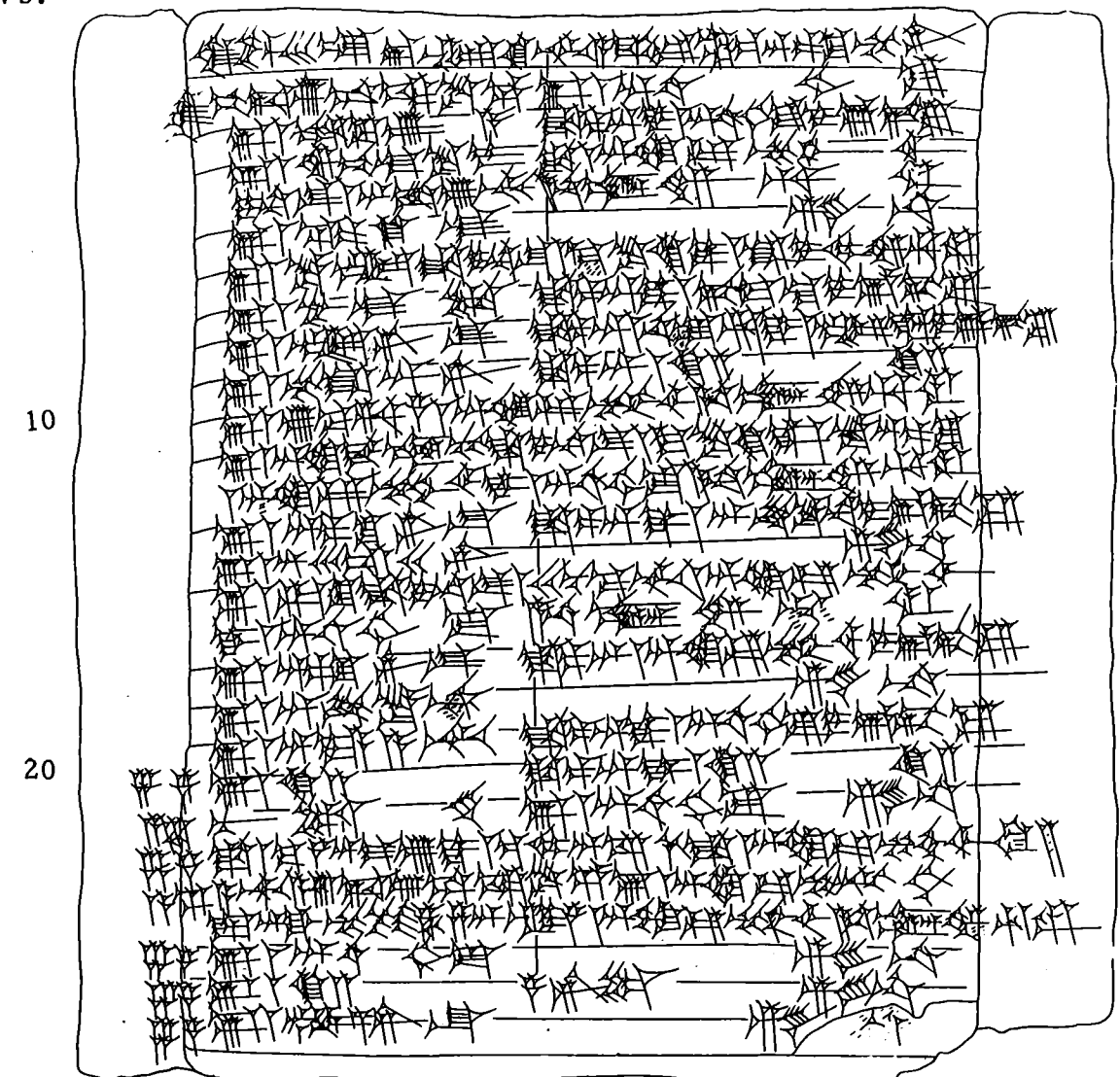
1. ħar-bu.MEŠ ṣi-bit dEN.LÍL^{ki} TI A.GÀR URU BÀD.^{dNusku} MU.NI
2. ħar-bi ÚS.SA.DU ka-le-e É I dUTU-lit-su
3. É I¹Il-lu-ú-a ṣa pa-an DUMU I dUTU-lit-su i-dag-ga-lu
4. É I¹Im-bi-la-li-i ṣa I dNin-urta-mu-ṣal-lim
5. i-na ŠU I dAMAR.UD-kit-ti a-na ŠÁM im-ḥu-ru
6. É I¹Sag-gi₅-la GINA
7. É I¹SUM- dEn-líl ṣa i-na ŠU I¹Ma-li-ki DUMU I¹Ra-i-mi im-ḥu-ru
8. É I¹Bu-la-li ṣa pa-an DUMU I¹Ga-ma-la i-dag-ga-lu
9. É I dEn-líl-ni-ṣu ṣa pa-an I¹Na-ṣi-ri DUMU I dEn-líl-BÁRA i-dag-ga-lu
10. É I¹Mu-ra-an-ni ṣa pa-an I¹KI.MIN KI.MIN
11. É I¹Ú-ba-ri ṣa I dNin-urta-mu-ṣal-lim a-na ŠÁM im-ḥu-ru
12. É I dNin-imma(SIG₇)-ÁG-NUMUN ṣa i-na ŠU I¹Ma-li-ki DUMU I¹SUM-^{dNusku}
13. I dNin-urta-mu-ṣal-lim DUMU I dUTU-lit-su a-na ŠÁM im-ḥu-ru
14. I dNusku-ni-ṣu ṣa pa-an DUMU I dŠEŠ.KI-SUM^{na} i-dag-ga-lu
15. É I dXXX-iš-man-ni GINA
16. É I¹p-qué ṣa i-na ŠU I¹Man-nu-ma-ti I dNin-urta-mu-ṣal-lim
17. DUMU I dUTU-lit-su a-na ŠÁM im-ḥu-ru
18. É I dNusku-ni-ṣu ṣa pa-an I dNin-urta-mu-ṣal-lim i-dag-ga-lu
19. É I dŠEŠ.KI-SUM^{na} GINA
20. É I¹DINGIR-ya-a-ti ṣa pa-an DUMU I dUTU-lit-su i-dag-ga-lu
21. 5 NINDA É I¹KI.MIN ṣa pa-an DUMU I¹KI.MIN KI.MIN

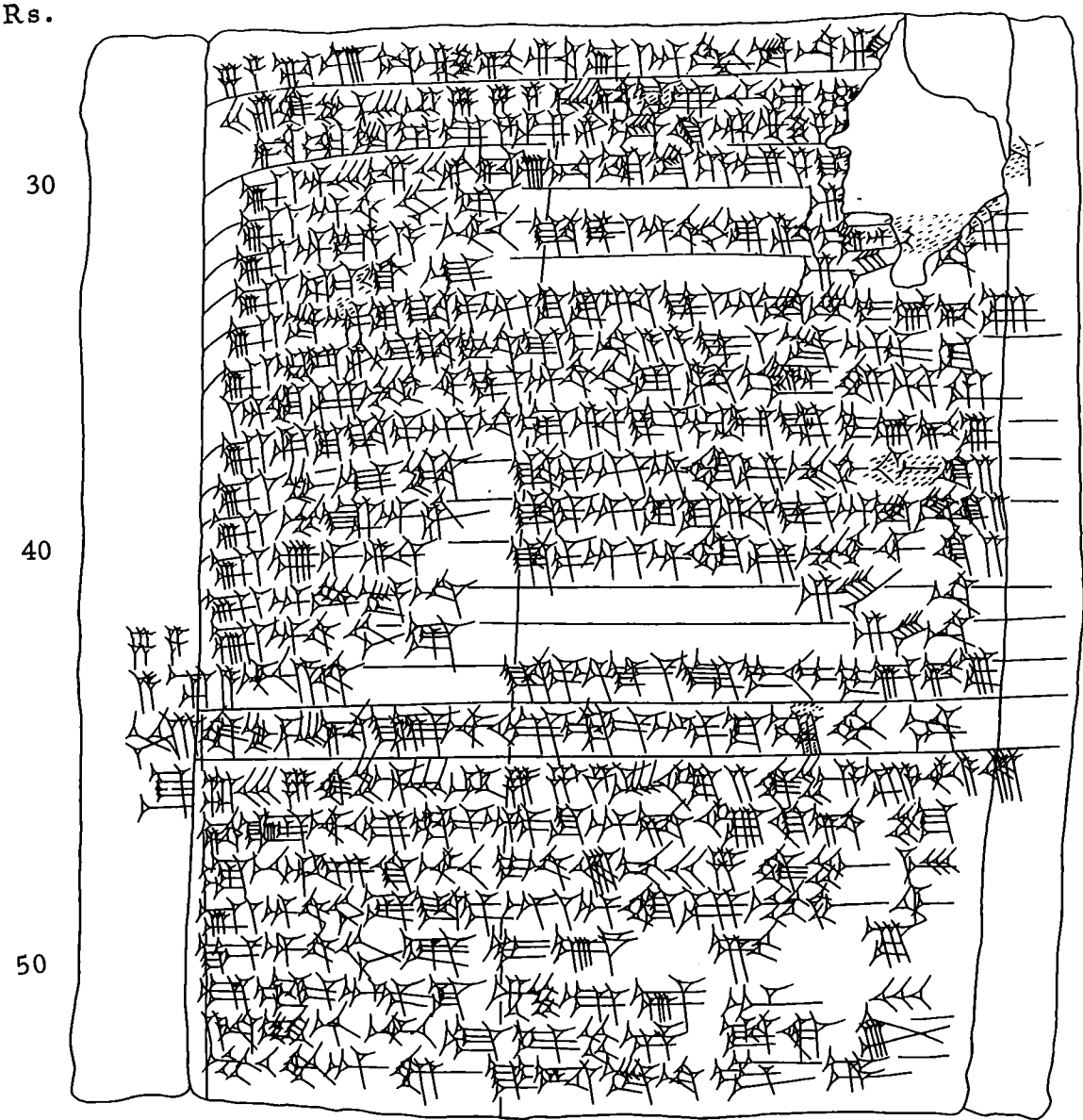
22. A.ŠÀ nu-us-ḫi É I dUTU-lit-su GI.NA
 23. 5 NINDA Ša IBAŠA.dBa-ú DUMU IGIŠ.MI.dīš-tar Ša I dNin-urta-mu-šal-lim KI.MIN
 24. a-DIR(tar_x?)-ti A.ŠÀ ÚS.SA.DU ka-le-e É I dNin-urta-mu-bal-liḫ DUMU I DINGIR-GAL-mu-še-zib-ḫa-
 za-an-nam Ša I dNin-urta-mu-šal-lim a-na ŠÁM im-ḫur-ru
 25. 5 NINDA É I dUTU-lit-su GI.NA
 26. 5 NINDA É I KI.MIN Ša-ni-tu GI.NA
 27. 5 NINDA É I dEn-líl-ni-šu GI.NA

Rückseite

28. 5 NINDA ÚS.SA.DU nam-ga-ri É I dŠEŠ.KI-SUM^{na} GI.[NA]
 29. 24 ḫar-bu.MEŠ EN 6 x 5 NINDA.MEŠ ta-mir-ti URU BÀ[D.dNusku]
 30. TA ka-le-e URU ŠA-Ib-ni-UNUG^{ki} EN nam-ga-[ri]
 31. É I dXXX-iš-man-ni ÚS.SA.DU ka-le-e URU ŠA-DU[MU]
 32. É I dUTU-lit-su GI.NA
 33. É I DINGIR-ya-a-ti Ša DUMU I dUTU-lit-su a-na ŠÁM [im-ḫu-r]u
 34. É I Sag-gi₅-la GI.NA
 35. É I SUM.dNusku Ša pa-an I Ku-ku-ri DUMU I dAMAR.UD-ŠEŠ i-dag-ga-lu
 36. É I dEn-líl-ni-šu Ša i-na ŠU I Tab-na-a-a DUMU I SUM.dNusku
 37. I dNin-urta-mu-šal-lim DUMU I dUTU-lit-su a-na ŠÁM im-ḫu-ru
 38. É I Ip-qú Ša pa-an I Na-ši-ri DUMU I dEn-líl-BÁRA i-dag-ga-lu
 39. É I Bu-la-li Ša pa-an I dNin-urta-mu-šal-lim KI.MIN
 40. É I Mu-ra-an-ni Ša pa-an I Ku-ku-ri DUMU I dAMAR.UD-ŠEŠ KI.MIN
 41. É I U-bar-ri Ša pa-an I dNin-urta-mu-šal-lim KI.MIN
 42. É I dŠEŠ.KI-SUM^{na} GI.NA
 43. 5 NINDA É I dUTU-lit-su GI.NA
 44. a-DIR(tar_x?)-ti A.ŠÀ Ša pa-an DUMU I Ra-i-mi i-dag-ga-lu
 45. PAB 13 ḫar-bu.MEŠ ta-mir-ti URU BÀD.dNusku nak-kam-tu
 46. ŠU.NIGIN 37 ḫar-bu.MEŠ EN 7 x 5 NINDA.MEŠ u 2 ḫar-bu a-DIR(tar_x?)-ti A.ŠÀ
 47. ta-mir-ti URU BÀD.dNusku AN.TA u KI.TA^{tu}
 48. ši-bit dEN.LÍL^{ki} TI i-na lib-bi 25 ḫar-bu.MEŠ
 49. É I dUTU-lit-su Ša pa-an I dNin-urta-mu-šal-lim
 50. DUMU I dUTU-lit-su i-dag-ga-lu
 51. URU BÀD.dNusku NAM URU É dXXX
 52. a-na taḫ-sil-ti la ma-še-e Ša-ḫi-ir
 53. MU 10 KAM dIM-DUMU.UŠ-SUM^{na} LUGAL.E

Vs.





Enannatum I of Lagash and Ur-Lumma of Umma -- A New Text*

Robert D. Biggs, Chicago

The border dispute between Lagash and Umma, which lasted for generations, has long attracted the interest of cuneiformists and historians of the ancient Near East.¹ Even though a great deal of effort has been expended in an attempt to identify the various canals and agricultural areas which figured in the conflict, no consensus has yet been reached. A major handicap has been the fact that for many years Tello was identified as the city of Lagash, but now that the site of al-Hiba has been securely identified as Lagash, with Tello being Girsu, some elements of the conflict may become clearer.²

It is not my intention here to reopen the discussion of the geographical and historical problems, but rather to make available a new text dealing with the dispute. It is perhaps appropriate to honor Professor Kramer with publication of a text dealing with a subject he has himself studied.³

The text, inscribed on an unbaked clay tablet, was found in the 1970-71 season of excavations at al-Hiba by an expedition sponsored by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in Area C, Room 4 in Level IB fill in a building tentatively identified as administrative. The tablet measures 12 X 12 X 3 cm.⁴ The field number of the tablet is 2H-T21 and has been accessioned in the Iraq Museum as IM 76644.

* I have had occasion to discuss this text with several colleagues, Miguel Civil, Jean-Pierre Grégoire, Thorkild Jacobsen, and Aaron Shaffer, to whom I express my thanks here. I have particularly benefited from insights and suggestions of Thorkild Jacobsen. I also wish to thank Abdul-Hadi al-Fouadi of the Directorate General of Antiquities of Iraq for collating the text for me.
Lagash texts are cited according to E. Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagash* (Geneva, 1956).
¹ Among the most significant studies are the following: A. Poebel, "Der Konflikt zwischen Lagash und Umma zur Zeit Enannatums I. und Enetemenas," *Oriental Studies . . . Paul Haupt* (Baltimore and Leipzig, 1926), pp. 220-267; M. Lambert, "Une histoire du conflit entre Lagash et Umma," *RA* 50 (1956), 141-146; and G. Pettinato, "I, IDIGNA-TA I, NUN-ŠÈ: Il conflitto tra Lagash ed Umma per la 'Frontiera Divina' et la sua soluzione durante la terza dinastia di Ur," *Mesopotamia* 5-6 (1970-71), 281-320.
² For the identification of al-Hiba as Lagash, see Falkenstein, *An.Or.* 30, pp. 17f. with reference to earlier evidence. See also Donald P. Hansen, *Artibus Asiae* 32 (1970), 244.
³ Samuel Noah Kramer, "Civil War in Sumer: the First Historian," *History Begins at Sumer* (Indian Hills, Colorado, 1956), pp. 32-40. See also his translations of the Vulture Stele and other Lagash inscriptions in *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), pp. 310ff.
⁴ The tablet is published here with the permission of Dr. Vaughn E. Crawford and Dr. Donald P. Hansen, who are happy to associate themselves in a tribute to Professor Kramer.

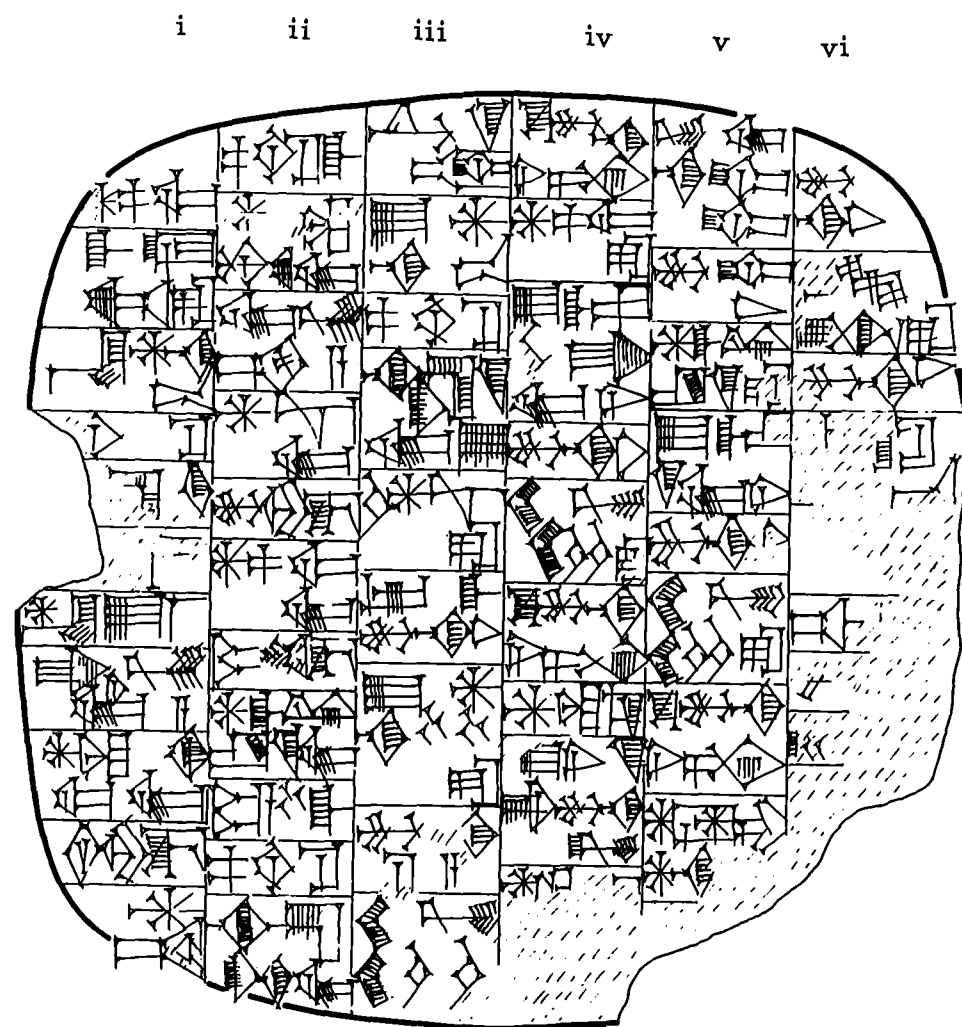


Fig. 1

Inscription of Enannatum I. Obverse

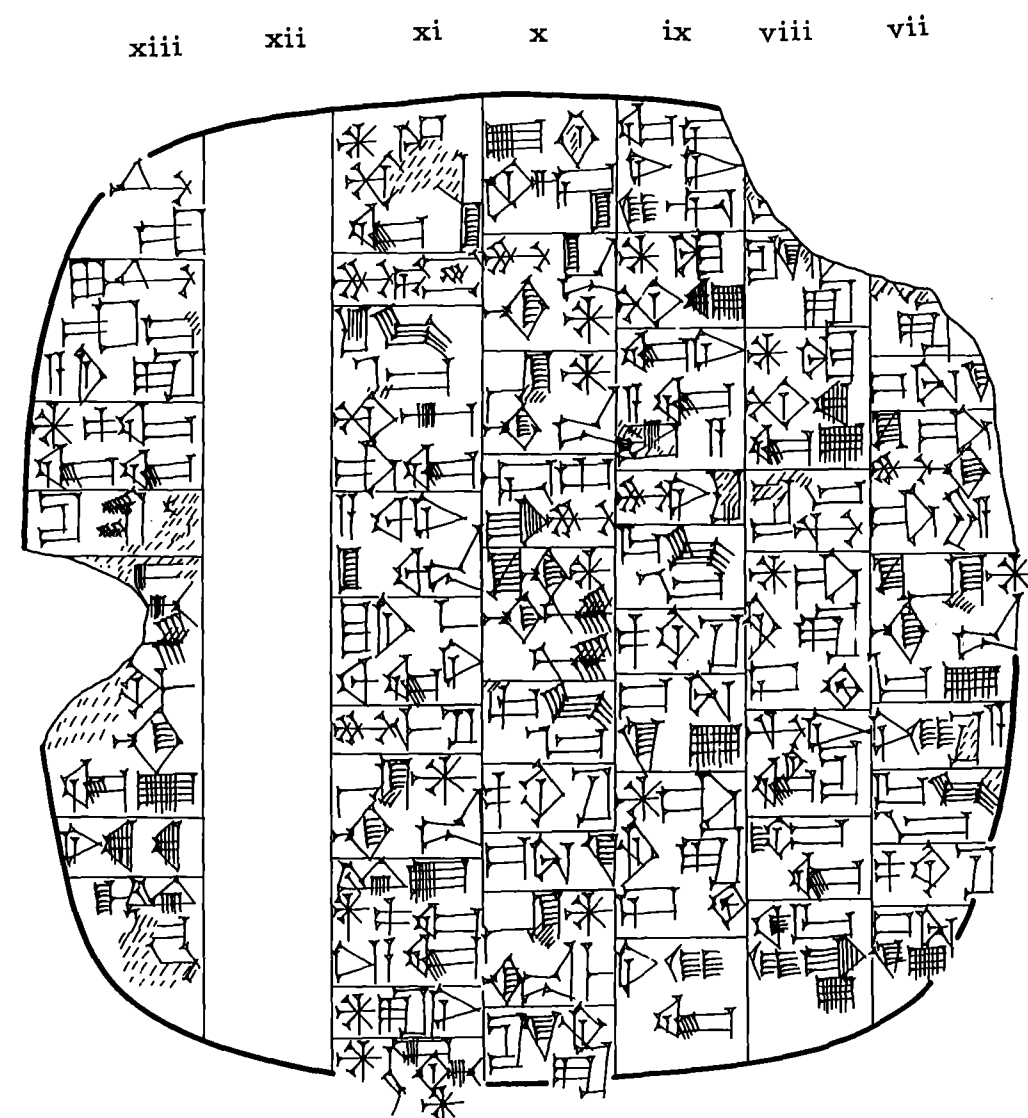


Fig. 2

Inscription of Enannatum I. Reverse

The new text, dedicating a copper emblem or standard to the god *Ĝendursaga* by Enannatum I after a victorious encounter with Ur-Lumma of Umma, provides some details of the dispute, as well as recounting some pious deeds of Enannatum, most of which are known from other texts. It is likely that the text dates from toward the end of his reign when Entemena may have taken over some of the responsibilities of his father.

It seems probable that this tablet is a copy made for the scribe or engraver who inscribed the text on the copper standards, which ends in column xi with the statement that *Šulutula* is Enannatum's personal god, a statement often found when the object which bears the inscription is itself a votive object. Column xii is blank and column xiii seems to be an addition by the scribe describing the circumstances — not entirely clear because of uncertainties of interpretation — of utilizing the inscription.

Transliteration	Translation
col. i	
1. dĜendur-sag	(1) For Ĝendur-saga, the chief sheriff of the abzu,
2. nimgir-gal-abzu-ra	Enannatum, ensi of [Lagas]h, [nominated] by
3. En-an-na-túm	Enlil, fed on the pure milk of Ninĝursaga,
4. [PA].TE.SI	
5. [ŠIR.BUR].LA ^{ki}	
6. [mu-pàd-d]a	
7. dEn-líl-lá	
8. ga-zi-kú-a	
9. dNin-ĝur-sag-ka	
10. šà-pàd-da	(10) chosen in the heart of Nanše, the chief ensi of
11. dNanše	Ningirsu, duly summoned (to office) by Inanna,
	nominated by Ĝendur-saga, son of Lugal-Uruba,
col. ii	
12. PA.TE.SI-gal	
13. dNin-ĝir-su-ka	
14. ĝù-zi-dé-a	
15. dInanna-ka	
16. mu-pàd-da	
17. dĜendur-sag-ka	
18. dumu-tu-da	
19. dLugal-URUXKÁR ^{ki} -ka	
20. dumu A-kur-gal	(20) son of Akurgal, ruler of Lagash, beloved brother
21. PA.TE.SI	of Enannatum, ruler of Lagash —
22. ŠIR.BUR.LA ^{ki} -ka	
col. iii	
23. šeš ki-agá	
24. É-an-na-túm	
25. PA.TE.SI	
26. ŠIR.BUR.LA ^{ki} -ka-ke ₄	
27. u ₄ dInanna-ra	(27) when for Inanna he had built the Ibgal, made the
28. Ib-gal mu-na-dù	temple Eanna surpass (any other temple) in all lands,
29. É-an-na kur-kur-ra	
30. mu-na-diri	

31. kù-gi kù.UD.UD-<ra>

(31) with gold and silver he decorated it for her, for
Ĝendur-saga he built his palace in Uru-kug, with
gold and silver he decorated it for him,

col. iv

32. šu mu-na-ni-tag
33. dĜendur-sag-ra
34. É-gal-uru-¹kù¹-ga-ka-ni
35. mu-na-dù
36. kù-gi kù.UD.UD-ra
37. šu mu-na-ni-tag
38. dNin-DAR
39. é-ni ki-bi mu-na-gi₄
40. dN[in-ĝir-su dBa-ú-bi(?)]

(38) for Nin-DAR he restored his temple, he built the
giguna of Nin[ĝirsu(?) and Bau(?)], for Lugal-
Uruba he built his palace in Urub, decorated it
it with gold and silver for him,

col. v

41. gi-ĝù-na-ne-ne
42. mu-ne-dù
43. dLugal-URUXKÁR^{ki}-ra
44. É-gal-URUX[KÁR]^{ki}-ka-ni
45. mu-na-dù
46. kù-gi kù.UD.UD-ra
47. šu mu-na-ni-tag
48. dAma-geštin-an-na-[ra]
49. [É-sag-UG₅-ka-ni]

(48) for Ama-geštin-an-na he built [her temple É-sag-
UG₅], he built the baked brick well for her, a . . .
he put in place,

col. vi

50. mu-na-dù
51. [p]ú sig₄-baĝar-ra
52. mu-na-dù
53. x x e-gub
54. [dNin-ĝir-su-ra]
55. ÈŠ-D[UG-RU]
56. m[u-na-dù]
57. traces
58-59. destroyed

(54) [for Ningirsu] he built the temple ÈŠ-D[UG-RU]

(57-59) . . .

col. vii

60. [u₄ dŠara]
61. [dNin]-ĝir¹-[su]-ra
62. GIŠ.ÙĜ^{ki}
63. šu-ta mu-na-ta-šub-a
64. šu En-an-na-túm-ma-ke₄
65. ì-mi-si-a
66. Ur-lum-ma
67. PA.TE.SI
68. GIŠ.ÙĜ^{ki}-ke₄

(60) [When Šara] had flung Umma from (his) hand to
Ningirsu and had placed it in Enannatum's hand,

(66) Ur-Lumma, ruler of Umma,

col. viii

69. [kur-kur e]-m[a-hun]
 70. e-ki-[su]r-ra
 71. dNin-gír-su-ka-ke₄
 72. e-ma-bal
 73. An-ta-sur-ra gá-kam
 74. bala l-kú-e
 75. bí-dug₄
 76. du₆-ur-gi₆-ga-ke₄

col. ix

77. sag-gá-ni l-mi-ús
 78. dNin-gír-su-ke₄
 79. KA-ni-a ka-REC 107-a
 80. .mu-ni-tak₄
 81. Ur-lum-ma
 82. PA.TE.SI
 83. GÍŠ.ÙHki-ke₄
 84. An-ta-sur-ra gá-kam
 85. l-mi-dug₄

col. x

86. é-šà-ní-gá-šè
 87. mu-šè-gin-na-am₅
 88. En-an-na-túm
 89. nita-kala-ga-mu
 90. šu na-an-na-zi-zi
 91. Ur-lum-ma
 92. PA.TE.SI
 93. GÍŠ.ÙHki
 94. En-an-na-túm-me
 95. e-ki-sur-ra

col. xi

96. dNin-gír-su¹-ka-šè
 97. mu-gaz
 98. KÍD Lum-ma-gír-nun-ta-ka
 99. a-ba-ni-šè ba-gin
 100. túgnig-bar-ba ka-né
 101. mu-ši-si
 102. En-an-na-túm
 103. lú-é.dHendur-sag-dù-a-ka
 104. dingir-ra-ni
 105. dŠul-utula-am₆

- (69) [hired mercenaries (from other lands)] and came across the border canal of Ningirsu. "The Antasurra is mine; I will have the benefit of the prebends," he said. At the Hill of the Black Dog he put his . . .

- (78) At his (Ur-Lumma's) assertion, Ningirsu opened (his) mouth in (the temple) REC 107 (saying:) "Ur-Lumma, ensi of Umma, has said 'The Antasurra is mine,' (and now) he is coming against me to my own sanctum, (but) he will not prevail against my strong man Enannatum."

- (91) Enannatum pommeled Ur-Lumma, ruler of Umma, (back) to the border canal of Ningirsu and went after him even to the . . . of the canal Lum-ma-gír-nun-ta.

- (100) He stuffed an outer(?) garment in his mouth.

- (102) Enannatum, the one who built the temple of Hendur-saga — his god is Šulutula.

col. xiii

106. ur¹urudu (106) I (i.e., the scribe) inscribed the copper standard
 107. udu-ur¹urudu.gi₈-a-gar-ra and the sheep (?) of the copper standard set on
 108. dHendur-sag-ka-ka wood(en posts) of (the temple of) Hendursaga.
 109. e-sar-s[ar] Šulutula, the able [personal god] of [En]temena
 110. [dŠu]l-[utu]la [dingir(?) z]i [En]-te-me-na-ka-ke₄ will replace the . . .
 111. l-su-su
 112. lugal ma [m]u

Commentary

19. For the sake of convenience, the reading dLugal-Uruba for dLugal-URUXKÁR^{ki} is adopted, though it remains uncertain. See Sollberger, ZA 54 (1961), 9.

28. For the proposal that the Ib-gal is the temple oval at al-Hiba, see Donald P. Hansen, "Al-Hiba, 1968-1969, A Preliminary Report," *Artibus Asiae* 32 (1970), 248.

Passages in En. I 20 i 9-iii 1, which provide briefer statements about the building and restoration work carried out under Enannatum have -a following each verb, whereas out text does not. I assume that -a is to be restored after the final verb in the sequence, perhaps in line 59.

31. There does not appear to be space enough to restore - r a in the small broken area in this line, so I assume it was inadvertently omitted by the scribe.

40. The traces are uncertain, but a restoration such as dN[in-gír-su dBa-ú-bi] is probable and would account for the plural suffix in line 41.

41. See CAD s.v. *gigunû* for discussion of g i - g ù - n a.

49. The name of the temple is restored from En. I 9 iv 10 and En. I 20 ii 10. Sollberger (IRSA, p. 63) reads u g a₅ (rather than b à d) in the temple name. He is certainly correct that the sign is not BÀD (see my *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh* [OIP 99], comment to lines 196-197 of the Zà-mì hymn collection). However, since u g₅ "dead person" gives poor sense in the name of a temple, I believe another reading is probable. I therefore transliterate the sign as UG₅ (with unknown reading).

51. This well is also mentioned in En. I 9 iv 6. See the comment of J. Bauer, WO 7 (1973), 10 n. 8.

55. I follow here a suggestion of T. Jacobsen that these lines recount the abandonment of Umma by its god, and the turning it over to Ningirsu, i.e., to Lagash. Cf. [t i - i d - n] u - u m l ú š u - t a š u b - b a - b i dE n - k i m a š k i n - b i - i m "the Tidnum-Martus who escaped from his control — Enki is their bailiff" *Išbi-erra Lament iii 3'* (manuscript of M. Civil).

69. Comparing Ent. Cone A (Ent. 28) iii 1, T. Jacobsen suggested the restoration I have adopted.

70-73. Cf. e-ki-sur-ra dNin-gír-su-ka e-ki-sur-ra dNanše gá-kam l-mi-dug₄ Ent. 28-29 iv 24-29 and an-ta-sur-ra gá-kam ki-sur-ra-mu bí-dug₄ Ukg. 6 iv 7-9, both referring to the same claim of Ur-Lumma.

74. T. Jacobsen has suggested that b a l a here refers to the b a l a -offices and incomes connected with them from the Antasurra temple, a temple located some distance from Lagash in the plain. See M. Lambert, *Sumer* 8 (1952), 70.

77. Cf. *nu-mu-un-si-ke sag-zu-hu-mu-ri-i-b-us: ana la agrûkama pûtka tummeda* Lugale XII 39, where *sag* + pronoun *-us* seems to mean "to make an effort against" (pronominal suffix identical with agent). It would indicate both the hostile efforts of Ur-Lumma, and the fact that they were unsuccessful.

78-90. One should probably understand these lines as referring to an appearance of Ningirsu in a dream or vision. These lines clearly resemble the passage KA-na KA-KID-a mu-ni-ta_k Ean. 1 iii 26-27 (Vulture Stele), which is discussed elsewhere in this volume by T. Jacobsen. For discussion of the sign RÉC 107 (LAK 175) see MSL 10, p. 122, note to line B 6, and N. Schneider, An.Or. 12, pp. 288f. My understanding of this passage has been substantially improved by T. Jacobsen, whose interpretation is followed in the translation. The fact that in the passage from the Vulture Stele KID occupies the place of RÉC 107 in our text does not necessarily imply that KID may throw any light on the reading or meaning of RÉC 107. This sign occurs a number of times in the inscriptions of Ur-Nanše. Perhaps, on the basis of the passage ^dNin-èš-RÉC 107 mu-TU "he fashioned (a statue of) the lady of the temple RÉC 107" in Urn. 25 iv 1-2, we should consider RÉC 107 in our passage as referring to the chapel or temple where Ningirsu spoke out.

99. The form *a-ba-ni-šè* need not be taken as emesal in view of the alternation between *g* and *b*. See M. Civil, "From Enki's Headaches to Phonology," JNES 32 (1973), 57-61. The account in Urk. 6 iv 25 has *ga-ba-ni-šè l-gin* "went to confront him."

100-101. I follow here a suggestion of T. Jacobsen that the passage refers to the muzzling or gagging of Ur-Lumma. This interpretation is supported by a reference which I owe to M. Civil: *šu-na giš m[u-ni]-gar/igi-na túg bí-si* "he handcuffed him, he blindfolded him" RA 9,113 iv 26f., restored from ISET 2 Ni 4167 (Utuhegal inscription). The garment *níg-bar-ba* also occurs in Ukg. 4-5 v 4.

102-105. From other texts (such as Ent. 2, 8, 17, and 22) it is clear that the inscription ends with these lines which imply that Enannatum gave the object upon which the inscription is written as a votive offering.

106-112. These lines appear to be a statement by the scribe and not a part of the official inscription. Interpretation of the final two lines is particularly uncertain, although it seems that the last line is the object of the verb *l-su-su*. See Falkenstein, An.Or. 29, p. 6 for comment on placing an object after the verb.

Note that *ur* is distinguished from *šeš* here, as elsewhere in pre-Sargonic texts. See J. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch* (Studia Pohl 9 [Rome, 1972]), p. 175 and references cited there.

Cuneiform Texts in the St. Louis Public Library

J.A. Brinkman, Chicago

The Carol McDonald Gardner Rare Book Room of the St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Missouri, possesses a collection of fourteen objects bearing cuneiform inscriptions, thirteen tablets and a cylinder.¹ In so far as can be ascertained from available documentation, these objects were acquired through gift or purchase from private individuals or firms in the United States.² External evidence furnishes no reliable information concerning their place of origin.

The St. Louis Public Library texts represent a chronologically broader range than is common in most small, privately acquired collections. The oldest tablet (W 2/7) is from the reign of Lugal-zaggesi, ruler of Umma in the early twenty-fourth century B.C. The youngest text (W 2/4) is dated at Ur in the eleventh year of Artaxerxes II, 394 B.C., when Babylonia was part of the Persian Empire. The intervening centuries are represented as follows:

(a) Ur III Dynasty (2112 - 2004 B.C.): four economic texts (W 2/10 - 13); the dated documents are from the reigns of Šulgi, Amar-Suen, and Šu-Suen;

(b) Old Babylonian period (2004 - 1595 B.C.): one economic text from the reign of Nūr-Adad (W 2/1), three economic texts from the reign of Rīm-Šin I (W 2/2, 2/4, 2/9), and a list of personal names (W 2/15);

¹ There is also an uninscribed cylinder seal (W 2/14), which is not published here.

² Two of the tablets (W 2/10-11) belonged to James F. Ballard of St. Louis and may have been given to the St. Louis Public Library around 1920 (a letter written by Mr. Ballard, apparently dated in March 1921, refers to the gift of a Babylonian tablet some two or three years previously). The Grolier collection (W 2/7-9) was purchased by the Library in 1956 from the Grolier Encyclopaedia firm, for which the collection had been assembled by Frank Glenn, a Kansas City dealer. The Foliophiles collection (W 2/12-14) was ordered by the Library in June 1966. The seven items of unknown origin are likely to have come to the Library before 1938.

I am indebted to Miss Mary L. Elder, Rare Books Librarian of the Carol McDonald Gardner Rare Book Room, for information about the provenience of these tablets and to the St. Louis Public Library for permission to publish the inscriptions.

(c) Neo-Babylonian Empire (625 - 539 B.C.): an inscribed cylinder of Neriglissar (W 2/8), an economic text from the thirty-seventh year of an unnamed king (presumably Nebuchadnezzar II, W 2/6), and a letter (W 2/5).³

The present edition is designed to make the texts available without further delay and is confined principally to cuneiform copies and/or transliterations (with a few translations). It is hoped that specialists in the various periods may find this preliminary edition of use and may be able to compensate for its inadequacies.

In the following section, the heading for each object will list the current inventory number of the object (e. g., W 2/1), its former accession number (e. g., Grolier no. 8),⁴ and a brief description of the text, including its approximate physical dimensions.

W 2/1 (Unknown no. 2)

Tablet still partially encased in its envelope; a section of the envelope has been broken away to expose the reverse. Old Babylonian economic text mentioning the delivery of sesame. Dated in the reign of Nūr-Adad, king of Larsa from 1865 to 1850 B.C. Case: 55 x 43 x 29 mm.; tablet: 40 x 34 x (?) mm. Copy below without seals.

Transliteration

Envelope obv. (1) 2 (PI) 5 QA še-giš-
mu-DU
bu-qá-qu
uru-ki du-ug-du-⁷gu-um⁷
(5) é-ùr-ra
a-da-a⁷ a⁷

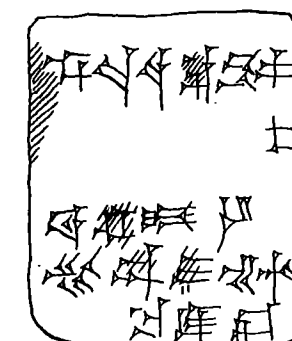
rev. (7) ⁷kišib⁷ [š]à-tam-e-ne
...
(10?) [b]a-⁷jun-gá

Tablet obv. (still encased)⁵

³ The cylinder seal (W 2/14), featuring a crowned hero holding up two four-footed beasts by their tails, is apparently from the Achaemenid period but shows some unaccustomed details of costume, etc.

⁴ See note 2 above concerning the immediate provenience of the various objects. Note that only part of the Grolier and Foliophiles collections was purchased by the Library; hence Grolier no. 8 is the lowest number in the St. Louis collection.

⁵ A runover from the obverse (visible in the copy) is probably the end of the -u[m] in the line corresponding to line 4 of the case.



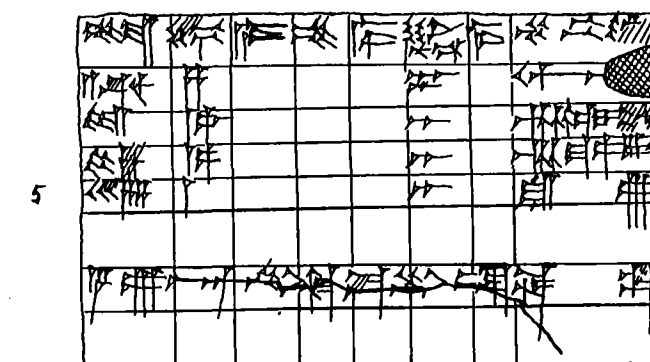
rev. (1) [k]išib šà-tam-e-ne
iti-bár⁷zag-gar
mu-ús-sa en ^dutu
(4) ba-⁷jun-gá
Seal A (1) a-pil-⁷ku⁷ bi
dumu ^dEN.ZU-na-da
(3) ⁷ir nu-úr-^dIM
Seal B (1) lú-kalag-ga
dub-sar
(3) dumu za-zi-ia
Seal C (1) ^drx⁷ KASKAL+KUR-su
dub-sar
dumu kù-^dŠEŠ.KI
(4) ⁷ir nu-úr-^dIM
Seal D (1) ^dEN.⁷ZU-⁷x⁷-na-[]
dumu a-⁷x⁷-ak-⁷x⁷

W 2/2 (Unknown no. 3)

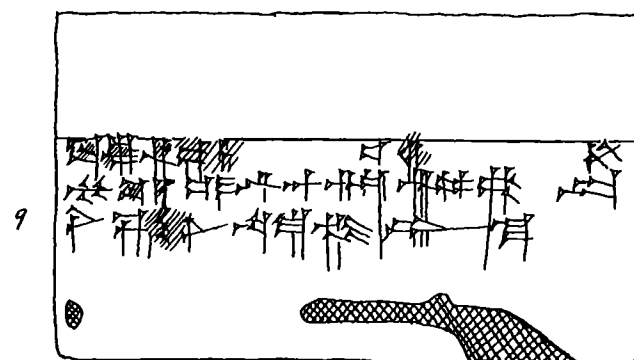
Tablet with hole pierced through its width. Old Babylonian account in cursive and lightly impressed script, dated in the thirty-first(?) year of Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1792 B.C.) 45 x 68 x 20 mm. Copy below.

M. Stol has pointed out to me some texts of similar format dated about the same time, Riftin nos. 114 - 117. The date form of this text is atypical, though such month names have been discussed by Kraus, ZA 53 (1959), 136 - 167. Tentative transliteration: (7) ⁷iti-dul⁷ - kù ki 4 (or possibly 5)⁷ u₄ - 12 - k a m
(8) mu ⁷ki 2?⁷ giš-tukul-ma⁷ an en-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta (9) ⁷ì-si-⁷in⁷-na
u r u - n a m - l u g a l - l a . Note also the mention of the property of Nanna (n ì - d - r u m ^dŠEŠ.KI) and of Ur (x? ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI - m a) in line 6.

obv.



rev.



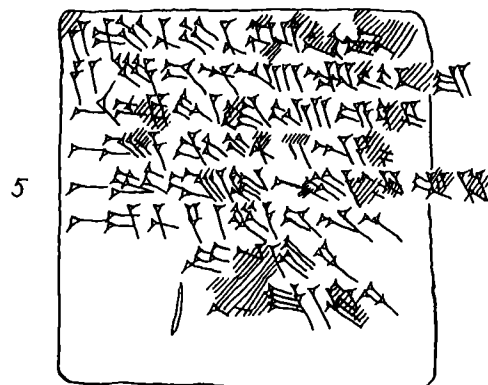
W 2/3 (Unknown no. 4)

Tablet with approximately square surface, heavily worn along the left side of the reverse. Promissory note stating that one man will pay another a fixed amount of barley in one month's time. Dated at Ur, Nisan 5, year 11 of Artaxerxes II,⁶ which according to Parker-Dubberstein, Chronology, 2nd ed., would correspond to April 24, 394 B.C. in our calendar. 48 x 48 x 20 mm. Copy below.

The text is similar to other legal documents found at Ur, which also specify payment to be made in the *bāb kalakku*.⁷ Nidintu-Ea, the creditor in W 2/3, figures in some of these as well.⁸

Transliteration

- obv. (1) '3 (PI) 2 (BÁN) ŠE.BAR ŠE.BAR x x x (x)⁹
 šá mSUM-tú-dBE A mdEN-ŠEŠ.ŠEŠ? 1-SU
 ina muh-ḫi mki-din A me-ḫeš? 1
 ina ITI.GU₄ ŠE.BAR.ÀM '3 (PI) 2 (BÁN)¹
 (5) ina ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI ina KÁ ka-lak-ku
 ina GIŠ.BÁN šá mSUM-tú-dBE
 i-ḫam¹-din
 ḫu¹-pur mki-din



⁶ For the Artaxerxes of the text being the second rather than the first monarch of the name, see Figulla's prosopographical study in UET 4, pp. 4-5.

⁷ E.g., UET 4 95:8, 96:6, 97:8, etc. Note that in CAD K, p. 63b (*kalakku*, 2.b.2), though the occurrences of *bāb kalakku* are cited by city, the Ur references have been overlooked.

⁸ References to Nidintu-Ea are collected in UET 4, p. 36.

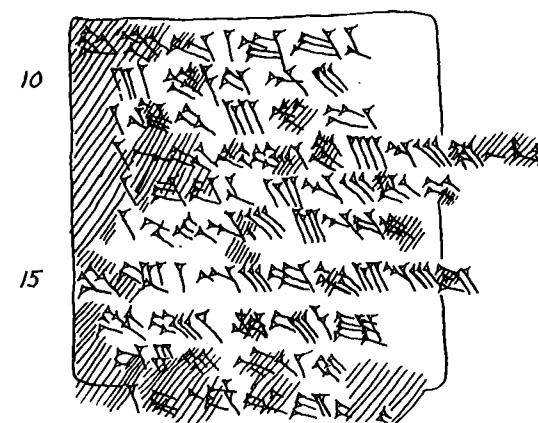
⁹ Possibly 'UR₅.RA¹ at the end of the line, but doubtful.

rev. 'LÚ mu-kin₇ 1 mla-ba-šú

(10) A mSUM-tú-d30

mki-din A m(MU¹)-DUm(x x x x (x))¹ A md30-ḫ x x (x)¹m(la-ba¹-šú A md30-iq-ḫi¹mnu-ḫi-DINGIR.ŠEŠ¹ A mdUTU-ŠMU¹(15) LÚ.ŠID md30-AD-ŠEŠ¹ A md30-ŠU? 1

ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI ITI.BÁR

U₄.5. KAM MU. 11(less likely: 1).KAMedge (18) m(dr-tah¹-šú-as¹-su LU[GAL] KU[R.KUR]

Translation

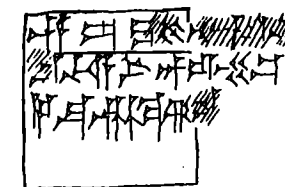
Three *pānu*, two *sūtu* of barley, barley . . . belonging to Nidintu-Ea, son of Bēl-ahhē-erība, owed by Kidin, son of Ereš (?). In the month of Ayar he will pay the three *pānu*, two *sūtu* of barley in Ur at the gate of the storehouse, according to the measuring standard of Nidintu-Ea. Fingernail (mark) of Kidin. Witnesses: Labašu, son of Nidintu-Sîn; Kidin, son of Šuma-ukîn; . . . ; Labašu, son of Sîn-iqbi; Nūḫ(i)-ilāni, son of Šamaš-iddin. Scribe: Sîn-aba-ušur, son of Sîn-erība(?). Ur, Nisan, fifth day, eleventh year, Artaxerxes, King of the Lands.

W 2/4 (Unknown no. 6)

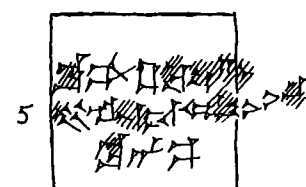
Tablet with cursive Old Babylonian inscription, lightly impressed. Receipt for an unknown commodity (text damaged). Date: II?-Rīm-Sîn I, year 25 (1798 B.C.) 25 x 24 x 15 mm. Copy below.

Transliteration

- obv. (1) 1 (GUR) 4 (PI) x x x x x (x x)
 ḫu¹-ti-a LÚ.dMAR.TU¹⁰
 nīg-ḫu dEN.ZU-ga-ḫi¹



¹⁰ Or, perhaps more accurately, DINGIR.MAR.TU.

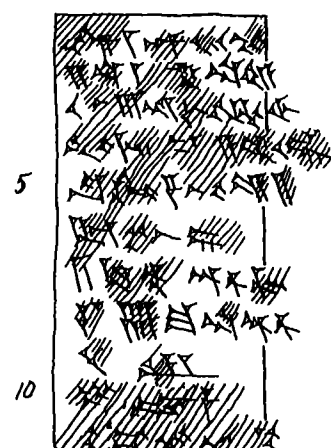


W 2/5 (Unknown no. 8)

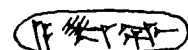
Small tablet with surface badly worn. Neo-Babylonian letter, dating from about the sixth century B.C. and probably found at Uruk.¹¹ 54 x 30 x 17 mm. Copy below.

Tentative transliteration

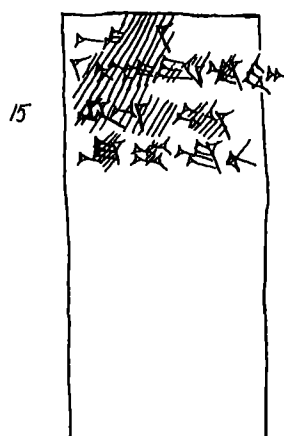
obv.



edge



rev.



- rev. (4) 'iti¹-gu₄-si-'sá u₄-2(+ x)-kam¹
mu uru-'ki¹ da-mi-'iq¹-i-li-'š¹u¹
(6) ba-an-sig

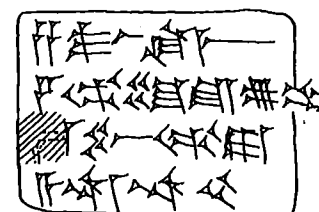
- obv. (1) 'IM¹ m¹d30¹ MU
'a-na¹ m¹dEN¹-na-din-A
u¹ m¹? d¹ INNIN¹? 'NA-'NUMUN¹-GÁL-š¹i
'ŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a dEN¹ u¹ 'dAG¹
(5) 'š¹u-lum¹ š¹ 'ŠEŠ.<MEŠ>-e-a¹
'liq-bu-ú¹
'2 sik-kat¹ AN:BAR.'MEŠ¹
'š¹ 8¹ MA.'NA¹ AN.BAR
gam-ru
(10) 'LÚ.SIMUG¹
....
(15) 'kap-du¹
š¹u-bi-la-nu

¹¹ Cf. YOS 3, 63 also written by Šin-iddin to some of the same persons.

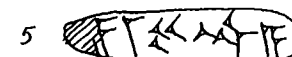
W 2/6 (Unknown no. 9)

Complete tablet. Neo-Babylonian economic text mentioning flour given from one man to another. Date: I-4-year 37 (king unnamed, but probably Nebuchadnezzar II).¹² 24 x 36 x 16 mm. Copy below.

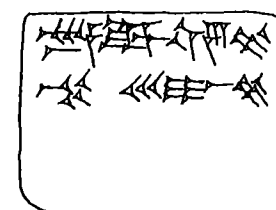
Transliteration



- obv. (1) 4 (PI) 4 (BÁN) qé-me
š¹u ul-tu ŠU m¹á-qu
'A¹ m¹bu-ul-lu
a-na m¹na-din



- edge (5) 'A¹ m¹nad-na-a



- rev. ITI.BÁR U₄.4.KAM
(7) MU.37.KAM

Translation

Four pānu, four sūtu of flour which (were given) by Uqu, son of Bullu, to Nādin, son of Nadnā. Nisan, fourth day, thirty-seventh year.

This text is assigned to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II for the following reasons. The character of the script, including the horizontal writing of the digits of the year number, indicates that the text was probably written between the late eighth and early fifth centuries. The relatively high regnal year number practically narrows the field to Nebuchadnezzar II, who reigned 43 years.¹³ In addition, if Nādin son of Nadnā (lines 4-5) may be identified with Nādin son of Nadnā of the Weaver family (A LÚ UŠ.BAR in TCL 12 50:10-11 and BIN 1 146:2-4), who can be placed in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II,¹⁴ the probability of the dating is considerably increased.

¹² The year in that case would be 568 B.C.

¹³ Between 800 B.C. and the beginning of the Seleucid era, the only other kings who reigned so long were Artaxerxes I (41 years) and Artaxerxes II (46 years). But an attribution of this text to either of these two rulers is rendered difficult by the script (and especially by the horizontal digits in the year number).

¹⁴ In the prosopographical materials at my disposal, I have not been able to locate a Nādin son of Nadnā other than in these three texts.

W 2/7 (Grolier no. 8)

Tablet with slight damage to reverse and edges. Account text dealing with the allotment of fields. From the time of Lugal-zaggesi, governor of Umma, early twenty-fourth century B.C. 103 x 114 x 35 mm. Photos (by M. Civil) below Pl. III*-V*.

This type of text from the reign of Lugal-zaggesi is comparatively rare. To my knowledge, three have been published to date: YBC 5672 (BIN 8,82), NBC 6889 (BIN 8,86), and AO 15540 (Sollberger, BiOr 16 [1959] pl. V). In addition, there are three other similar unpublished texts in the Oriental Institute, Chicago: A 7554 (year 7), A 25419 (year broken), A 25442 (reverse almost completely gone, so that both the year and the governor's name are missing).

The occurrence of the governor of Nippur (en₅-si EN.LÍL.KI, line 2') is noteworthy. The final column of W 2/7 also helps to restore BIN 8,82:130 as kar-n[a₄], which occurs likewise in A 7554 and A 25419.

W 2/8 (Grolier no. 9)

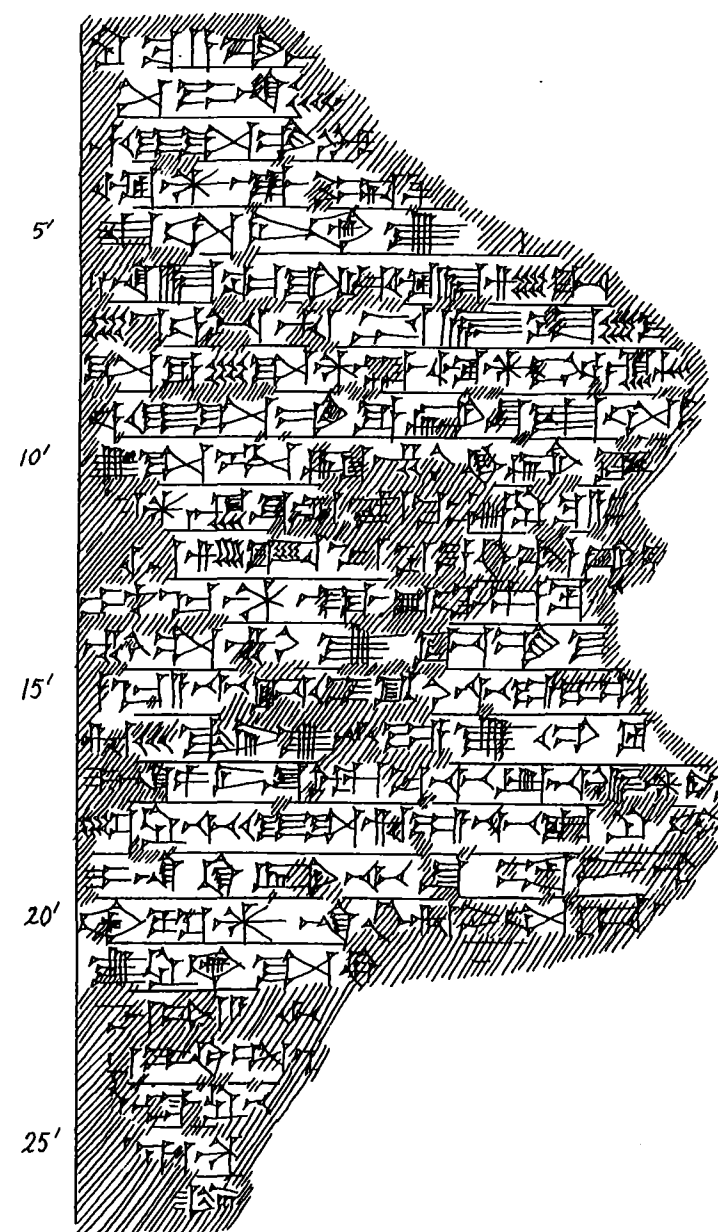
Damaged Neo-Babylonian clay cylinder bearing a royal inscription of Neriglissar (559-556 B.C.)¹⁵ which is not a duplicate of any of the other few published texts of this monarch. Besides the usual religious titulary and formulae, this text mentions a campaign, unfortunately in the broken section towards the end.¹⁶ Height c. 107 mm., circumference at base c. 160 mm., circumference at largest complete section c. 208 mm., diameter at base c. 55 mm., diameter at edge of break c. 78 mm. Copy below.

¹⁵ The king's name is missing in the text, but the allusion in line 11' to the monarch as the "son of Bēl-šum-iškun" makes the attribution virtually certain.

¹⁶ None of the other royal inscriptions published from his reign mentions a campaign, though the chronicle BM 25124 (Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pp. 74-77) refers to a campaign of Neriglissar into mountainous country around Cilicia in 557 B.C. If what is left of line 21' here is read correctly (*uruḫ šadī*), this text may have dealt with the same or a similar undertaking.

Transliteration¹⁷

- (1) 'ru¹-ba-a-am 'x¹ [
[š]a i-na 'x¹ [
'u₄-mi-ša-am 'x¹ [
ù dAG IBILA 'x¹ [
(5) [i]š-te-ni-i²ú 'x¹ [
'a¹-na É.SAG.ÍL ù É.ZI.'DA¹ [
'ú¹-úḫ-ḫu-du sa-at-t[u-uk-ki
ša e-li d¹AG¹ ù dAMAR.UTU EN.
MEŠ [
u₄-mi-ša-am e-pé-šu iš-te-n[i?-.
(10) ú-ša-al-la-mu qí-bi-i[t
[DUM]U mdEN-šu-um-iš-ku-un¹
ru-ba-a(-) 'x¹ [
[e]t¹-lu¹ gi-it-¹ma-lu e-d/ti-il bi? x¹ [
'i¹-nu-ma dAG¹ 'su-uk¹-kal-lu 'x¹ [
mu-ta-mu-ú da-am-q[d-ti
(15) 'a¹-ma-a-ti da-mi-iq-ti-ia i-¹ta¹-[
re-eš LUGAL-ú-ti-ia ú-ul-lu-[ú
i-na pa-ni-šu dam-qú-ti ip-pal-sa-an-
ni-m[a
šar-ru-ti mi-ša-ri ia-ti 'iš-ru-kam¹ [
i-na qí-bi-ti-šu 'ši-ir-ti[m
(20) ḫar-ra-an na-¹ki-ri er-te-id?/da?-x¹ [
ú-ru-uḫ 'ša-di¹-[i] 'x¹ [
'ma-ta-a-ti¹ [
'x¹ i di 'ta¹ m[a?
[n]a?-ak-ru-t[i
(25) []x ka¹ an [
[L]UGA[L
...



¹⁷ There is room for approximately eleven more lines of text between what is here designated as lines 26' and 1'. The cylinder is completely preserved at its left end, but the signs are almost totally effaced. The longest preserved line (17') has at least two or three signs missing at the right end.

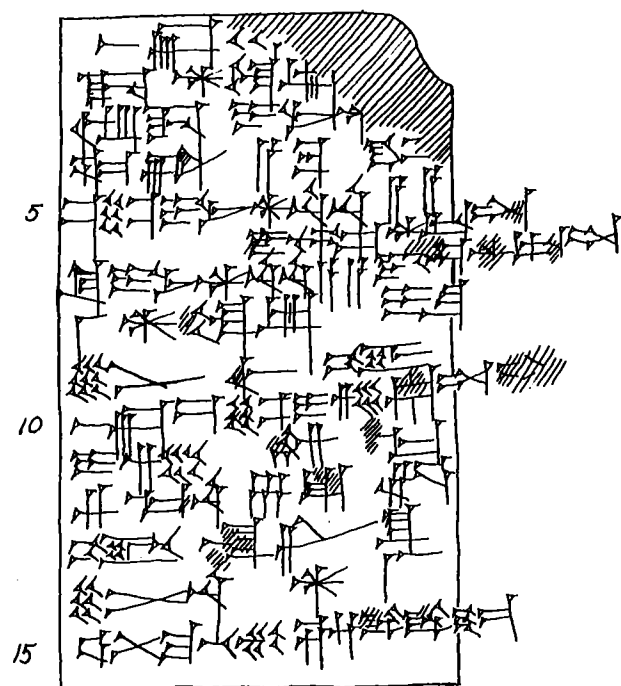
Translation

... prince ... who in ... daily ... and Nabu, son [... of Marduk ... who ...] ... continually seeks ... for Esagila and Ezida ... [to] make abundant offerings ... who [is pleasing] to(?) Nabu and Marduk, [his] lords ... [who] is solicitous about the daily performance ... who fulfills the command ... , son of Bēl-šum-iškun, prince ... perfect man ...

When Nabu, the [(...)] vizier, ... who speaks favorably (on my behalf), who has [bestowed] my good fortune, raised me to kingship, he looked upon me with his benevolent countenance and granted me a kingship of justice. In (obedience to) his exalted command, I went on a campaign against the enemy ... A mountainous(?) road ... lands ... enemies ... king ...

W 2/9 (Grolier no. 10)

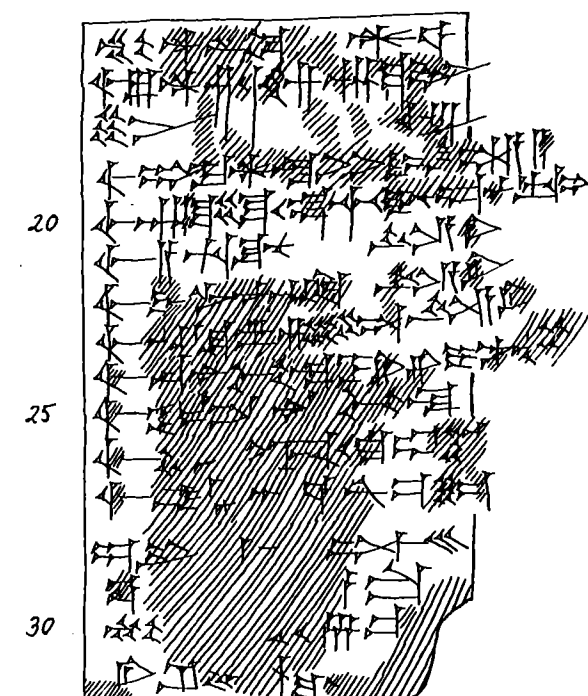
Large, well-preserved tablet with an artificially added upper-right corner. Old Babylonian sale of a garden.
Date: IX?-year 55, Rīm-Šin I (1768 B.C.) 93 x 51 x 30 mm. Copy below.



Transliteration

- obv. (1) 1 GÁN 20 [(+x) SAR GIŠ.SAR]
DA dNIN.IB¹⁸[]
à DA i-din-d¹[]
SAG.BI ÍD GIB[IL]
- (5) GIŠ.SAR i-din-d^{na-na-a-a}
DUMU nu-úr-d^{kab-ta}
KI i-din-d^{na-na-a-a} DUMU (nu-úr-
d^{kab-ta}
- mdNIN.IB-i-š^u
IN.ŠI.ŠÁM
- (10) 1 GÁN GIŠ.SAR i-zi-^{ib}l-ta-^{lam}
i-zi-im-ma
1/3 MA.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
ŠÁM.TIL.LA.NI.ŠÈ
IN.NA.AN.LÁ
- (15) U₄.KÚR.ŠÈ NU.MU.UN.GI₄.GI₄.DÈ

¹⁸ Possibly to be restored [-i-š^u]; cf. line 8. For the end of line 3, compare lines 5-7 for a possible restoration.



- rev. MU dŠEŠ.KI¹ dUTU
à d^{ri-im}.dEN.ZU LUGAL¹
IN.¹PÀD¹
IGI šum-¹ma-an-la-ì-lí DUMU x x¹-a-a
(20) IGI dEN.ZU-tu-kál-ti¹ DUMU nu-úr-
d^{kab-ta}
IGI a-š^u-š^u-nu ŠEŠ.A.NI
IGI i-din-dEN.KI ŠEŠ¹.A.NI
IGI dEN.ZU-ú-šé-li¹ ŠEŠ.A.¹NI¹
IGI š^u-d^{gu}-la DUMU ì-lí-i-din-¹nam¹
(25) IGI BÚZUR-d^{gu}la.
IGI li-pí-it-ešdar DUB.SAR¹
IGI šⁱ-lí-dUTU NU¹.GIŠ¹.SAR¹
KIŠIB LÚ.INIM.MA.BI.¹MEŠ¹
ITL.[GAN?.GAN?].¹E¹
(30) MU.26.K[AM]
ì-si-ⁱⁿki¹ BA.A[N.DIB]

Translation

One ikū, twenty(+?) [mušarū of garden], (lying) next to (the property of) Ninurta-[išu?] and next to (the property of) Iddin-[Nanaja]; its head (is at) the New Canal. Ninurta-išu bought (this) garden belonging to Iddin-Nanaja, son of Nūr-Kabta, from Iddin-Nanaja, son of Nūr-Kabta. He left one ikū of the garden as remainder and paid twenty-six shekels of silver as its full price. In the future he shall not contest (this agreement). He has taken an oath by Nanna, Šamaš, and Rīm-Šin, the king.

Witnesses: Šumman-la-ili, son of ?; Šin-tukultī, son of Nūr-Kabta; Aḫušunu, his brother; Iddin-Ea, his brother; Šin-ušelli, his brother; Šu-Gula, son of Ilī-iddinam; Puzur-Gula; Lipit-Ešdar, the scribe; Šilli-Šamaš, the gardener. The seal(s) of its witnesses.

[Kisli]mum?, the twenty-sixth year after Isin was captured.

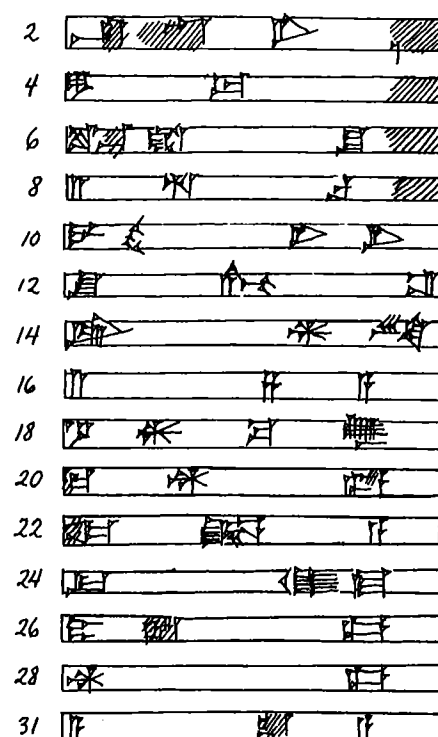
Note

On the preserved edges of the tablet may be seen seven different seal impressions, presumably of the seals of the witnesses. I have been able to read only one of these: (1) a-š^u-š^u-nu (2) DUMU nu-úr-d^{kab-ta} (3) i¹IR x¹ ...; this is the third witness to the transaction. Copy below.



W 2/10 (Ballard)

Small tablet, slightly damaged in upper-right corner of obverse. Ur III messenger account text. Date: year 3, Šu-Suen. 34 x 28 x 13 mm. Partial copy (of personal names only) below.



Transliteration

- obv. (1) 5 sìla kaš sig₅ 5 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 'en?-um?l-ì-l[?]
 5 sìla kaš sig₅ 5 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín 'ìl [2 gín naga]
 bur-ma-[ma]
 (5) 5 sìla kaš sig₅ 5 sìla ninda '5 gín sum' 3 gín ì [2 gín naga]
 BÚZUR(=PÙ.ŠA)Šu-[ni]

5 sìla kaš 5 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 a-ḫu-ba-[qar?]

- (10) 5 sìla kaš 5 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín 'naga'
 i-din-ì-lí

'5' sìla kaš 5 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 šu-gu-x

5 sìla kaš 5 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 lú-dŠEŠ.KI

- (15) 5 sìla kaš 5 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 a-za-a

3 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 nì-dba-ba₆

- edge (20) '3' sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 'ur?'l.dl lama

'3' sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 'gùlde-a

- rev. 3 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 ur-ge₆-pàr

- (25) 3 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 i-rib?'kal

3 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 5 gín sum 3 gín ì 2 gín naga
 DINGIR-lama

3 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 5 gín sum

- (30) 3 gín ì 2 gín naga

a-[x]-a

šú-nigin 1 (bán) 5 sìla kaš sig₅ 4 (bán) 6 sìla kaš ús

šú-nigin 5 (bán) 4 sìla ninda šú-nigin 1 sìla 15 gín sum

šú-nigin 2/3 sìla 5 gín ì šú-nigin 1/2 sìla naga

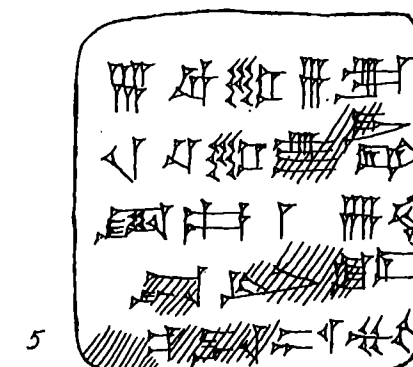
- (35) iti-min-èš u₄-8-kám

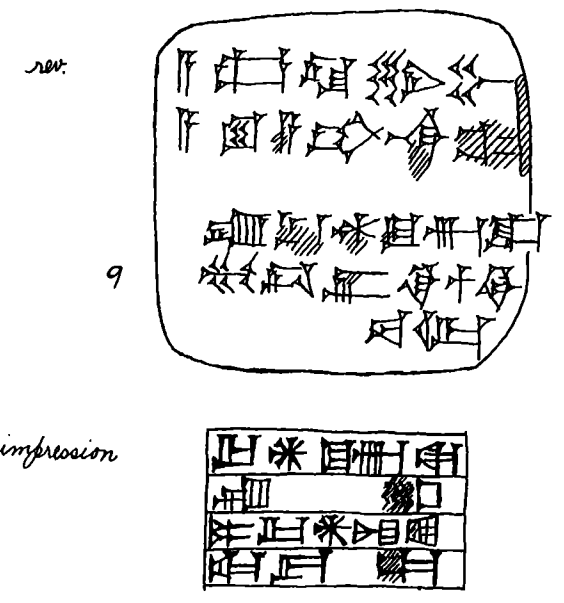
mu si-ma-núm^{ki} ba-ḫu[l]

W 2/11 (Ballard)

Intact tablet with slight surface damage. Ur III economic text dealing with work allotment. Date: Šulgi, year 47 (c. 2048 B.C.) 46 x 48 x 16 mm. Copy of tablet and of seal (the latter reconstructed from several impressions) below.

obv.

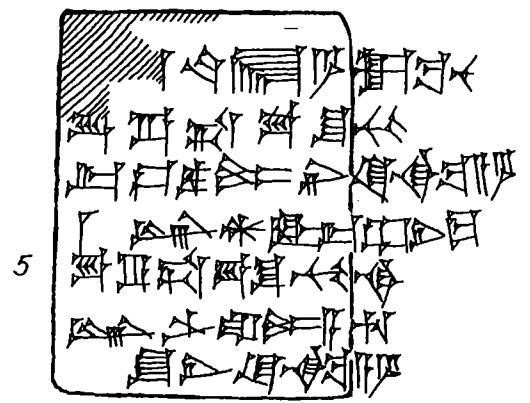




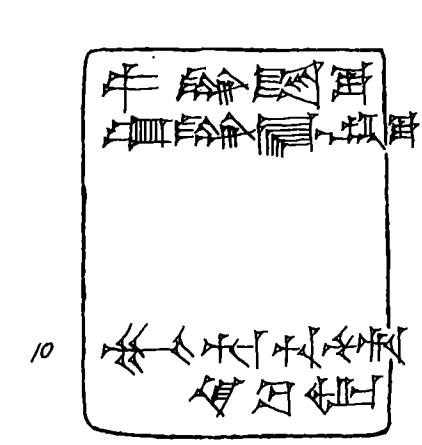
W 2/12 (Foliophiles set 1, no. 1)

Intact tablet with only slight surface damage to the upper-left corner of the obverse. Ur III administrative text concerning the appointment of substitutes. Date: Amar-Suen, year 7 (c. 2040 B.C.) 47 x 43 x 20 mm. Copy below (without seal).

Transliteration



obv. (1) [m u]r-nigin-gar engar ba-ug_x(=BAD)
iti-diri-ta iti-šu-numun
ur-gi₈gigir dumu-ni ki-na ba-a-gar
m lú-d₈á-ra ur-mes? ì-dab
(5) iti-diri-ta iti-šu-numun-na
lú-dingir-ra dumu a-*hu*-
-*šu*-ni ki-na ba-a-gar



rev. ugula lugal-murub₄-e
kišib lugal-é-ma_h-e
(10) mu *hu*-*hu*-nu-ri
ki ba-*hu*l
Seal (1) lugal-é-ma_h-e
dub-sar
(3) dumu lugal-kù-ga

Tentative translation

Ur-nigin-gar, the farmer, died. From the intercalary month to the month of Šu-numun, Ur-gi₈gigir, his son, was put in his place. Ur-mes seized Lu-Šara. From the intercalary month to the month of Šu-numun, Lu-dingir-ra son of A*hu*šuni was put in his place.

Supervisor: Lugal-murub-e. Seal of Lugal-e-ma_h-e. The year when the land of *Hu*hunuri was destroyed.

W 2/13 (Foliophiles, set 1, no. 2a)

Well preserved tablet with slight damage to the upper-right corner; one line may be missing from the beginning of the obverse and one or two lines from the end of the reverse. Ur III account text (probably from Drehem), concerning the delivery of animals. 52 x 40 x 19 mm.

Transliteration

obv. (1) '1 sila₄ d_{ni}l[n-]
mu-DU KA 'x' []
1 sila₄ dŠE[Š.KI]
1 sila₄ d_{nin}-gal
(5) mu-DU en d_{inni}[n]
1 sila₄ d_{en}-líl
mu-DU en₅-si šuruppak(=SU.KUR.'RU)¹⁹
1 sila₄ d_{nin}-líl
mu-DU en-šà-kù-gi
(10) šabra d_{nin}-giš-zi-da
1 sila₄ d_{utu}
mu-DU lú-dingir-ra šab[ra]
rev. 1 sila₄ dŠEŠ.KI
mu-DU ur.d_{nin}-gublaga(=EZENxLA)
(15) 1 zeh-niga(=ŠE) dŠEŠ.KI
1 zeh-niga(=ŠE) d_{nin}-gal

¹⁹ Apparently no room for a KI on the edge.

mu-DU lugal-má-gur₈-re sukkal
 zabar-dab mašgim
 2 maš-dà é-dub-ba-še
 (20) mu-DU é-a-ì-ì-ì-ì
 u₄-27-[kam]
 ki na '(x x)' []
 'iti-ezen?' []

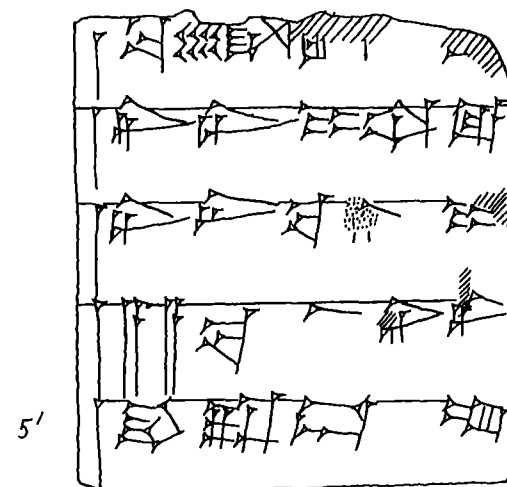
Notes on damaged signs

(2) End of preserved portion: single horizontal wedge partially visible.

(22) Possible traces of two or three unconnected verticals (surface damaged).²⁰

W 2/15

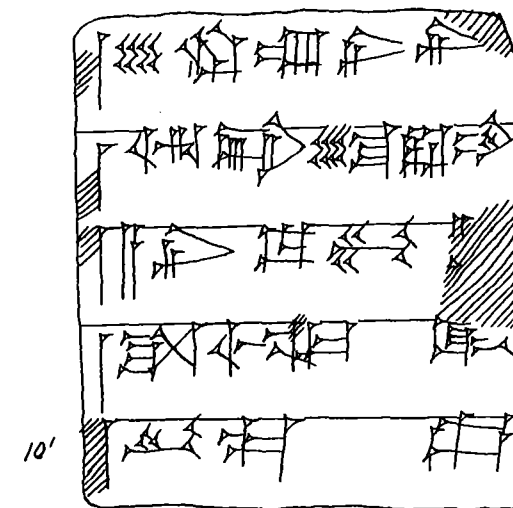
Tablet with large, neat Old Babylonian script. List of personal names (school text?). 94 x 76 x 26 mm. Copy below.



Transliteration

obv. (1) m(ba-li-x-x)
 m-ì-ì-i-te-e
 m-ì-ì-ba-ì-ni? 1-i
 m-a-a-ba-aš-ì-ì-ì-ì
 (5) m(q6-ra-du-um

²⁰ For W 2/14 (Foliophiles, set 1, no. 2b) a cylinder seal, see notes 1 and 3 above.



rev. m(e-ru-um-ì-ì-ì-ì)
 m(ar-bi-tu-ra-am
 m(a-ì-ì-lu-mu-u[r]
 m(ša-lim-SAG-1DA? 1
 (10) m(ŠEŠ-ma-KAL

I wish to express my gratitude especially to Robert Biggs, Miguel Civil, I.J. Gelb, F.R. Kraus, David I. Owen, and M. Stol, who have been very kind in answering questions connected with the preparation of this article. The edition itself is here offered as a modest tribute to Professor Samuel Noah Kramer, who has contributed so substantially to the field of cuneiform studies through his numerous text publications.

Towards a Formal Typology of Akkadian Similes

Giorgio Buccellati, Los Angeles

In his 1968 presidential address to the American Oriental Society in San Francisco, Samuel N. Kramer presented a well reasoned catalog of the sources of poetic imagery found in Sumerian literature:¹ in so doing he had chosen a topic not only close to his personal interests, but also programmatic for our field of studies, which has not otherwise paid as much attention as is desirable to literary analysis. In choosing now a topic for a paper to be offered in recognition of Kramer's scholarly contributions, it seemed fitting to walk, as it were, in his footsteps, as tangible evidence that his words stressing the importance of literature and the usefulness of literary analysis have not gone unheeded. I will not presume, however, to offer a counterpart for Akkadian of what he gave us for Sumerian literature. Rather than aiming for an exhaustive review of even a restricted corpus of literary texts, I will use a more eclectic approach: the documentary basis will be limited to a few examples which seem particularly meaningful, while methodologically the study will only try to identify some of the formal patterns which are found in Akkadian similes, without attempting to suggest a complete hierarchy in terms of importance, or lines of influence in terms of chronological development. My primary goal, then, is to point out the presence of varying degrees of complexity in the structure of Akkadian similes, and to suggest some formal devices for describing them.²

The major work on Akkadian similes, Schott's 1926 monograph, contains an interesting introductory chapter on the formal aspect of similes,³ even though the major thrust of the book is admittedly on lexical matters. The author uses a system of symbols which, I propose, may be broken down into two sets. One set refers to the structural elements of a simile, namely V = "Vorlage" for what is called in English the principal subject or tenor (e.g. Hammurapi in

(1) *Hammurapi kīma abim*

"Hammurapi is like a father");

B = "Bild" for the secondary subject or vehicle (*kīma abim* "like a father" in the preceding example); the symbol ~ to express the relationship between the preceding two; and other such symbols. The second set is used for the syntactical constituents of a sentence, such as S for subject and P for predicate. The two sets are usually combined in his notations, so that (1) would be represented as (SV) ~ (PB). Useful extensions of this system are possible and are in fact used by Schott; thus a deletion transformation as in

¹ S.N. Kramer, "Sumerian Similes: A Panoramic View of Some of Man's Oldest Literary Images," JAOS 89 (1969), 1-10. In the same year as Kramer's address there also appeared the volume by W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur* (Studia Pohl 2, Rome, 1968).

² Part of the material presented here takes into account the research done by my student Michael I. Zweibel at UCLA in 1971. This applies especially to the exemplification in sections 2 and 3 and to the manner of formalization chosen. The content of sections 6 was first presented orally at a meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Pacific Coast Section, held in Santa Barbara in the Spring 1970. For comments on this section I am indebted to Dr. Hans-Winfried Jüngling of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome.

³ A. Schott, *Die Vergleiche in den akkadischen Königsinschriften* (MVAG 30/2), pp. 3-8.

(2) *kīma iṣṣūrim ipparṣid*

"he fled like a bird [flees]"

is represented symbolically by placing the common predicate, which appears only once in the surface structure, under both elements of the simile conjoined in turn by a horizontal line, as with a fraction: $\frac{SY \sim SB}{P}$. Such scheme may be read as: the grammatical subject (S) of both the principal subject (V for "Vorlage") and the secondary subject (B for "Bild") is expressed by two separate items, whereas the predicate (P) is expressed only once and is common to both principal and secondary subject.

Another important aspect of Schott's work is that in his attempt to provide a formalized overview of devices used in Akkadian similes he came to point out patterns which are in fact missing from the Akkadian inventory: in a contrastive sense this can be very meaningful, because it helps to clarify the nature of the patterns which are attested. Schott's remarks in this respect are only incidental: he simply notes that a given pattern, which might seem likely to occur because of its similarity with other patterns or for other reasons, is instead missing. Yet his observations pave the way for interesting developments which will be introduced below.

Schott's formalization was a remarkable achievement, not only for the intrinsic merit of the scheme proposed, but also because of the lucidity with which he tried to cope in a structural fashion with a complex problem of style — something unusual in Assyriology.⁴ It will not, however, be used here, partly because for my purposes a simpler formalization will suffice. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that I will use essentially the second set of symbols proposed by Schott, namely those for syntactical constituents; in addition I will limit my considerations to noun phrases or clauses introduced by *kī* or *kīma*.

The symbols to be used in the body of the article are as follows:

- Cj = conjunction
- S = subject
- O = direct object
- C = complement (adverb or prepositional phrase)
- P = predicate.

The term "clause" is used to refer to a subordinate sentence (i. e. a sentence with a finite verb or a permansive governed by a subordinating conjunction such as *kīma*); the term "phrase" is used to refer to a noun phrase, such as a construct governing a genitive.

1. Comparative Clauses.

True comparative clauses are rare in Akkadian; where they occur, they may be broken down into two types: a first one in which the predicate of the clause is different from the predicate of the main sentence, and a second in which the predicates are the same.

As for the first type, Schott remarks that it does not exist in Akkadian; to indicate what the possible structure would be, he quotes (p. 3) a German example which in translation reads: "The cat was miaowing just like a child would be crying." In point of fact this type is not altogether missing in Akkadian, and even the documentation gathered by Schott contains examples of it, like the following:

⁴ Schott's work is also noteworthy for its statistical bent as expressed in various tables, particularly the last one (unnumbered) which gives a graphic representation of frequency distribution patterns — all this notwithstanding reservations may be raised in matters of detail concerning his methodology, for which see P. Fronzaroli, "Statistical Methods in the Study of Ancient Near Eastern Languages," in G. Buccellati (ed.), *Approaches to the Study of the Ancient Near East: Gelb Volume* (= Or. NS 42 [1973]) p. 98.

(3) *kīma libnāt Etemenanki kunnā aṣṣātīm*
*iṣid kussīya ṣurṣid ana ūm rēqūtīm*⁵

"Establish firmly and for long ages the foundation of my throne just like the bricks of Etemenanki are firm forever".

Another example of the same type, but more complex structure, is found in a text of a different genre:

(4) *kīma itqu annū¹ innappaṣu-ma ana [iṣāti innaddū],*
girru qamū iqamm[ūṣu],
ana muḥḥi ṣēnīṣu lā ita[rru],
ana lubuṣti ilim u ṣarrim lā [iṣeḥḥu],
nīṣu, māmītu . . .
— kīma itqi annī —
linna[piṣ-ma]
ina ūmē annī girru qamū [liqmī]
māmītu littaṣī-ma
*anāku nūra l[ūmur].*⁶

"As this tuft of wool is plucked and thrown into the fire, where the flames thoroughly consume it so that it does not return onto its sheep nor does it serve as ceremonial clothing, so may invocation, oath, etc. be plucked — just like this tuft of wool — and may the flames consume it thoroughly on this very day; may it depart, that I may see the light."

In (3) the predicate of the comparative clause (*kunnā*) is different in form from the predicate of the main sentence (*ṣurṣid*), but is very similar in form. In (4) the correlation between the predicates is more complex, because there are five in the comparative clause and four in the main sentence, partly with identical and partly with a different root:

comparative clause	main sentence
<i>kīma innappaṣu-ma</i>	<i>linnapiṣ</i> : identical
<i>innaddū</i>	: missing
<i>qamū iqammū</i>	<i>qamū liqmī</i> : identical
<i>lā itarru</i>	<i>littaṣī</i> : different, but similar concept
<i>lā iṣeḥḥu</i>	<i>lūmur</i> : different

In addition, one should note the resumptive noun phrase *kīma itqi annī*, embedded in the main sentence: it serves to tie in the main sentence to the beginning of the clause where the term of comparison first appeared.

While the identity of the predicates in (4) is only partial, there are other cases in which the identity is complete (this being the second of the types mentioned at the beginning of the present section). See for example:

(5) (a) *kī ṣa anāku muṣarā ṣiṭir ṣumi ṣarri abi bānīya*
itti muṣarē ṣiṭir ṣumiya aṣkunu-ma,
(c') *attā,*
(b) *— kīma yātī-ma —*
(c'') *muṣarā ṣiṭir ṣumīya amur-ma . . . itti muṣarē ṣiṭir ṣumika ṣukun.*⁷

⁵ VAB 4, 64: 43ff. (Nabopolassar), cf. Schott, op. cit., pp. 31 f., with more examples of the same type.

⁶ Šurpu V-VI 93-100 (cf. 83-92; 103-112; 113-122).

⁷ 3 R 16,6: 14ff. (Esarhaddon), cf. Schott, op. cit., p. 31. Note that is not strictly a simile, since it is not figurative in content.

"Just like I placed the inscriptions bearing the name of the king
my true father together with the inscriptions bearing my own name,
so you,
— just like me —,
when you see an inscription bearing my name . . . place it with the inscriptions
bearing your name."

Note in this example, besides the identity of the two predicates (*ašunu*, *šukun*), the unusual occurrence of the enclitic *-ma* in an emphatic, rather than coordinative, sense after the verb (*ašunu-ma*), and the addition of a resumptive noun phrase (*kīma yātī-ma*) similar in form and function to the resumptive noun phrase *kīma itqi annī* in (4).

The introduction of the noun phrase in a resumptive function in the last example is particularly interesting because a noun phrase of this type is, by itself, the standard type of the Akkadian simile. In effect the phrase, even though much shorter, conveys the same information as the comparative clause, since the latter does not add anything to the elements already contained in the main sentence. This relationship may be represented graphically as follows:

- (5) (a) Cj S₁ O C P
(c') S₂
(h) Cj S₁
(c'') O C P

The only change in constituents between (a-b) on the one hand and (c) on the other is the presence of one subject in one case (S₁ - *anāku*, *yātī*), and a different subject in the other (S₂ = *attā*). The other elements of the clause, on the other hand, are also found in the main sentence, namely the object (O = *mušarā* ...), the complement (C = *itti mušarē*) and the predicate (P = *ašunu/šukun*). Thus it may be said the presence of both phrase and clause serves an emphatic purpose, or, more specifically, that the clause is emphatic with respect to the phrase.

2. Deletion Patterns.

The relationship between noun phrase and clause in the example just discussed may be stated by saying that the phrase is the same as the clause except for the deletion of some elements: in *kīma yātī-ma*, the pronoun *yātī* corresponds to the subject of a clause of the type *kīma anāku mušarē ašunu*, regardless of whether or not the text gives in fact such a clause (as it happens to be the case in [5]). The reconstruction of the underlying clause, based in the main sentence, and the successive deletion of some of its elements are a useful tool for describing the nature of a comparative noun phrase. If we look at the comparative noun phrases in this light, a few major patterns of deletion emerge.

Of the basic constituents of a sentence (subject, predicate, object and complement), the ones that are normally preserved, i. e. are not deleted, are the subject and, less frequently, the object; the complement is preserved only seldom: and when the predicate is preserved, we have a clause instead of a phrase. Here are some of the possible types to serve as exemplification (with square brackets including the deleted constituents and dots representing the main sentence).

- (6) *kīma iššūrī ipparšū*⁸ ~ *kīma iššūrū [ipparšū] . . .*
"like birds they flew away" "as birds fly . . ."

⁸ AKA, p. 42: 41-42 (Tiglath-Pileser I). This is properly a combination of metaphor ("they flew away") and simile ("like birds"); for another example of the same, see for instance AKA, p. 361: 51 (Assurnasirpal): "the city . . . hung down like a cloud from heaven."

- (7) *ummānātēšunū kīma zirgī unekkis*⁹ ~ *kīma zirgī [unakkasū] . . .*
"I cut down their troops like sheep" "as one cuts down sheep . . ."
- (8) *gimir mātīšū . . . kīma imbari ašup*¹⁰ ~ *kīma imbaru [māta isaḥḥapū] . . .*
"I swept over his entire land like a storm" "as a storm sweeps over land . . ."
- (9) *kīma iššūrī ašra rapša littapraš*¹¹ ~ *kīma iššūrū [ašra rapša ipparrašū] . . .*
"may it fly away like a bird to the desert" "as a bird flies to the desert . . ."
- (10) *kīma iššūrī qinnī ana kāpi ša šadī iddūni*¹² ~ *kīma iššūrū [qinnī ana kāpi inaddū] . . .*
"like birds they hang their dwellings on the cliff of the mountains" "as birds hang nests on the cliffs . . ."

These examples are of the simplest type, and on this basis alone an attempt to describe comparative phrases in terms of an underlying sentence structure may well seem needlessly complicated; however, the usefulness of the model may appear more clearly when it is applied to elucidate unusual patterns. At first, it may seem unlikely that such unusual patterns should be frequent: if noun phrases are the rule, how can there be considerable degrees of complexity? The answer is basically twofold: either because the type of deletion which takes place is different from the common ones described above, or because the noun phrase is complex in its structure. These two possibilities will now be taken up in that order.

3. Unusual Deletions.

As it appears from the breakdown of deletion patterns, the standard types are characterized not only by the nature of the constituents that are retained (subject in the first place, and then object), but also by the fact that normally only *one* constituent is preserved. Unusual deletions, therefore, are those which present an exception to these two trends.

Retention of the complement and deletion of subject, (object) and predicate is the first rare case we must consider:

- (11) *ina dāmēšunū gapšūti išallū nārīš*¹³ ~ *kīma ina nārī [išallū] . . .*
"(the horses) plunged into their overflowing blood like a river" "as one would into a river . . ."
- (12) *pagrī . . . kīma urqīti umallā šēra*¹⁴ ~ *kīma urqīta [šēra umallū] . . .*
"I filled the plain with their bodies like grass" "as one would cover a field with grass . . ."

⁹ AKA, p. 58: 98-99 (Tiglath-Pileser I).

¹⁰ OIP 2, p. 59: 28 (Sennacherib).

¹¹ CT 17, 22 iii 143 f. = CAD I, p. 211 b (SAG.GIG).

¹² AKA, p. 276: 64-65 (Assurnasirpal).

¹³ OIP 2, pp. 45-46: 5-7 (Sennacherib).

¹⁴ OIP 2, p. 46: 9-10 (Sennacherib).

In both cases the comparative noun phrase produces a surprise effect precisely because the pattern is unusual and unexpected. Similar is the case with deletions which leave two constituents unaffected, as in the following:

- (13) *madatta kī ſa Aššurī ēmissunūti*¹⁵ ~ *kīma ſa (=maddatta) eli Aššurī [emmidu] . . .*
 "I placed upon them a tribute like that of the Assyrians" "as I impose it over the Assyrians . . ."

This is actually not a good example, because the phrase *ſa Aššurī* is properly a genitival phrase, and thus might best be considered under the complex noun phrases discussed in the next section. A proper example for the type here at stake would be a sentence like:

- (14) "he was as dear to him as a child to his father,"
 but I did not happen to find an example of this type in Akkadian. It may be that nominalization by means of the determinative pronoun is a common way of resolving cases where two constituents would otherwise appear in the surface structure, though my documentation is too scanty to suggest this as a rule. Here is another example of the same phenomenon:

- (15) *eper ſepēſunu* ~ *kīma imbaru ina dunni [ſamē katmu]*
kīma imbari kabti ſa dunni erīyāti
*pān ſamē rapšūte katim*¹⁶
 "the dust of their feet
 covers the expanse of the sky
 like a heavy storm of the coldest
 period of the winter." "as a storm covers the sky in winter"

4. Complex Noun Phrases.

The elements preserved from deletion may be in themselves complex noun phrases. The simplest degree of this type of complexity is illustrated by the following:

- (16) *bīta ella . . . ſa ſūpū kīma kakkab ſamē*¹⁷ ~ *kīma kakkab ſamē [ſūpū] . . .*
 "a pure house which was bright like a star of heaven" "as a star of heaven is bright . . ."

The complexity of the noun phrase is reduced to the fact that the subject (*kakkab ſamē*) consists of a possessive genitive, which implies an underlying sentence of the type: *ſamū kakkaba iſū*. The examples listed at the end of the preceding section, with nominalization by means of the determinative pronoun, belong properly here as complex noun phrases. In all of these cases the predicate presupposed by the comparative noun phrase is the same as that of the main sentence. When the predicate is different, a new degree of increased complexity is introduced.

Let us consider first a simple example of this type:

- (17) *ſadāni ſaqūti ſa ſamū kīma ziqip paṭri*¹⁸
 "high mountains, (the top of) which were sharp like the point of a dagger."

¹⁵ Lie, Sargon Annals, 10 (Sargon II).

¹⁶ OIP 2, p. 44: 56-60 (Sennacherib).

¹⁷ AKA, pp. 97-98: 90-97 (Tiglath-Pileser I).

¹⁸ AKA, p. 53: 43 (Tiglath-Pileser I).

On the face of it, the structure of this comparative phrase is identical to that of (16), since in both cases *kīma* occurs as a preposition followed by a genitive noun in the construct state, governing in turn another noun in the genitive. There is however a difference in the way in which one must understand the predicate of the underlying sentence. While in (16) the predicate of the comparative clause is the same as that of the main sentence, in (17) it is not; here the predicate is instead derived from the noun in the construct state, hence:

- kīma ziqip paṭri* ~ *kīma paṭru zaqpu*
 "like the point of a dagger" "(as sharp) as a dagger is pointed"

Note that no deletion is indicated precisely because the elements of the comparative clause (and of the noun phrase which is its nominalization) are independent from those of the main sentence.

The natural extension of this type is by means of a relative clause added to the comparative noun phrase, as in the following example:

- (18) *kī rē'i ſa ſēnāſū ḥabtā ēdānuſſu ipparſid*¹⁹
 "he fled alone like a shepherd whose flocks have been robbed."

Here the relative clause built into the comparative phrase describes the flight of an Assyrian enemy (the grammatical subject of the main sentence), stressing however not so much the fact of the flight as such, but rather the isolation which results from it. In addition, the relative clause emphasizes the violent nature of the events (the flocks are not simply missing, they have been robbed — which shows us, incidentally, the Assyrian king taking pride in his behaving like a robber), and acquires therefore greater strength than a phrase such as

- (18') *kī rē'i balūm ſēnīſū*
 "like a shepherd without his flock."

Thus the comparison refers both to the predicate (*ipparſid*) and to the complement (*ēdānuſſu*) of the main sentence: the Assyrian enemy shares both in the solitude of a shepherd deprived of his flock, and in the sense of fright of the same shepherd who, having been attacked and robbed, runs presumably away from his attackers. The comparative noun phrase may therefore be analyzed according to the following scheme:

- (18) *kī rē'i . . . ēdānuſſu ipparſid* ~ *kīma rē'u [ēdānuſſu ipparſid] . . .*
 "he fled alone like a shepherd" "as a shepherd flees alone . . ."
kī rē'i ſa ſēnāſū ḥabt ~ *ſēna rē'i ḥbutū*
 "like a shepherd whose flock was robbed" "they robbed the shepherd's flock."

5. Conjoined Noun Phrases.

Another way in which the complexity of noun phrases may be increased is by conjoining two or more of them: "like . . . and/or like . . ." Such clustering of comparisons does not seem to be frequent in Akkadian, though it does occur. The example which I will quote is the most complex Akkadian simile I know, combining as it does all the patterns reviewed so far. It comes from the Vision of the Netherworld, on the content of which I will come back in the Excursus below. Given the length of the text to be quoted, I place the translation side by side, and will give the analysis separately.

¹⁹ Lie, Sargon Annals, 55 (Sargon II)

- (19) *kīma eṭli tābik dāmē*
ša ina šuṣē idīššū ittanallaki

bēl birki iktumušu-ma
itarrakū libbūšu
ū kīma lillidi šaḥṭ šehri
ša ina muḥḥi sinništīšu elū
u libbūšu ittanampaḥū
ṭiṭṭa ana pīšu u arkātīšu
ittenešū,
*sipitta ušaṣriḥ-ma . . .*²⁰

"like a man who has shed blood,
 who, alone, runs back and forth in the reed
 thickets
 and just as his pursuers track him down
 (feels) his heart pound(ing heavily),
 or again like a young boar just come of age
 whose heart is all ablaze
 as he mounts his mate,
 and keeps secreting 'slime'
 through his front and his back,
 (thus the prince) utters cries of mourning . . .

The entire passage, except for the last line, consist of a cluster of comparative noun phrases. The first major sub-division is given by the disjunctive particle *ū*: *kīma eṭli . . . ū kīma šaḥṭ* . . . "like a man . . . or a young boar." On either side of the particle *ū* we have a complex and rhythmic structure consisting of three relative clauses in each case:

ša ittanallaku,
iktumušu,
itarrakū,
ša elū,
ittanampaḥū,
ittenešū.

"who runs back and forth,
 whom they track down,
 whose (heart) pounds;
 who is on top,
 whose (heart) is ablaze,
 who keeps secreting."

The subject of each set of clauses is in turn qualified by an apposition which serves in effect like a fourth clause in each case:

kīma eṭli tābik dāmē,
kīma lillidi šaḥṭ šehri.

"like a man who has shed blood,
 like a young boar who has just come of age."

The relationship between the main sentence and the comparative clause, or clause cluster, is involved, and may best be understood against the background of a closer investigation of the text as a whole, which will be given separately in the Excursus below. Here it must be pointed out, however, that imagery contained in the cluster of similes is so well developed as to almost besome an end in itself. The author does more than give a fleeting reference to a point of comparison. He paints two vivid pictures which stand out, literarily, on their own merits — even apart, that is, from what they contribute to the main theme of the text as a whole. In the imaginative delight which goes into the portrait of the murderer and the young boar, Mesopotamian literature comes closest, perhaps, to the type of long and well developed "epic simile" that one finds for instance, in Homer.²¹

6. Stylistic Considerations: Similes and Figurative Language.

The relative scarcity of truly complex similes in Akkadian literature, such as (4) and (19), must not be understood in the sense that this literature is poor in imagery and figurative language. Obviously, one cannot equate imagery with similes, and one will have to look elsewhere in order to formulate a valid comprehensive

²⁰ E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* 1. Teil, 1 Rev. 29-31; see also W. von Soden, "Die Unterweltvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen," *ZA* 43 (1936), 1-31; A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago 1946), pp. 132-36; Speiser, *ANET*, pp. 109-110; Oppenheim, *Dream-book*, p. 214.

²¹ See for instance C.M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London, 1952), pp. 275-80; T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London, 1958), pp. 82, 223-239.

judgment. While such evaluation is not the purpose of the present article, some considerations along these lines will help to place the nature of the Akkadian simile in its proper perspective.

Some of the phenomena that have been noted with respect to comparative noun phrases and clauses reflect a trend which is generally noticeable in Akkadian on other levels as well. Thus nominalization is used very extensively, with a large number of structural variations and a wealth of meanings; certainly it is preferred over other clauses, including relatives.²² In point of fact, subordination in general is avoided, or at least it is less productive than one might expect — which explains why the use of *kīma* as a comparative conjunction is so unproductive. Instead of subordination, Akkadian maximizes coordination, so that coordinating particles, especially the enclitic *-ma*, acquire a much wider range of values than is has been recognized so far.²³ Statistical analysis may be quite useful in this case, since it helps to pinpoint with reliable quantitative documentation the relative degree of popularity and productivity of the various constructions.

Since subordination is generally avoided, and since nominalization imposes considerable limitations on the expanded development of a comparison, it is natural that other formal patterns should come into play to serve as an outlet for figurative language in Akkadian literature. Most common and successful among them is perhaps the metaphor, which we find especially in wisdom and religious texts. Here it is much easier to encounter relatively complex structures, such as the following example of a conjoined metaphor from the Dialogue of Pessimism:

- (20) *sinništu burtu-burtu, šattatu, ḥirītu*
*sinništu paṭar parzilli šēli ša ikkisū kišād eṭli*²⁴

"Woman is a pitfall — a pitfall, a hole, a ditch,
 Woman is a sharp iron dagger that cuts a man's throat" (Lambert)

The two elements of the metaphor are skillfully construed to provide a sense of climax and parallelism at the same time. The first one contains elements of comparison which are similar in content: we have in effect a list of synonyms for "trap," made more lively (and rhythmic: the cesura divides the line in two hemistichs) by the syntactical break due to the emphatic repetition of the first predicate. The second metaphor introduces a new concept (from passive antagonist — a trap — to active — a dagger), and a similar bipartite structure, whereby the first hemistich is also a nominal sentence, while the second, for variation and resolution, is a relative clause.

Religious texts often contain images which are very intense, but are more easily disregarded precisely because their being embedded in religious and practically oriented manuals shrouds their literary quality. It is difficult in effect to distinguish between the purely imaginary value of some of the texts, and other texts where the image is concretized by ritual enactment: the demarcation line may not be clear, but the vividness of the image remains a certain fact, whether in addition it is also enacted or whether it remains at the level of the word. Take for instance the following passage taken from a manual of potency incantations, and addressed to the sick person, or more specifically to the part of the male body affected by impotence:

- (21) *Akannu, akannu!* Wild ass, wild ass!
Rīmu, rīmu! Wild bull, wild bull!
Mannu u[rammēk]a Who has made you fall limp
kīma qī ramūti? like slack cords?
Mannu kīma ḥūl[i Who has blocked your passage
alakt]aka iprus? as if it were a road?

²² See G. Buccellati, "On the Akkadian 'Attributive' Genitive," *Proceedings of First North-American Conference on Semitic Linguistics*, forthcoming.

²³ A preliminary analysis of coordination types is to be found in G. Buccellati and J.L. Hayes, *Morpho-Lexical Analysis of Akkadian Texts*, Vol. 1, forthcoming.

Mannu itbuk
ana libbika
[mē kaš]ūti,
ana muḥḥi libbika
iškun ad[irt]a
[dil]ipta i[špuk]?²⁵

Who has poured
on your quick
frigid water,
upon your quick
has heaped gloom,
has instilled confusion?

The personification as wild ass and wild bull is obviously meant to have a suggestive value for the impotent man, and provide a psychological basis for the cure by inducing the appropriate sort of phantasy in the patient's mind. But there is no doubt that the text has a strong literary quality which is in effect placed in the service of the intended medical treatment: the chiastic resolution of word order (the noun phrases *kīma qī ramūti* and *adirta* occurring after the predicate, *kīma ḥūli* and *dilipta* occurring before); the anticipation of the predicate in the predicate in two instances, over complement and direct object (*mannu urammēka kīma qī ramūti* and *mannu itbuk ana libbika mē kašūti*), alternating with the two other sentences which have regular word order (another type of chiasm); the deletion of *mannu* in the last sentence, resulting in a longer sentence at the end with a noticeable climactic effect—all of this has an inner momentum which gives the passage a strong structural unity as if in a poetic stanza. It matters little that the initial stimulus may be due to a religious and psychological intent: the literary achievement is valid on its own merit. And for our present concern, this means (even without further documentation at this point) that figurative language is in fact present in Akkadian with a degree of excellence which leaves nothing to be desired.

7. Excursus: Of a Prophetic Topos in Assyria and Ancient Israel.

A proper understanding of text (19), which is the most complex simile quoted in the article, requires a longer discussion than it was possible in the body of the discussion. The passage is taken from The Vision of the Netherworld which, following von Soden's convincing arguments,²⁶ may be dated in the latter years of Esarhaddon, around 670 B.C. The content in which our simile is embedded may be summarized as follows: An Assyrian prince, by the name of Kummā, conceives a strong desire to visit the Netherworld, and is finally granted his wish—in a dream. After viewing an entire parade of monsters he arrives in the presence of Nergal; the god turns against the prince and wants to kill him; but Išum, the god's messenger, convinces him to instead spare the prince's life, and to send him back to the upper regions so that he may serve as a living witness of Nergal's glory ("that the inhabitants of all the earth may forever hear of your greatness," Rev. 17). Nergal agrees, but only after translating his messenger's advice into a precise missionary program. Kummā will be let go, on condition that he proclaim to the world two interrelated messages: the goodness and glorious deeds of a spirit who is standing next to Nergal, and the perversity of Kummā's own father. Neither the spirit nor Kummā's father are identified, but from their attributes it appears clearly that they are both kings of Assyria. Following von Soden's interpretation,²⁷ it is likely that the dead king, who is standing in spirit next to Nergal, is Sennacherib, and the living king who is reproached is Esarhaddon. Kummā, therefore, would be a son of Esarhaddon, more precisely the crown prince, possibly Assurbanipal; he would represent a party at court in favor of resuming the policies of the older king Sennacherib, especially (perhaps) with respect to Babylonia. Thus the text which we entitle "The Vision of the Netherworld," with its message from Nergal in favor of Sennacherib's political line, would be a plot of the anti-Babylonian party aimed at adding religious prestige to their political plans.

²⁴ BWL, p. 146: 51-52.

²⁵ TCS 2, p. 19: 20-23.

²⁶ ZA 43 (1936), 3, 6-9.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Be that as it may, it is clear that the text presents Kummā as the carrier of a message which is unpopular at that particular moment in time and implies therefore a certain danger. And here we come to the specific locus which gives occasion to the author to introduce the simile. After a final warning by Nergal that the message will be "like a thorn in the heart of" the people once Kummā starts proclaiming it in the upper regions, Kummā awakens and is stricken by the consciousness of his newly acquired prophetic vocation—and the simile is introduced precisely to describe his state of mind. Kummā feels strongly ambivalent. The confrontation with Nergal and the awareness of the unpopularity and resulting danger of his message cause fear in him—such as a murderer feels who is running away hiding in the bushes—and yet excited attraction at the same time—similar to that of a boar in heat who is mounting his mate. The simile, therefore, serves a precise function in the economy of the story: it underscores the seriousness of the situation and the heroic posture of the protagonist.

Such an interest in the psychological state of the prophet is not found in other Mesopotamian prophetic texts, of which the Mari letters have provided the most recent and the best studied examples.²⁸ Only one text²⁹ refers to a young man (*ṣuḥārum*) who did not immediately communicate a vision he had received, and did so only after receiving a second vision. The reason for the delay is not stated in the text but may have possibly been due to a reluctance based on fear of the consequences. An interesting bit of information follows in the same text. After the first revelation the young man became sick, which may be interpreted either as a punishment for his delay, or as a physical reaction to the psychic problems caused by the revelation.³⁰ If the Mari texts are so laconic concerning the psychic state of the prophets it is most likely because these texts are essentially reports contained in letters, so that the interest centers rather on the content of the messages than on the psychological state of the prophet. The Vision of the Netherworld, on the other hand, precisely because it does not belong to the epistolary genre, dwells with greater interest on the internal experience of the prophet.

In line with the Assyrian text are, on the other hand, many Old Testament passages which are equally literary, rather than epistolary, in character. The first prophet who comes to mind is Jeremiah, whose vocation is described in detail, and who reacts with cries of woe reminiscent of Kummā's:

ʾāhāh ʾādonāy Yhwh
hinnē lō-yādaʾt dabbēr.³¹
ʾōy lī, ʾimmī
kī yaliditī
ʾāh wāʾāš mādōn lākāl hāʾāreš.³²
Kī middē ʾāḏabbēr ʾezʾāq
hāmās wāʾāš ʾeqrā;
kī hāyā dāḥar Yhwh lī
lāḥerpā ʾāleqes kāl hayyōm.
Wāʾāmartī: lō ʾezekōrennū
wəlō ʾāḏabber ʾōḏ bišmō.
Wāhāyā bālabbī kēʾāš boʾeret

"Ah, Lord Yahweh,
look, I do not know how to speak."
"Woe to me, my mother,
because in me you have brought to life
a man of strife and discord for all the land."
"Whenever I speak, I cry loud,
I proclaim violence and destruction;
thus the word of Yahweh has become for me
cause of derision and ridicule all day long.
I said: 'I shall forget about him.
quit speaking in his name.'
But there came like a burning fire in my heart,

²⁸ See most recently K. Koch, "Die Briefe 'prophetischen' Inhalts aus Mari," UF 4 (1972), 53-77, with earlier literature.

²⁹ ARMT 13, 112.

³⁰ See F. Ellermeier, Prophetie in Mari und Israel (Herzberg, 1968), pp. 158 f.: on the psychic state of the prophets see especially W.L. Moran, "New Evidence from Mari on the History of Prophecy," Biblica 50 (1969), 27 f. The unusual reaction brings to mind shamanistic traits; on this subject see e. g. A. S. Kapelrud, "Shamanistic Features in the Old Testament," in C.-M. Edsman (ed.), Studies in Shamanism (Stockholm, 1967), pp. 90-97.

³¹ Jer. 1 : 6.

³² Jer. 15 : 10.

³³ Jer. 20 : 8-9.

'āšur ba'āšmoṭāy:
wənil'ēṭ kalkēl
wəld 'ukāl.³³

sealed up inside my bones:
and I was exhausted by holding it in
and could not make it."

The passionate confessions of Jeremiah are only the most detailed, and lyrical, expression of a tradition which is otherwise richly documented in the Bible, from Moses to Jonah to Paul. Even Isaiah shows a certain reluctance at first in face of the prophetic vocation; he volunteers his offices as the messenger of god only after proclaiming his unworthiness, and having been purified on his mouth by a seraph with a burning coal.³⁴

Thus the Assyrian Vision of the Netherworld, though close in time to Jeremiah (they both belong probably to the same seventh century, Kummā in the earlier, Jeremiah in the latter part), should not be construed as providing a specific parallel to any given Biblical text. Rather it would seem to give evidence of a general trait which accompanied the prophetic "profession" in ancient Southwestern Asia. It had become a prophetic "topos" to express reluctance in front of the divine vocation, a reluctance borne out of a sense of awe for God as the originator of the message, a feeling of inadequacy for one's own potential, and — especially in the case of unpopular messages — the real fear of harmful consequences, to the point of persecution and the loss of life. The texts of Mari, being the oldest evidence for prophecy, provide us in an indirect manner with an etiology for the fear/attraction topos. As pointed out especially by Moran,³⁵ there was great concern in Mari for means of establishing the authenticity of the prophetic word — a concern which remained prevalent throughout the history of Biblical prophetism. And it is along these lines, I would suggest, that the fear topos developed. One was not supposed to show facile enthusiasm for a vocation to the prophetic mission,³⁶ rather it was in keeping with the "profession" to react negatively to the divine call. Not that such a reaction was necessarily insincere: the nature of the experience itself, when genuine, would explain fully the hesitations of the chosen one — an instinctive gesture of humble withdrawal such as the Gospel of Luke describes for Mary at the Annunciation.³⁷ But however sincere and understandable the reaction, the fact remains that in the ancient Near East hesitation borne out of fear had become a characteristic reaction of the prophet when he felt himself called, and that this had built up into a real tradition.³⁸ As a counterpart of the fear topos, there also grew an excited overstress of the call itself: hesitation and fear, in other words, could only be overcome by an even greater attraction inherent in the call, thus originating the enthusiasm syndrome, in its etymological sense. It is the latter aspect of the prophetic attitude which is embodied in the most common Akkadian word for prophet, *maḥḥū*,³⁹ which refers to the ecstatic transport by means of which the prophet overcomes fear and establishes a direct connection between the human sphere and the divine.

³⁴ Is. 1 : 4-9. On the literary structure of these and other Old Testament prophetic vocations see N. Habel, "The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives," ZA 57 (1965), 297-323.

³⁵ Biblica 50 (1969), 27 f.

³⁶ Along these lines see also F.R. Kraus, "Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform," ZA 43 (1936), 92-93, 107, Text 6, Obv. i 36'-37': [*šumma nūr i]li ammar, nūr ili amar išanassī, ina dān dīnīšu ul uṣṣī* "if he is wont to say aloud 'I see the light of god, I see the light of god!', he will not come out easily from the verdict due for his case."

³⁷ It is interesting to note how the element of humility is stressed in the pictorial representations of the Annunciation in the medieval Tuscan schools, of which the one by Simone Martini (today in the Uffizi gallery) is perhaps the most famous. Compositionally, this is underscored by the presence, in almost all cases, of a vertical element (normally a column) between Mary and the Angel.

³⁸ For "traditional" elements, as evidenced first in the Mari texts, preserved in Hoseah, see M.J. Buss, "Mari Prophecy and Hosea," JBL 88 (1969), 338

³⁹ On this see especially Moran, Biblica 50 (1969), 27 f.

The Šamaš Hymn: A Note on its Structure*

G.R. Castellino, Rome

The great Šamaš hymn is very well known. It has been frequently translated and has experienced, by the expert hand of Prof. W.G. Lambert, a definitive edition.

The artistic value and the ethical superiority of the content of the hymn can be considered a common admission. Defects in verse technique and echoes from other literature have been pointed out, but both, defects and echoes, do not bear a great weight on the overall assessment of the text. Perhaps the major shortcoming of the composition would seem to lie in the general arrangement of the subject matter. On this point W.G. Lambert is explicit: "In subject matter there is no very rigorous arrangement of topics."¹ This, with "an unevenness of style", and some other considerations would favour, in the opinion of scholars, a date after the Cassite period.

We do not intend to enter into a discussion of the several points that have been raised about this composition. Our aim is to try to dispel the criticism of the hymn concerning its somewhat loose arrangement of subject matter. And we think it can be done.

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We had recently occasion to reconsider the text in the frame of a larger work. When we came to analyzing the contents in order to draw up a list of all the topics touched upon or developed in the hymn, we were suddenly struck by the recurrence of some of the topics, as apparent superfluous repeats. Our next observation, when trying to explain these repeats, was that they followed a certain order. We read the passages that appeared to treat the same subjects and we were led to notice a certain correspondence between the first and the second

* The present Note on the Šamaš hymn is intended as an appendix to the "Incantation to Utu" we published in *Oriens Antiquus* 8 (1969), 1-57 + plates II-XV. The two texts show connections as to their general content and testify to the continuity and development of literary genres in Mesopotamian literature. For the philological and historical illustrations of the hymn we refer the reader to the treatment and study by W.G. Lambert in his *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, pp. 121 ff.

¹ BWL, p. 121.

part of the hymn. Part two, we remarked, treated practically the same topics as part one. But what looked to us puzzling at first, was that the topics in the second part occurred in the reverse order of the first part. Then we soon realized that this "going back" in the reverse order might be intentional, that is, with the purpose to imitate the course of the sun in its march from East to West, and its return from West to East through the Netherworld. This double run is explicitly recalled in lines 43-44:

a-na šid-di šá la i-di ni-su-ti u bi-ri la ma-nu-ti
dŠamaš dal-pa-ta šá ur-ra tal-li-ka u mu-ša ta-saḥ-ra

"To unknown distant regions and for uncounted leagues
 you press on, Šamaš, going by day and returning by night" (Transl. Lambert)

Once this was realized, passing to the analysis of the structure of the composition, the several sections into which it can be divided appeared to fit into a clear pattern and received adequate explanation, both as to contents and to order.

Let us therefore take a general view of the whole.

The hymn opens with a very regular two-distic strophe of the pattern AB:A'B, the variant in A' consisting of the insertion of the divine name Šamaš in the otherwise unchanged repetition of the first verse.

Part One: Šamaš on his initial journey.

This part describes in three sections the rising and onward march of the Sun in such a way as to combine both the physical aspect and movement of the Sun disc as well as the physical and religious or spiritual effects brought about by Šamaš as god.

Section I. Šamaš at rise.

a) 5-22. These lines paint in lively colours the apparition of the Sun disc at dawn, the spreading out of light and brightness that reaches everywhere towards lands and regions, and renewing life among gods and men.

b) 23-24. These lines centre more explicitly on the activity of the Sun as god: he surveys and shepherds all peoples and all living creatures high and low.

Section II. Šamaš starts his onward march.

a) 35-52. He has first to cross the sea, vast and deep, whose bounds not even the Igigi can penetrate. Unlike the Moon, his light never fails during the day, and after the night's rest, he reappears again. In his great crossing through the skies he controls all countries even the remotest ones, reading into the secrets of all languages and following the movements of all creatures, who reverently acknowledge his dominion.

b) 53-64. Again, these lines deal with the office of Šamaš as god of justice presenting him as caring for the categories of ministers whose particular duty it is to interpret the will of the gods, and giving unalterable verdicts. It might be remarked that also between these two sections parallels and correspondences can be pointed out as to content². Their purpose may be to mark the continuity of Šamaš' course.

² Cf. lines 21f with 47f; 23f with 49f; 25f with 51f; 31f with 57f.

Section III. Šamaš as "Traveller" through the skies.

a) 65-82. By means of his penetrating rays that reach to the deepest seas as well as the most impervious mountains, Šamaš is the true companion traveller for all the categories of men who have to wander on earth for the most varied errands and activities or who are retained in prison. Šamaš is here mainly considered as "the Lamp".

b) 83-94. The paragraph shows his activity as god of justice against those who lift their covetous eyes on their neighbour's house and family, or lie when taking oaths. We are thus introduced to the central section.

Section IV. (95-129). Šamaš at his zenith.

The present section is a little longer than the others from which it differs also in its content. Here the physical nature of Šamaš as light giver is not explicitly mentioned and he appears and acts solely as god of justice, punishing and destroying all forms of social injustice and the persons responsible for them. Positively, he upholds all those that act according to justice, for the benefit of their fellow men. On the negative side are ranged the plotter of villainy, the dishonest and corrupt judge, the usurer, the unmerciful in exacting payment, the cheater and whosoever is fraudulent in business transactions. On the positive list are found the honest and prudent judge, the disinterested sustainer of the poor, the one who invests money in foreign trade and gives (high) dividends(?), he who is sincere and truthful with everybody.

As we said, section IV of the hymn is the longest, and is ethically worth high consideration. It also occupies, roughly speaking the mid-point (fourth out of seven) of the hymn, and may be said to correspond to the midday arc described by the Sun in the sky. After that the Sun quickly reaches the end of his course and, setting in the West, resumes his march through the Netherworld in order to return to the starting point. Similarly, the composition having shown Šamaš as giver of life and light, as surveyor of animate and inanimate beings, as vindicator of justice and as beneficent god for the social welfare, takes up again each topic and reviews them in the reverse order, echoing the first part, although avoiding verbal repetitions.

Part Two. Šamaš on his return journey.

The first section of this return, fifth in order (130-155), corresponds to section III (65-82). Indeed, Šamaš is described as receiving the acts of religious homage at the close of day by all those in need: the humble, the afflicted, the mother of the captive, the oppressed, the far away from their family, the lost in the steppe in danger from enemies, the merchant, the traveller, even the highwayman. Interestingly, at the close of the section, appears the plea of the poet to Šamaš not to curse any of these.

Section VI, as its counterpart in the onward march, can be subdivided into two paragraphs. The first (b) 156-168) bespeaks the gratitude and the offerings, on the 20th day, of those cared for by Šamaš. In the second paragraph (a) 169-181), Šamaš through his light and his march regulates seasons and climate. Here the parallelism in the content of the two sections is more marked.

The concluding section (VII. 182-200) parallels the first of Part one being its exact antithesis. It represents the closing of the circle where the two ends meet. Šamaš arrives at night to his resting apartments, wherefrom he shall start out again in the morning. Unfortunately, this is the most damaged section. From what is preserved it can be assumed that, besides other items, this last section contained indications of a banquet for the world regions in the mirthful abode of Šamaš (*naptan kibrāti* in the *šubat tašlāti*) and of the final rest in the bedchamber (*ina bīt mayyāli*). So the last section gives more substance to our contention that the hymn symbolizes the course of the Sun. Both banquet and rest are to be expected as natural and necessary at the conclusion

of Šamaš' journey. They occur indeed in the final section of the other Šamaš text, written in Sumerian, the "Incantation to Utu", that goes back at least to Old Babylonian times. The Sumerian composition deals with several other topics in common with our Šamaš hymn. The comparison of both texts might help in advocating an older origin for the Akkadian composition than has been assumed by scholars.

In order to show the continuity of tradition and the interdependence of literary works, we point out only two *topoi*, that can be traced back to Sumerian originals. The first one is the figure of the "lonely wanderer" who looks to Šamaš for assistance, or to whom assistance comes benevolently from Šamaš. It occurs, for instance, in the well-known prayer of Lugalbanda, lines 235 ff³; in the Utu hymn we mentioned, line 13, and, in Akkadian, in the prayer to the gods of the night, republished by A.L. Oppenheim⁴. In consideration of this continuity in literary tradition, Oppenheim's difficulty concerning the "lonely wanderer" may perhaps be resolved. He says: "It is difficult to explain why the lonely wanderer is mentioned, if one does not assume that the priest happened to see him from his vantage point on the roof of the temple".⁵ Apart from the fact that one stray figure even in a starry night is not easily perceived in the dark, the "lonely wanderer", as a poetic image, had probably been "wandering" for centuries by the time of the composition of the prayer.

The second *topos*, Šamaš' rest, occurs in our Šamaš hymn, again in the prayer of Lugalbanda, in the Sumerian Utu hymn, lines 69-72, and in the *ilū mušīti* prayer (here in general of the gods, and in touching poetic phraseology).

It is thus proposed that the Šamaš hymn was purposely structured in its composition to imitate and to symbolize the daily course of the Sun in his ascent into the skies, his setting, and his return journey through the regions of the Netherworld.⁶ Šamaš is there considered in his nature of giver of light, and as such, as regulator of seasons and climate. But more important, Šamaš is depicted as the bountiful god of justice, who vindicates justice and strenuously watches over its administration, as a god generously caring for all who may find themselves in trouble and, finally, as advocator of the rules of social behaviour for the moral welfare of mankind.

All this has been expounded by the poet with originality as regards structure, using also the traditional lore as regards the subject matter in the present composition. In its centre it contains the main section that deals with the ethics of life, preceded and followed by three sections, to conclude with Šamaš' banquet and rest.

One last remark. The hymn consists of exactly 200 lines. Now, in verse 156 f it is said that *ina UD.20. KÁM rēšāta illāta u ħidāti takkal tašatti*. . . "On the twentieth day of the month you exult with mirth and joy, you eat, you drink, . . ." Now, 20 was the number of Šamaš, on the twentieth of the month Šamaš was feasted, and the poet has given 20 x 10 lines to his hymn.

We must say that in developing the praises of Šamaš, in structuring the sections, in wording their contents, and finally, in establishing the extent of the hymn and the number of the verses, the poet has acted with the planned purpose of an accomplished artist.

³ See C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, p. 82.

⁴ *AnBi* 12 (1959), 296-301.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁶ A graphic prospect of the correspondences between the two parts can be set up as follows:

I. a) 5-22	VII. 182-200
b) 23-34	
II. a) 35-52	VI. b) 169-181
b) 53-64	a) 156-168
III. a) 65-82	V. 130-155
b) 83-94	
IV. 95-129	

New Date Formulas from the Tablet Collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums

Muazzez Çiğ, Istanbul

The classification of the unnumbered Lagaš tablets according to script, although started much earlier, has been continued since 1950¹, the year in which Hatice Kızılyay and I took responsibility for the Tablet Collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. In addition, the tablets are classified according to size, with the smaller Ur III tablets also classified according to subject and date². We have been especially concerned with the dates on these tablets, in the hope of finding new date formulas. When we mentioned our great interest in finding new date formulas to Prof. S.N. Kramer, who visited our archives in 1951 as a guest researcher with a Fulbright Scholarship for studies on Sumerian literary texts, he expressed his sincere wishes that we would find and publish these formulas. It is indeed an interesting coincidence that his hope has only been realized with this *Festschrift* in his honour. Delayed because of other matters, the classification, arrangement, and enumeration of these tablets, which number more than 30,000, were completed only two years ago. The results which we had awaited with such patience were not as we had hoped; for we were able to find only 8 new date formulas to judge from the available publications. Apart from these, there is one tablet (No. 7) which clarifies the first through fifth year dates of Gudea. There are also two date formulas (No. 2, No. 10), already known, but whose periods were not established; one date formula (No. 12) whose difference may perhaps be due to an incorrect writing; and two date formulas (No. 13, No. 14) giving variants.

Unfortunately, because of the unavailability of necessary publications and because of other business, adequate study of these dates could not be made. Nevertheless, I thought it would be helpful to present copies of these tablets to interested scholars as soon as possible.

The texts are arranged generally according to the type of script³ and the chronological data obtained. In addition to the copies, I am giving below only transcriptions of the date formulas and short notes on their identification.

¹ The main responsibility was given by the Turkish Government to Prof. Dr. F.R. Kraus, who was in charge of this project from 1937 until 1950.

² M. Çiğ – H. Kızılyay, *Etude de la Collection Lagash dans les Archives de Tablettes, Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* No. 9 (1960), 82-85.

³ The studies have shown that it is extremely difficult to arrange texts in chronological order. For example, the types of writing of the tablets belonging to the same years of Gudea and Urningirsu were found to be different although they all show the same dates. Especially, in the case of tablets belonging to the 14th year of Gudea and the 2nd year of Urningirsu (order of years according to AfO 17 [1954-56], 34), were there no dates on them, it could be thought that the tablets belonged to an earlier age.

- No. 1. [in] 1 *Šanat*
[Šar] - kà - li - Šarri⁴
[]x NI a - ga - dèki

Unfortunately, the last line of this date formula belonging to Šarkališarri could not be completed. Also, the exact date of the reign of this king could not be ascertained.

- No. 2. mu é - den - ki giš - kin - ti ba - d ù - a
"The year in which the temple of the god Enki, the giš - kin - ti, was built".
giš - kin - ti: perhaps to be understood as an appositive, cf. Gilgameš and Agga, r.30: unukⁱ - giš - kin - ti - dingir - re - e - ne (AJA 53 [1949], 8).

This date formula is found as mu é giš - ki[n] - ti[ba] - d ù in RTC 89. It is stated in SAKI, p. 225 that this date could belong to the time of the Akkad dynasty or to a later period. Our tablets confirm this statement on the basis of the script. Apart from this, if we read Rev. 5. as d a - d a Š[a b r a], like the seal in RTC 161, it can be said that the date is near to the time of Šarkališarri. If we consider the personal name Ur - dam in the last line of the Rev. to be identical with the Ur - dam (-e subject suffix) found in No. 4 Rev. 5., it must be concluded that this date formula belongs to an age close to the dates of both texts⁴. However, according to SAKI, pp. 60 a 4:3; 62 e; and 249, an Enki temple was built in Girsu by Urbaba and another in Eridu by Šulgi (I could not find a text showing that it was built earlier). Nevertheless, for the reasons stated above, it is quite difficult to attribute the date to Urbaba.

- No. 3. mu x[]
- s a m u x[]
- b i ba - d ù

Unfortunately I could find no clues to whom this date may belong. Because of the shape and script of the tablet, I place it in this sequence. However, this date may belong to a later period (See note 3).

- No. 4. mu lu gal a - ga - d è ki ba - d a b₅ - a
"The year in which the king of Akkad was captured".

This date was inscribed on the tablet after it was dried. The date may belong to the Gutian king Šarlag who defeated the Akkadian king Šarkališarri⁵.

- No. 5. mu giš - keš - du k á - gal - d b a - b a₆ ba - d ù - a
"The year in which the dam of the gate of the goddess Baba was built".

giš - keš - du : *irritu* : dam, CAD I, p. 180.

giš - keš - da : *mišir nāri* : Stauwerk(?), ŠL 152, 147.

A. Falkenstein, NG 3, p. 127.

A.L. Oppenheim, AOS 32, pp. 113, 117.

H. Sauerer, Topographie der Provinz Umma, nach den Urkunden der Zeit der III Ur Dynastie von Ur, Teil I (1966), p. 51 "dam built at the channel gate", Gudea Cyl. A 2 18: water reservoir, k á - ga l: *abullu*: city gate, CAD A.

⁴ All presently known dates of Šarkališarri have the in 1 *Šanat* formula. Since this formula is lacking here, it is impossible to say for certain whether this king is involved.

⁵ Die Altorientalischen Reiche, p. 96.

In offering texts, various offerings are made⁶ to k á - ga l - d b a - b a₆ with k á - ga l - d u t u in the III Ur Dynasty. Of the unpublished texts concerning offerings which we have found, only one text seems to be older than the Ur III Dynasty (L.30270), to judge from its script. In the old texts found in SAKI, no information is given on this gate.

Ensi Urbaba built the temple of Baba in Girsu (SAKI, p. 62 c) and dug the channel of d b a - b a₆ - ħ é - ga l - s u g₄, RTC 253, AfO 17 (1954-56), 33, 1 Urbab b. According to this, it may be assumed that Urbaba had the city gate, called k á - ga l - d b a - b a₆, built where this channel was located and the Baba gate dam (giš - keš - du - k á - ga l - d b a - b a₆) built on the channel opening near this gate. If we consider giš - keš - du a water reservoir, he could also have built a water reservoir near the city gate. Considering that Urbaba had the Baba city gate built before the giš - keš - du, these activities could involve two different year names. Therefore, we can add two more year names to the 7 year names already known from his reign of 14 years⁷.

- No. 6. mu é - d b a - b a₆ ba - d ù - a
"The year in which the Temple of the goddess Baba was built".

This temple was built during the reigns of Urukagina (SAKI, p. 44 g 1:10), Urbaba, (SAKI, p. 4:3) and Gudea (SAKI, pp. 75 d 3:17; 78, 2:14-19). Its date is supposed to belong to Urbaba or Gudea. Considering that Urbaba performed building activities in connection with the goddess Baba (explained in No. 5 above) we can assume that this also may belong to Urbaba.

- No. 7.

This text is discussed here because it helps to establish the exact order of the first through fifth years of Gudea, in conjunction with RTC 201⁸.

- Obv. 4 mu g ù - d é - a e n₅ - si
Rev. 3. mu ba lag u š u m - ga l <ka la m> - ma ba - d í m

The first date has not been found until now. The second year name was accepted as the fifth year of Gudea in AfO 17 (1954-56), 33. On the other hand, this was supposed to be the third year according to our tablet, because a year name on it was broken. By comparing this and the next 3 years with RTC 201, the order of the first 5 years of Gudea is established.

- No. 8. - 9. mu sig₄ - d n i [n - g í r - s u] - ka
giš_u - š u b - b [a b a] - ga r
"The year in which the brick of the god Ningirsu was molded".
mu sig₄ - d n i [n - g í r - s u] ú s - sa
"The year after the molding of the brick of the god Ningirsu".

giš - ù - š u b mu - ga r : SAKI, p. 68 st. B:III:13.

sig₄ giš_u - ba ì - ga r : SAKI, p. 78 st. E:III 9.

⁶ N. Schneider, "Die Götternamen von Ur III" (AnOr 19, 1939), p. 10 side.

⁷ AfO 17 (1954-56), 33 1 Urbaba.

⁸ In my speech on the studies made in the Tablet Archives, during the Orientalist Congress held in Ann Arbor in 1967, I made a short reference to this tablet among the recently found tablets. E. Sollberger has used this information in "Notes sur Gudea et son Temps", RA 62 (1968), 141, with my permission. See M. Çiğ "Neuere Arbeiten an der Tontafelsammlung des Archäologischen Museums zu Istanbul," Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yılıhı No. 15-16 (1969), 217-220, for this report.

In accordance with these expressions, these date formulas are supposed to be related to the erection of the Ningirsu temple of Gudea. Therefore, ϵ - d_{nin} - $gír$ - su - ka ba - $dù$ - a "The year in which the Ningirsu temple was built", which is shown in AfO 17 as the 33rd year of Urbaba, must be also a Gudea year. In fact, Sollberger has also indicated that this may be possible in RA 62 (1968), 141. According to this, Gudea made the brick during the first year, the construction of the temple was continued during the second year, and the construction was completed in the third year. Thus, the erection of the Ningirsu temple took three years, and 3 more years are to be added to the years of Gudea in AfO 17 (1954-56), 33-34. However, which years of Gudea correspond to these years cannot be argued here. We can only suppose that these years may come before the 13th year, as in AfO 17 (1954-56), 34. On the other hand, if we accept the year of $m u g i \check{s}_{u_5}$ - $\check{s}u$ ba - $dím$, which is shown as the third year, as the year in which brick mold was prepared for the construction of Baba temple in accord with SAKI, p. 78 Statue E:II 14 - III 9, it should also have a year name for the construction of the Baba temple. If we take the year name given in No. 6 instead, then this means we are discovering the 20 years given by Falkenstein (RA 62 [1968] p. 141).

- No. 10. $m u n i n$ - $d i n g i r$ $d i \check{s}$ [$k u r$] $m a \check{s}$ - e ba - $p à$ - da
 "The year in which the great $n i n$ of the god $i \check{s} k u r$ was chosen by omen".

It is stated in AfO 17 (1954-56), 13 n. 12 that this date may belong to Urnammu. If according to AfO 17, 11b we read rev. 2 as $U r$ - $a[b$ - $ba]$ $e n_5$ - si , then this is correct.

- No. 11. $m u \epsilon$ - $m u \check{h} a l d i m$ - $d n i n$ - $\check{s} u b u r a$ ba - $dù$ - a
 "The year in which the kitchen of the god $N i n \check{s} u b u r a$ was built".
 ϵ - $m u \check{h} a l d i m$: "Küche und Backerei" ŠL 324, 26.

This is mentioned in Puzrišdagan and Lagaš offering texts. However, I could find no documentation in the literature available, about ϵ - $m u \check{h} a l d i m$ - $d n i n$ - $\check{s} u b u r a$. The tablet is included in the group Nipur Ur III Dynasty tablets. Unfortunately it could not be determined to which king the date belongs.

- No. 12. $m u \acute{u} s$ - sa $A n$ - $\check{s} a$ - $a n^k i$ a - $r á$ 3 $ka m$
 "The year after the third (conquest of) the city of Anšan".

The first conquest of Anšan corresponds to the 34th year of Šulgi⁹. N. Schneider, who discussed the 2nd conquest of Anšan, took the formula of " $A n$ - $\check{s} a$ - $a n^k i$ a - $r á$ 2 $ka m$ ba - $\check{h} u l$ " as "uncertain and unidentified" in Die Zeitbestimmungen der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur III (AnOr 13), p. 39. In our date, I could not establish to which king this "next year" after the 3rd conquest of Anšan belongs.

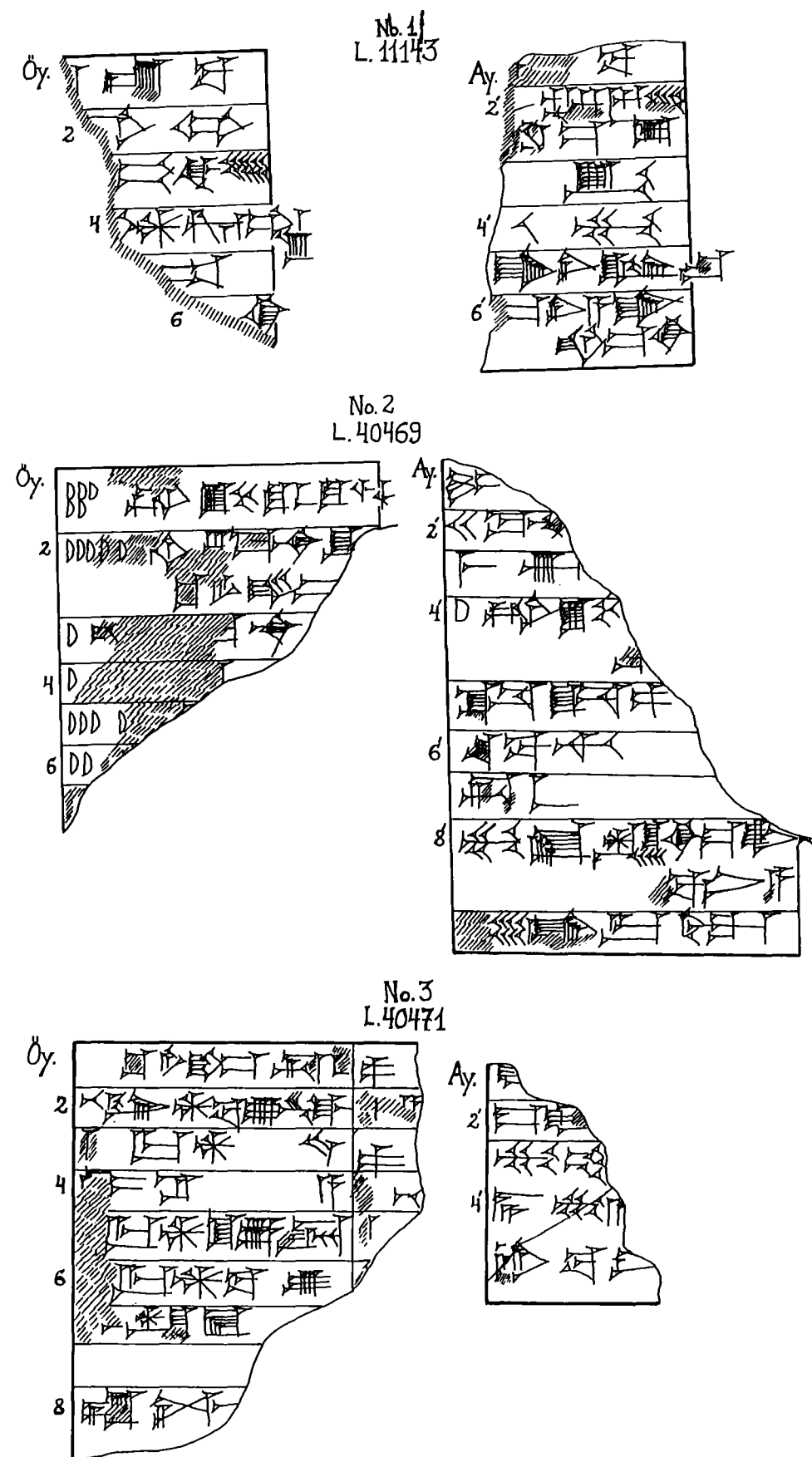
- No. 13. $m u m á$ - $d s u e n$ ba - $d í m$
 "The year in which the ship for the god Suen was constructed".

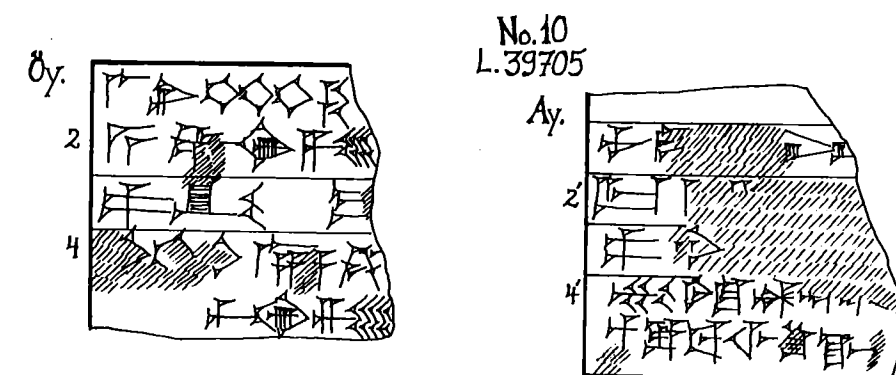
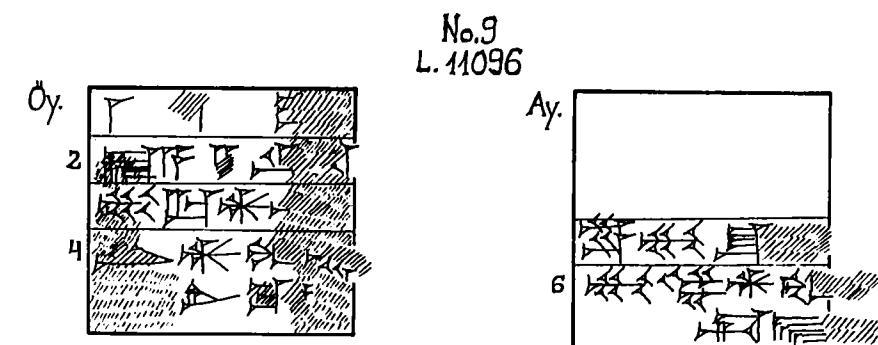
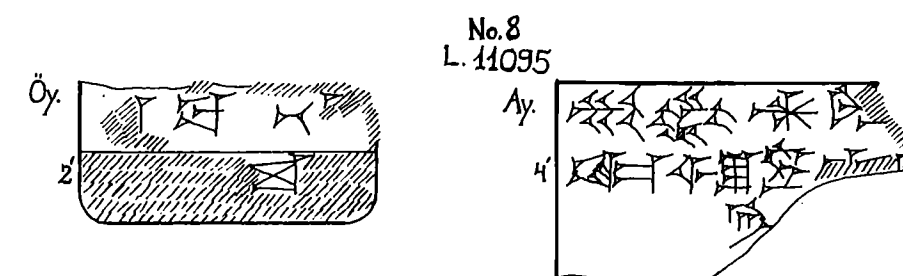
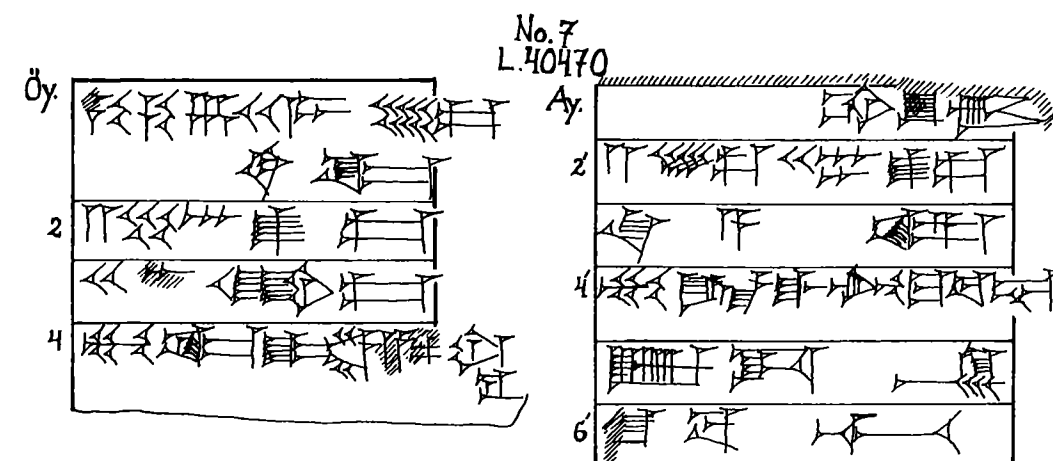
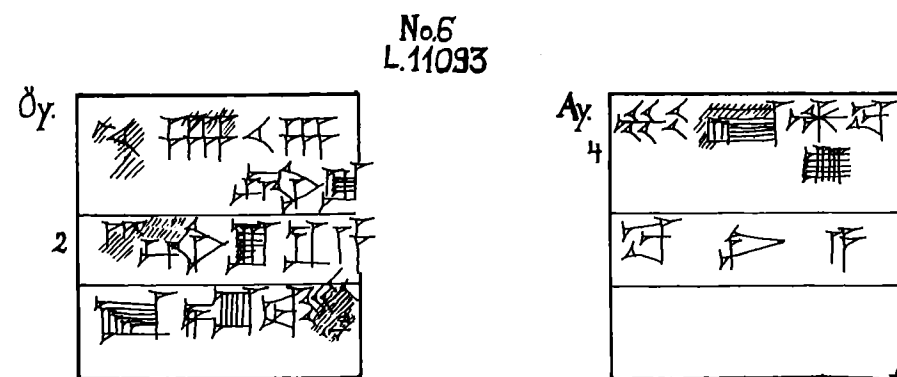
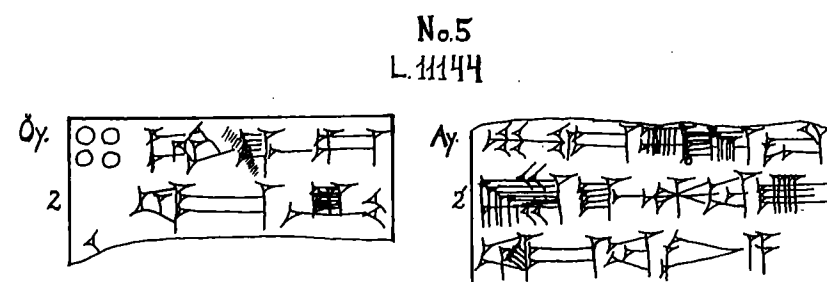
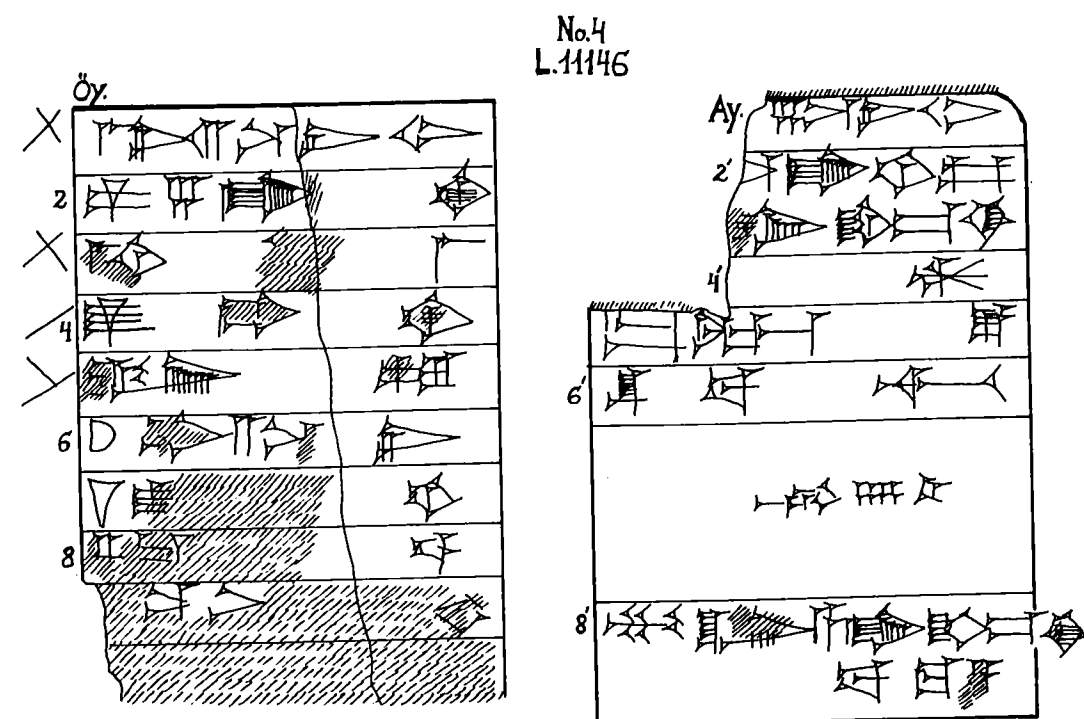
$M á$ - $d s u e n$ may perhaps be a mistake for $m á$ - $d e n$ - $k i$ as the second year of Šu-sin.

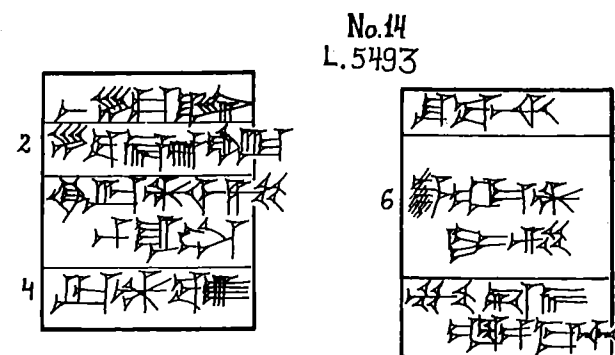
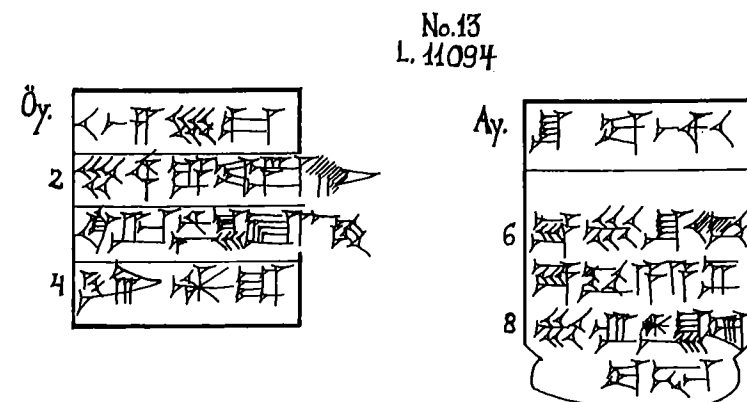
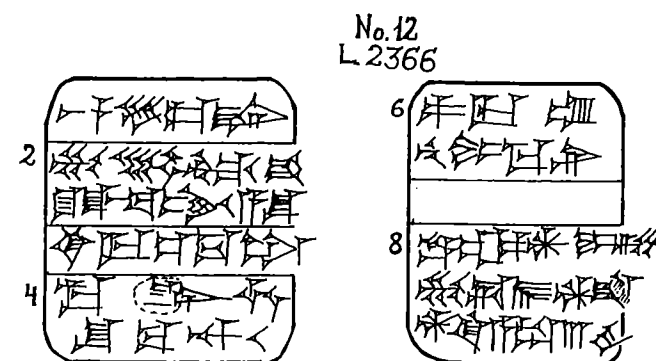
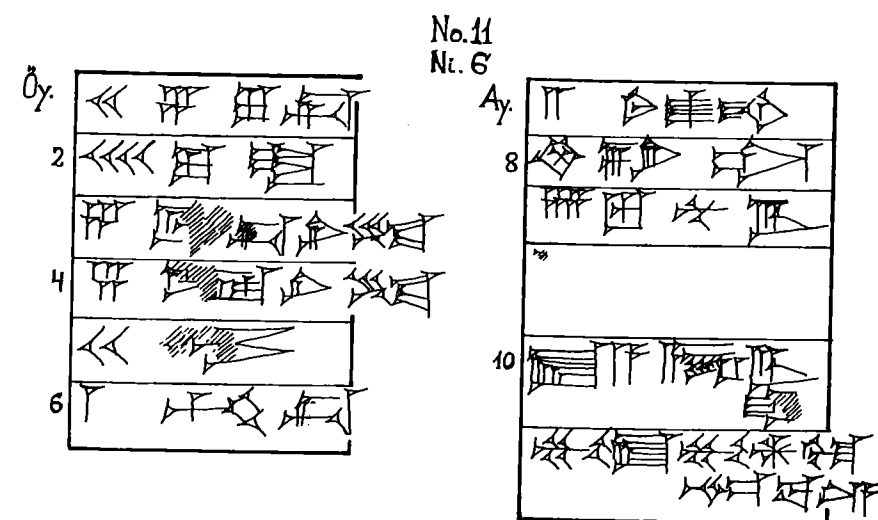
- No. 14. $m u \acute{u} s$ - sa $b à d$ ma - ti
 "The year in which the city walls were built".

This is discussed here because it gives a variant to the 38th year of Šulgi. $b à d$ ma - ti was written instead of $b à d$ ma - da .

⁹ The order of the Šulgi dates are taken according to the new count.







The Song of the Plowing Oxen

M. Civil, Chicago

0. The only published sources of the composition edited here, PBS 1/1,3 and SLTN 150, were originally classified in my Sumerian Literary Catalogue (to appear as *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* 3) simply as "work songs". A closer study and the discovery of new fragments proved, however, that much more is involved. In its present state, even with all its missing parts and textual uncertainties, to say nothing of the problems of interpretation, the song is sufficiently unusual to warrant publication. Further discoveries will probably show that my reconstruction and interpretation will in some points have missed the mark. Nevertheless, I hope that Samuel Noah Kramer, who has taught all of us the value of fearless pioneering work in the recovery of the Sumerian literary treasures, will appreciate this attempt. To him, it is respectfully dedicated.

1. Form and Contents

1.1. Structure. The text consists of sections or stanzas of varied length: the shortest one preserved (62-65) has only four lines, the longest one (38-61) has twenty-four. Each section opens with the words e - e l - l u m a - a l - l u (var. m a - a - l u), for which see the commentary to line 1. Although the text is obviously a song, a strict metric pattern cannot be discerned.¹

1.2. Contents. In its present imperfect state of preservation, the text appears to be a song about plowing oxen and related agricultural activities:

a) Introduction (1-6). Exhortation to the oxen to go to work. The opening lines are repeated at the beginning of the last section (143ff.). The speaker is the Farmer, clearly not an ordinary farmer but either a god or a king. In view of the cultural setting discussed in 1.4, I prefer the second alternative. If a king were mentioned by name it almost certainly would be Lipit-Ištar.

b) Dream (14ff.). The transition between a) and b) is lost. The Farmer goes to Nanše's house or temple to have a dream induced with Nanše's help. In the dream the Farmer sees a young bull that can speak (27ff.); only the end of the ensuing dialogue, in which Nanše also takes part, is preserved (52ff.). Apparently the purpose of the dream is to choose the oxen for the plow.

c) Dialogue between Enkimdu and Ninurta(?) (92ff.). The frame of this dialogue is lost; in the preserved portion Enkimdu relates how he is going to irrigate the fields.

¹ On metric patterns, see W. Heimpel, *Or NS* 39 (1970), 492ff., and H. Sauren, *UF* 3 (1971), 327ff., with additional literature. My unpublished paper on "Poetic patterns in Sumerian" (read in the 118th. AOS Meeting, Baltimore 1970) deals with an 8 + 5 syllabic metric pattern, with or without assonance, detectable in the Debate between the Tree and the Reed and in the opening lines of Gudea Cyl. A, among other cases; other meters and several matters of principle (some of which are not consonant with Sauren's proposals) are also discussed.

d) Instructions (119ff.). An unidentified speaker exhorts the Farmer to ready his implements: harrow, hoe, and plow.

e) Conclusion (143ff.). After some lines which seem to refer to the role of certain deities in the work in the fields, the appeal to the oxen is repeated (143ff.), and the half broken conclusion ends on a joyous note: drinking and Inanna's satisfaction.

1.3. Literary Genre. The subscription describes the text as an *ú-lu-lu-ma-ma*-song for Ninur-ta. So far, only four other compositions classified as *ú-lu-lu-ma-ma* have turned up:

1) *en kir₄-zal an-na 'x¹-da-e ħé-du₇*, for Nanna: TRS 30, edited by Sjöberg, Nanna-Suen, pp. 70ff.

2) *en-gal u₄ giš-ħé-ta sag-íl ħe-er-zi 'x¹-a*, for Nanna with a prayer for Ibbi-Sîn: CBS 11168, edited by Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana* 19/20 (1970-71), 145ff. (with var. *ù-* for *ú-* in the subscription).

3) *en-e an-na KA mu-ni-in-su-ub*, also for Nanna: UET 6,68; CBS 12672 (STVC 124) + CBS 12701 (BE 29,12) + CBS 11363 + N 3317 + N 3525; and Ni 4049 (ISET 1,4).

4) *e gud-dè ús [...]* *gù-nun iri in-ga-àm-me*, for Ningublaga: CBS 7399 (STVC 132) + Ni 4212 (ISET 2); and STVC 124 +, together with 3). Editions of 3) and 4) are being prepared by Å. Sjöberg.

These compositions do not share any structural characteristics. The central part of 1) is missing, and the only trait common to 3), 4), and our composition is that all of them deal with cowherds and cattle. Compositions 1) and 2), even if they do not deal directly with cattle, at least they are addressed to Nanna whose connections with cattle are well-known. The term *ú-lu-lu-ma-ma* itself is unknown in the lexical lists: it is missing from the long list of musical terms in Proto-Lu 587ff., and missing or not preserved in the *ú*-section of Izi E 250-330. Falkenstein, *ZA* 56 (1964), 51, would like to connect it with *i-lu-lam*, for which see now Izi V 40f.; however, only in two passages is the *i-lu-lam* sung by shepherds, and the rest of its occurrences suggest a very general type of song. Provisionally, *ú-lu-lu-ma-ma* can be translated as "cowherd's song".

1.4. Cultural Setting. In contrast with most Sumerian literary pieces, the *Sitz im Leben* of this song is relatively easy to ascertain. There is good evidence for agricultural festivals during which the king performed activities related to the plow, its oxen, and the first opening of the furrows. There is not room here to present the evidence, or to discuss the details of the ritual (see my commentary to the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow), and only a few points, useful for a better understanding of the song, will be stressed here.

It appears that there were two such festivals, one took place around the 20th. of the second month of the Nippur calendar, the *ezen itugud-si-su*, and was first recognized by Landsberger, *Kult. Kalendar*, pp. 25ff., in the Ur III administrative texts (references updated by Sauren, *CRRA* 17 [1970], 17)² and is confirmed by LIP 91, 99³; the other, the *ezen itug_u-numun-na*, is described in the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 24ff. and attested in Ur III texts in Umma and Girsu: *giš_ha ħur* and *ì-giš* for *giš_hapin d_hara-da sù-a ezen ħu-numun-na* TCL 5,6040 iii 27ff.; beer given to the teams (*er_{in}₂*) for

² I cannot agree with the author's aprioristic statement that "malgré la tradition littéraire, il est absolument exclu que la fête ait été en relation avec la vie agraire". Additional references: Or 47-49 (1930), 42 (ŠS 7/1); Jones - Snyder, 60:25 (AS 3/2), 64:15 (AS 7/2/21); Kang, *Sumerian Economic Texts* I, 182 (AS 3/2), 186 (AS 8?); etc.

³ "Lipit-Ištar and the Plow": Sources: A = CBS 14062 (STVC 75), B = UM 29-15-399 (bilingual, MB), C = CBS 15044, D = N 3628, E = N 4166, F = CBS 14054 (STVC 79), and G = 2 N-T 582, as well as several probable fragments like Ni 9892 (ISET 1,136).

the *kaš-dé-a* of the *ezen ħu-numun* (compare the beer drinking in line 146 of our song), *ibid.* ii 8f.; other supplies for the festival: oxen AASF B 92,300:6; sheep BRM 3,47:5, 10; Speleers, *Recueil*, 183:28'; *si-g-gi* and goat hair (for ropes?) ITT 3/2, 5398; etc.

According to LIP 116ff., which actually quotes some lines of the song, the singing of the *e-el-lu*'s formed part of the ceremonies of the festival of the month of *gud-si-su*:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 115 | lugal-mu gud sag giš _h apin-na mí ga-àm-ma-ni-ib ⁴ -dug ₄ |
| 116 | e-el-lu gud gen-[a] gen-a giš _h udun-a gú gar-ì
a-[la-la] |
| 117 | gud lugal-la-ke ₄ gen-a gen-a ⁵ giš _h udun-a gú gar-ì
a-la[p] |
| 118 | [ab-sín gá]n-zi ġir DU.DU-ì ús si-sá ħé-e-dib ⁶
ši-ir [] |
| 119 | kun pirig-zu giš _h apin-na ⁷ bar-ba ħub-ħub ⁸ -ì
zib-bat-ka [x] [] |
| 120 | gud DU-a-zu un-e ba-šag ₅ kin-e á sum-ma ⁹
al-pu a-lak-l[a-ka] |
| 121 | dli-pí-it-ištar gud su ₈ -su ₈ -ba-zu i-lu-zu dūg-ga-àm
dli-pí-it-iš[ar] |

The man leading the oxen (*lú gud su₈-ba-ke₄*) speaks:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 115 | "My king, I want to praise the leading oxen of the plow: |
| 116 | 'Ellu! go, oxen, go, put the neck under the yoke, |
| 117 | Go, royal oxen, go, put the neck under the yoke! |
| 118 | Step on the furrows of the fertile field, that the sides be made straight. |
| 119 | With your lion's tail beat the sides of the plow, |
| 120 | Your step, oxen, rejoices the people, you have been given strength to work! |
| 121 | The oxen you guide, Lipit-Ištar, and your song is a pleasure." |

A text recently published, S.T. Kang, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Drehem Archive* 1, 186, mentions the *sizkur gi₆ ezen gud-si-su u₄-20-ka m*, showing that some nocturnal ceremonies were part of the festival. Is the dream of the song somehow connected with them?

The tradition survived into later times. Landsberger's reservations about the festival in post-OB times (*JNES* 8 [1949], 274, 277f.) are dispelled by new evidence: the MB bilingual recensions of the *e-el-lu*'s (see 2.3) and LIP, and a late MB or early NB exercise tablet which mentions the *ezen-gal ezen itugud-si-[s]u* (12N-T 499:2). The allusions in *Astrolabe B* i 12 ff. are more than an etymological play.

1.5. Date. The reign of Lipit-Ištar (1934-24 B.C.) seems at present the most reasonable date for the composition of the extant OB version, because of LIP. In any case it can hardly be assigned to the time be-

⁴ B: -ib-; A om.

⁵ B om. one gen-a.

⁶ Line in B; A om.

⁷ A: giš_h-ħur-ra-ka; B: -na.

⁸ B om. one ħub.

⁹ AD: -ma; B: -mu.

fore Išme-Dagan, or after Ur-Ninurta¹⁰, that is, it must be placed between 1953 and 1896 B.C. It is possible, however, that the song existed, in one form or another, before that time, and that it was compiled from older materials. This is suggested by the role played by Nanše, as well as by indications, after the Isin dynasty, that seems to associate Ningirsu, rather than Ninurta, with the festival: Ningirsu is the god of the *alāla*-song (CAD A/1, p. 328); the second month is Ningirsu's month, when the oxen are yoked and the ground is "opened" (SBH VIII ii 12f.); the plow is the symbol of Ningirsu (RA 34 [1937], 42); etc. All of these associations could point to the Lagaš province as the older place of origin of the song, if not of the festival. Going back still further, and with all due reservations, it does not take much imagination to see in WDOG 43, nos. 45, 50, and 52, early e-e-l-lu songs.

2. Reconstruction of the Text

2.1. Sources.

Old Babylonian

A = N 3517 + N 3606 1-6, 138-48.

Upper left corner from a two-column tablet (photo Pl. VI*).

B = CBS 11556 (PBS 1/1,3, photo ibid. pl. 39) 13-25, 38-50, 91-100, 119-26.

Lower left corner of a three-column tablet with ca. 25 lines per column; surface badly eroded.

C = Ni 1250 (SLTN 150) + UM 29-16-684 + N 1631 2-9, 16-33, 39-46, 50-70, 91-100.

Upper right half of a two-column tablet with ca. 37 lines per column (photo Pl. V*).

Middle Babylonian (bilingual)

D₁ = UM 29-13-560 obv. i and rev. unplaced; obv. ii = 15-29.

D₂ = N 3529 unplaced.

D₃ = N 3169* unplaced.

*D₁₋₃ seem to be fragments of the same tablet, see 2.3.

2.2. OB Recension. Three copies have been preserved with different paleographic and orthographic characteristics: A has wide columns (ca. 70 mm.) and favors longer lines, B has very short lines and a number of indented ones, C has also short lines but apparently not indented ones. A and B write m a - a l - l u, while C has m a - a - l u. The number of lines has been inferred from a comparison between the arrangements of the text in B and C. Possible errors in the reconstruction depend upon three factors: 1) the correct placement of N 1631 in C, 2) the number of indented lines in B, and 3) the amount of blank space at the bottom of the last column. The line numbering is pretty well assured until line 70, except for possible changes due to factor(1). The margin of error after line 91 is at least ±7, due to (2). After line 130 this margin is increased by an unknown magnitude because of factor (3); in any case it is safe to assume that it is unlikely that the composition had more than 150 lines.

2.3. Bilingual MB Recension. D₁₋₃ appear to be parts of the same tablet, with Sumerian and Akkadian in adjacent subcolumns; it must have been a rather large tablet since D₁, a center fragment, is 35 mm. thick. D₂ is the upper right corner, and D₃ a very small fragment. Either the text of D added a number of sections to the OB recension or the tablet included another composition with similar short divisions, because lines 15-29 of the OB recension are found close to the beginning of col. ii. Because of its fragmentary condition (not a single full line is preserved) the text of D is given only in photo (Pl. VI*), except for col. ii of D₁ which has been incorporated into the main text.

¹⁰ For an Ur-Ninurta text dealing with farming see Civil, Or NS 41 (1972), 88 (text C₂).

3. Transliteration and Translation

		A	B	C	D ₁	
1	[e-el-lu m]a-al-lu ¹¹	+				[Ellu m]allu!
2	gud gen-a gen-a giš[udun-a] gú gar-ì	+	+			Go, oxen, go, put the neck [under the yoke],
3	[gud lugal-(la-ke ₄) gen-a gen-a giš[udun]-a gú gar-ì	—	+			[Go, royal oxen, go], put the neck under [the yoke!]
4	[engar-zi] ma-da-me-en	+	+			I am [the faithful Farmer] of the land,
5	[dRN dumu] den-líl-lá-me-en	+	+			I am [. . . , the son] of Enlil,
6	[lugal] kalam-ma-me-en	+	+			I am [the king] of the country.
7	[e-el-lu] ma-a-lu		+			7-13 (broken)
8	[s]ag mu-da-gál		+			
9	[sag] mu-da-gál		+			
10-12	(broken)					
13	ʾx x ¹² []		+			
14	á-še ama hu-m[u-da-an-x-x]		+			And now, I (want) to [. . . with/next to] the Mother,
15	á-še dnanše hu-mu-da-an-ʾx-x ¹³		+	+		And now, I (want) to [. . .] with/next to Nanše
16	ninda kušlu-úb ha-ma-ni-in-gar-ra-àm ¹⁴	+	+	+		(I want) her to put bread in my leather bag,
17	a kušummu-da ha-ma-ni-in-dé-àm ¹⁴	+	+	+		To pour water into my waterskin,
18	sag-ú[s-sa giš.x ha]-ma-da-an-gub-ba ¹⁵	—	+	+		To stand by (as a "dreamer") [. . .],
19	engar ¹⁶ ninda gu ₇ -a ha-ma-an-dug ₄ -ga-àm ¹⁷	+	+	+		To say to me: 'Farmer, eat the bread!'
20	engar ¹⁶ a nag-a ha-ma-an-dug ₄ -ga-àm ¹⁷	+	+	+		To say to me: 'Farmer, drink the water!'
21	e-el ¹⁸ -lu ma-a ¹⁹ -lu	+	+	+		Ellu mallu!
22	dnanše ²⁰ é ma-mu-dé ²¹ ba-ná	+	+	+		(The Farmer) went to dream with Nanše in the House.
23	dnanše ²² inim gi ₆ im-ma-na-ab ²³ -túm	+	+	+		He said good night(?) to Nanše,
24	ninda kušlu-úb-a ba-an-na ²⁴ -ni-in-gar	+	+	+		He had his leather bag filled with bread,
25	a kušummu-da ba-<an-na> ²⁵ -ni-in-dé	+	+	+		He had water poured into his waterskin,
26	sag-ús-sa giš[x ba-an-na-an-gub] ²⁶	—	+			He had her [stand]ing by (as a "dreamer") [. . .].

¹¹ A writes 1 and 2 in one line, but here it has been divided in two to conform to the style of B and C on which the line numbering is based.

¹² The traces in the copy in PBS 1/1,3 are misleading, see photo in the same volume.

¹³ Perhaps - ʾx u b¹ - b [u]; see commentary.

¹⁴ B: - a; C: - à m.

¹⁵ Line in BD; C om.

¹⁶ D: l d - e n g a r - ʾ e l (clearly visible in line 20); C om. l d and - e.

¹⁷ C: - à m; B om.

¹⁸ C: e - e l - ; i - .

¹⁹ A (in lines 1, 143) C: - a l - ; B: - a - .

²⁰ D: a m a (before d n a n š e); C om.

²¹ B: - g i n_x; C: - d è.

²² D: - r a (after d n a n š e); C om.

²³ B: - a b - ; C om.

²⁴ B: i m - m a - ; C: b a - a n - n a - .

²⁵ B: i m - m a - ; C: b a - < a n - n a > - .

²⁶ Restored from line 18; only in D; B om.

	A	B	C	D ₁	
27 lúengar igi 'x' [(x)] im-ma-ši-in-bar	+	+			The Farmer [. . .] had a vision:
28 gud-áb 'x' [()] eme ba-an-gar	+	+			A young bull was talking [. . .],
29 'x' [g]ir? bí-in-lá	+	+			[. . .] tied the feet (?).
30 [am]a-a-ni gù mu-na-dé-e	+				[The Farmer] said to his Mo[ther]:
31 [ninda kuš]u-úb-(a)] ma-an-gar	+				"[You(?)] put [bread in my leather bag],
32 [a kuš]ummu-da] ma-an-dé	+				[You(?)] poured [water into my waterskin],
33 [sag-ús-sa giš.x ma-an-g]ub?	+				[You(?) st]ood [by . . .]
34 (traces)	+				34-37 broken
35-37 (broken)					
38 'e'[-el-lu ma-al-lu]	+				E[llu mallu!]
39 a-na-[àm]	+	+			What [. . . ?]
40 a-na-à[m]	+	+			What [. . . ?]
41 a-ba-àm []	-	+			Who [. . . ?]
42 a-ba-àm []	-	+			Who [. . . ?]
43 a-ba-àm la[g]	+	+			Who [will pick up the] clods?
44 a-ba-àm muše[n]	+	+			Who [will chase away] the birds?
45 á-zi-da []	+	+			On the right [. . .],
46 á-gùb-b[u]	+	+			On the left [. . .].
47 igi-íl-[a]	+				The choice [. . .]
48 umbin gal-m[u]	+				My big hooves [. . .],
49 mul an-na 'x' []	+				The stars in the sky [. . .]
50 UŠ.KU-bi [ || s]i im-sá-'e' []	+	+			Will make straight [. . .] its
51 [s]ag?-dil gur ₄ mu-un-[t]a-šub	+				[The ox] let (his) thick tongue hang down,
52 [inim] mu-na-ni-ib-gi ₄ -[g]i ₄	+				[. . .] he answered [the Farmer]:
53 gud-me-e[n] gud tur-me-en	+				"I am an ox, (but just) a young ox,
54 síg kiri ₄ -[m]u nu-lum-ma-me-en	+				In whose muzzle hair has not yet grown,
55 gú-tar-g[á] sahar nu-šub-ba-bi	+				No dust has fallen on my shoulders,
56 a-na-aš-àm lugal-mu gá-e mu-un-[ka]-me-en	+				My master, why am I so va[luable?]"
57 amar-bàn-da-mu inim l-àm a-ra-ab-[bé]-en	+				- "My proud calf, I am going to speak to you only once,
58 gizzal hē-im-ši-a[k]	+				So pay attention:
59 giš.KU ad-da-zu 4-à[m]	+				What a plow(?), your fathers are four,
60 giš.KU ama-zu 8-àm	+				What a plow(?), your mothers are eight,
61 dutu giš šag ₅ -zu si hē-ri-i[b-sá]	+				May the Sun guide straight your beautiful yoke!
62 e-el-lu ma-a-[lu]	+				Ellu mallu!
63 engar šu-nim-ma sipa tūr kù-[ga]	+				The early working Farmer, the Cowherd of the sacred cattle pen,
64 guruše u ₄ -tur-ra-ni-ta dam an-tu[ku-àm]	+				The young man who, since his youth, had a wife,
65 dumu an-tuku-àm AŠ-ni? nu-mu-un-[]	+				Had sons, he does not [. . .] alone
66 e-el-lu [ma-a-lu]	+				Ellu mallu!
67 mul an-na gá-[e]	+				The stars in the sky, I [. . .]
68 gùn an-na gá-'e' []	+				A gleam in the sky, I [. . .]
69 túgnig-bara ₂ ùr-ra g[á-e]	+				The bedding on the roof, I [. . .]

	A	B	C	D ₁	
70 [x x] 'gá-e' []			+		70-91 (broken)
71-90 (broken)					
91 'giš.x' []			+	+	
92 e-el-[lu m]a-a-lu			+	+	El[lu m]allu!
93 den-k[i-im-du lú] e-pa ₅ -ra-ke ₄			+	+	Enkimdu, the man of dikes and canals,
94 en 'd' [g]ù mu-na-dé-e			+	+	Says to the lord [. . .]:
95 lugal-m[u] 'x' ga-mu-ra-ab-ak-e			+	+	"My king, I want to [. . .],
96 gán-zi-[dè a g]a-ra-ab-dug ₄			+	+	I want to irrigate your fertile fields [. . .]
97 im-sa[g] im-ma-ab-bé			+	+	The early rain . . . [. . .]
98 u ₄ 'še' [] 'x' gán-NE			+	+	98-100 (to poorly preserved for translation)
99 AN A[N m]u-'da'-an-'x' [] ma-ab-ak			+	+	
100 'x' [] 'x' NE			+	+	
101-18 (broken)					101-18 (broken)
119 e-el-lu ma-al-lu			+		Ellu mallu!
120 gišgán-ùr gišga-ríg a-šà-gá			+		The harrow, the comb of my field,
121 gišzú gal-gal ha-ra-ab-si gán kù ri-ri-dè			+		Has to be fitted with large teeth to harrow the holy field.
122 gišal gú ki hē-re-lá mud sá-bí-ib			+		The hoe must dig the edges - remove the stumps!
123 gišal gú ki hē-re-lá			+		The hoe must dig the edges.
124 gišapin kù-zu gišdal-a lá-ba gišdal-ta um-ta-si-ig			+		Once you have taken down your sacred plow, which was hanging from a beam,
125 nagar-gal-zu gu hu-mu-ra-ab-tag-ge			+		Your master carpenter must tighten (its) bonds.
126 'á' gišli-um-ma-bi []			+		Its side-boards [. . .]
127-37 (broken)					127-38 (broken)
138 (traces)			+		
139 [] KAXLI-KAXLI []			+		[. . .] the sounds [. . .]
140 [šu-z]i-da-na gi-l-ninda hē-[]			+		(S)he has to [hold] in his/her right hand the measuring reed.
141 [dē]n-ki-im-du lú e-p[a ₄ -ra-ke ₄]			+		Enkimdu, the man of dikes and canals [. . .],
142 []-a-ka hu-mu-ra-[]			+		Should [. . .] for you in [. . .].
143 [e-el-lu] ma-al-lu gud gen-a gen-[a giššudun-a gú gar-ì]			+		[Ellu] mallu! go, oxen, go [put the neck under the yoke],
144 [gud-lugal-la-ke ₄] gen-a gen-a giššudun-a gú [gar-ì]			+		Go, [royal oxen], go, [put] your neck under the yoke!
145 [ab-sín gán]-zi-da gùr DU.DU-ì ús [si-sá hē-e-dib]			+		Step [on the furrows of] the fertile [field, walk] the sides [straight].
146 [] é-kaš-a-ka ul-ti-a []			+		In the alehouse, the joy of drinking [. . .],
147 [] dīnanna-ka ki-búr-r[e]			+		Inanna [. . .] a place of relaxation.
148 [] ki-bi ì-g[i ₄ -gi ₄]			+		[Her heart(?)] is happy again.
[ú-lu-lu]-ma-'ma' dnin-urta-kam			+		It is an [ululu]mama song for Ninurta

4. Philological Remarks

1f. Restored from lines 143f. and from the LIP passage quoted in 1.4. The words e-el-lu ma-al-lu are to be taken as onomatopoeic interjections to incite the oxen. The word division is uncertain: e-el-lu is attested alone (LIP 116, Izi D iv 31) but not ma-al-lu²⁷. An analysis of it as an Emesal form for gál-ù seems here out of the question; perhaps e-el-lu ma-al-lu comes from e-el-lu-ma e-el-lu. The MB recension gives i-lu-[-...] for the Sumerian and [...-l]a-li for the Akkadian. The lexical sources (Izi D iv 28ff.) give:

28	e-líl-lá	=	mekû
29	e-líl	=	elilu
30	e-*li(tablet TE)-lum	=	zamāru
31	e-el-lum	=	alāli
32	e-el-lu-líl-lum	=	alālima
33	e-uru ₄ ^{ru} -KU	=	zamāru

It is tempting to read, or emend, the LÍL of line 32 as GÁ to give e-el-lu-*ma-al-lu m. Sumerian knows a large number of forms based on the consonant -l-. A listing, with previous literature, is given by Krecher, Kultlyrik, p. 148 n. 433 (where e-el-lu is overlooked). Phonologically, they range from VIV (i-lu) to VIVIV (e-líl-lá, ù-líl-lá) and VIIIV (e-l-la-lu) with VIIV (e-l-lu) and VIVIV (a-la-la, ù-li-li, e-la-lu, i-lu-lu) in between. A prolongation with -m- appears in i-lu-lam-(ma), e-lu-lam, e-le-lum, and ú-lu-lu-ma-ma; more rare is the additional -r- as in a-li-ri, a-al-la-ri. Some of these forms can be used interchangeably, others have a very specific range of application. Note, for instance, the contrast e-lu-lam--e versus i-lu--du g₄ in Enki and Ninhursag 29f., and the LIP passage quoted above in which the e-el-lu seems to be considered a specific type of i-lu. There is no room here for a discussion which would have to include a reclassification of the Akkadian forms: *alāla*, *alāli*, *elilu*, *alālu* B, *elēlu* s., etc. The form which in its use is closest to e-el-lu is *alāla*, as shown by the references in CAD A/1, p. 328 *alāla* b). The -NI after gar can be the locative infix, see Gragg, AOATS 5, p. 68, or the locative-terminative infix²⁸. For additional examples of imperatives with -NI, see simply Falkenstein, ZA 49 (1950), 132. The phrase gišgu dun gú--gar is attested with both locative-terminative, e.g., TRS 18 i 24, and locative, e.g., Enmerkar and Enmuškešdanna 147f. = 160f. (ms. Civil); cf. gišgu dun gú-ba gar-NI CT 36 39 r. 6 (dupl. CBS 8088).

4ff. Free restorations, cf. 1.1 a). Since the oxen are addressed, -me-en must be first person.

7f. The first preserved sign is either K]A or s]a g. Both possibilities give various homographic verbs: s a g--g ál/g á-g á a) "to put on the head" with locative; b) "to advance, etc." (Akk. (*w*)*āru*); only the second takes the comitative infix: YNER 3, p. 18:37; Inanna and Ebih 129; TRS 23:49; Angin 71; Enki and the World Order 291 (nu-mu-un-[dè-g á-g á]). KA in KA--g ál/g á-g á can be read inim or gù and the (late) evidence is conflicting: compare A.i. VI ii 8, 13, with 18, 20, 22 (see also BA 5/5 [1903], 620 Ib r. 11). Semantically, in addition to the obvious "to put a word" as in *du tu ka-g á inim ba-ni-in-g ál* ZA 53 (1959) 118:27, there are at least two compound verbs: *inim--g ál/g á-g á* (and gar) "to prefer a claim, a challenge in court" (*paqāru*, *ragāmu*), and *gù--g ál/g á-g á* which designates different types of vocalizations (*ragāmu*, *rigma šakānu*, *šasū*, etc.); only the second takes the ablative infix which can appear also as -da- or -ra-²⁹: *gù im-da-a-n-g ál* Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 240 (with var.

²⁷ Cf., however, the song incipit *ma-a-al-lu ki-nam-al-la ma-a-n-gu* KAR 158:ii 51.

²⁸ For my contention that the locative-terminative infix is a vocalic element, symbolized here as -*I-, which is a member of the same morphological subset in which Gragg, AOATS 5, p. 8, places the locative -ni-, see my forthcoming study based on a paper read at the 1969 AOS Mid-Western Meeting, Madison (Wis.) 1969.

²⁹ Gragg, AOATS 5, pp. 93ff.

gù--d); *gù mu-e-re-g ál-la* (where -re- < ta+*I, locative-terminative) Lugale 481 = XI 39, with the curious late var. *gù mer-ra-g ál-la*.

14ff. Many things remain unclear in this passage because of the missing lines, the tendency of the scribe who wrote B to abbreviate (omission of the locative after *kuš* u-ú b in line 16 [but compare line 24], and after *é* in line 22, omission of the infixes -a-n-n-a- in line 25), and above all our ignorance of the rules and customs involved in inducing dreams³⁰. I assume that the *lú sa-g-šè-n á* (Akk. *mupaššir šunāti*) is a "professional dreamer", rather than "interpreter of dreams". The Akkadian translation cannot be adduced against this interpretation in view of the ambivalent meaning of *puššuru* said of a dream (Oppenheim, Dream-book, pp. 217ff.). The only known passage with *sa-g-šè-n á* appears to be Gudea Cyl. A xx 7ff. which I would translate "Gudea made a 'professional dreamer' lie down, he (the dreamer) brought forth a message for him, he made him see the construction of the house of his King", etc. Cf. Falkenstein, CRRA 14 (1966), 55f., with a slightly different translation. In the present text, Nanše performs for the Farmer this role of "dream inducer". The translation assumes that the clauses with *h*-prefix are subordinates of a modal abstract verb. The copy of the last sign(s) of line 15 in PBS 1/1,3 is misleading, but a reading -'š u b'-b [u] though possible is by no means certain. Nanše provides the Farmer with food and drink presumably to take with him to work. This gesture cannot be seen as a token of her hospitality since the provisions are put in containers. The pair *kuš* u-ú b and *kuš* u m m u as containers for the basic provisions is less frequent than the pair *kuš* a-g á-l á and *kuš* u m m u, but appears already in the archaic text published in photo by Kramer, From the Tablets of Sumer, p. 106 fig. 6a v 5ff. (also reproduced on the dust jacket): *ninda šu nu-gi₄ lu-ú b-ba mu-na-ni-gar, a š[u nu-gi₄ (kuš)u m m u-(d a) mu-na-ni-d é]*³¹. For the meaning of the line, cf. *ú kuš* u-ú b-ba gar-ra-a b: *akala šuddi* A 29975:10 (MB)³². The ending -d of u m m u is confirmed by the topos *giš kuš u m m u-da-gin_x úr-t ál-t ál* Enmerkar and Enmuškešdanna 93; Šulgi X 139; Wilcke, Lugalbandaepos, p. 55; "to spread the legs like the wooden support from which the waterskin hangs"³³.

18 (See also line 26). *sa-g-ús--gub* is probably a technical term of oneiromancy; compare *u₄-š ú-uš-e sa-g-ús gub-ba [...]*, *ma-mú nu-me-a è-dè inim ba [...]* Flood Story 148f. (Lambert and Millard, Atrahasis, p. 142), where it refers to Ziusudra's vain attempts to have an induced dream (and thus he has to appeal to the wall oracle). A connection with *sa-g-g á--gub*, Ean. 1 F vi 27; Gudea Cyl. A ix 5ff., is possible but the subject of *sa-g-g á--gub* is the person appearing in the dream and the verbal phrase governs the dative while in the present context *sa-g-ús--gub* has the comitative infix. One can propose the following meanings for *sa-g-ús--gub*: a) "to stand close by", b) "to stand by constantly" (cf. *ús-sa = kajamānu*), and c) "to stand by at the disposal of, to stand by waiting" (*kullu rēši*)³⁴. In any case it does not seem to refer to the apparition but to the waiting dreamer. After *giš* restore perhaps *n á*.

³⁰ See Falkenstein in La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne (CRAA 14 [1966], 45ff.) for a general survey of the available Sumerian sources.

³¹ Cf. already *lu-ú b*, followed by *kuš* A.EDIN, in Biggs, OIP 99, 33:x 10f. (Abu Šalābīkh).

³² The soldiers carried a *lu-ú b*-bag hanging on the side as standard equipment; cf. *kuš* u-ú b *gù n-a íb-ba g ál-la-a-ba*, which closes the list of weapons presented to Nergal by Ur-Nammu (Ur-Nammu's Death 88); a *kuš* u-ú b *dag-si ak-a* is presented to Ereškigal (ibid. 91), to be compared with *á tuku-zu... kuš* u-ú b *dag-si-ni na-an-íl-íl-i and ni-is-kum na-an-ḥ úl-le u₄-š ú-a ḥ é-n á* (Destruction of Agade 249f., ms. Civil; ZA 57 [1965], 62 to be completed and corrected accordingly); this type of bag was carried hanging from a saddle-horn(?), Akk. *dakšiu*. The *lu-ú b*-bag is often mentioned in the Šuruppak Instructions 106f., 118ff. (in the last passage it belongs to the *lú ḥ u n-g á*).

³³ Wilcke, Lugalbandaepos, p. 55, with a different interpretation: he prefers *é* instead of *giš*, but a new photo of TMH NF 3,11 shows a clear *giš*. Because of Hh VII A 146 one could expect *dag*, but the traces exclude this sign in all sources. I take the var. -b a d-b a d-'x'- of OECT 1,19 as a synonymic (both *t ál* and *b a d = petū*) rather than a phonetic variant.

³⁴ Cf. still *sa-g-ús-sa = nūru ša eqli* Nabnitu XXI 305.

22. The line contains in an abbreviated form the standard formula to describe a dream: $\acute{u}-s\acute{a}-ge/gin_x la-ba-n\acute{a}-(a/e) ma-m\acute{u}-d\acute{e}/da ba-n\acute{a}$ Lugalbanda and the "hurum" 331; Sargon's Legend B 13; etc. Note in B the absence of the locative after \acute{e} , and the older spelling $ma-mu$ instead of $ma-m\acute{u}$. Is there a missing comitative infix after $da-n\acute{a}$? Compare $e-ne \acute{d}inanna-da gi_6-a ma-m\acute{u}-da igi hu-mu-ni-in-du_8, g\acute{a}-e \acute{d}inanna-da g\ddot{r}-babbar-ra-na^{35}$ $inim mu-da-bal-e$ "he may have a vision at night in a dream about (or: with the help of) Inanna, (but) I converse with Inanna when she is awake" Enmerkar and Enmušešdanna 31f. = 62f. I assume that the subject of line 22 is the Farmer, but it can equally well be Nanše.

23. The presence in text D_1 of the dative postposition after Nanše creates a problem. With only the text of C at hand, one would take Nanše as the agent and translate "Nanše brought out to him (the Farmer) the nocturnal message", i.e., the dream (cf. $inim--\acute{e}$ in Gudea Cyl.A xx 7ff.), a much more natural sense. Is the variant of D_1 after all incorrect? The meanings and readings of KA-DU which come into consideration for this difficult line are: a) $z\acute{u}-gu-b$ "to eat (outside of the table or at unusual times)"; b) $ka--t\acute{u}m$ "to bring news" (Akk. $p\acute{u}+suff.+ab\acute{u}lu$), as in $ka-ka-ni \acute{a}m-t\acute{u}m-mu$ Dialogue 2:16; and the related c) $inim--t\acute{u}m$ "to bring good news", Akk. $bussuru$, an equation that it is not directly attested but may be inferred from Lu-dingirra's Message 46 and its Akkadian version (Nougayrol, Ugaritica 5 [1968] 314); cf. also the late logogram KA.DÙ.A = $bussurtu$. I know of no parallel to $inim gi_6$, but I would tend to take the whole phrase as meaning "to bring the good news of the night", or simply "to say good-night".

28. Cf. $\acute{s}\grave{a}-ga-ni-\acute{s}\grave{e} mu-un-zu eme-na nu-g\acute{a}-g\acute{a} l\acute{u}-da nu-mu-un-da-ab-b\acute{e}$ Destruction of Agade 89; Sargon's Legend B 4 = 50 = 52; $\acute{s}\grave{a}-ga dug_4-ga eme-a g\acute{a}-a-ra a-ba-a g\acute{a}-gin_x b\acute{u}r-b\acute{u}r-bi mu-zu$ Šulgi C 108f. $gud-\acute{a}b-(b\acute{a})$ "young bull" ($m\acute{r}u$) is a genitive nominal compound, not to be confused with $gud-\acute{a}b$ "cattle", an asyndetic bipolar compound which exceptionally does not follow the regular female + male arrangement, see Falkenstein, AnOr 29, p. 39 n. 1.

29. The sign transliterated $g\ddot{r}$ is very uncertain; cf., as an example of other possibilities, the kun pirig of LIP 119. In addition to the obvious "to tie the feet", $g\ddot{r}-l\acute{a}$ means also "to get the feet entangled in something": $dm\acute{e}-unug^{ki}_6 p\acute{a} l\acute{u} n\acute{í}g-ul-e nam-\acute{s}u-ja mu-ak-e... \acute{u}am-ja-ru pe\acute{s}_x(KI.A)-l\acute{a} \acute{í}d-da-ka... g\ddot{r} ba-ni-in-l\acute{a}$ (unpubl. tablet in private possession ii 3-5).

43. Possibly to be restored $la[g...-ri-ri(ge)]$ "to pick up clods", a frequently mentioned activity connected with the preparation of the field before making the furrows: $ab-s\acute{í}n-ta lag/la-ag ri-ri-ga$ in Ur III, see Oppenheim, AOS 32, pp. 161f., Salonen, Agricultura, p. 420; in a literary context: $lag-bi ha-ra-ab-ri-ri: ki-ir-ba-an-[na...]$ Farmer's Instructions 60.

44. Perhaps $mu\acute{s}e[n...-sar-sar-(re), or -dal-la]$, "to chase the birds away", a less frequently mentioned task at sowing time and before the harvest: $buru_5--zi-zi$ A.i. IV i 32; $buru_5--sar$ ibid. 49; $U.BUXBU.DA-[zi-z]i$ ibid. 50; Ur III: BIN 5 225:2; JCS 16 (1962), 17 [B] 7: $xmu\acute{s}en^{36} dal-la$; cf. still $z\acute{u} buru_5 mu\acute{s}en-ra bal-e-e:b \acute{s}in-ni \acute{e}r-bi[...]$ Farmer's Instructions 66. If the restorations proposed for lines 43f. are correct, lines 39ff. must have listed activities associated with plowing and farming.

48. Instead of $gal-m[u]$ one could also read $u\acute{s}um g[a]l$.

50. The most obvious reading is of course $gala-bi$, but somehow it does not seem to fit what can be understood from the context.

³⁵ $g\ddot{r}l-babbar-ra = munattu$ Erimhus II 263, and note the explanation $\acute{s}\acute{e}p \acute{u}mi \acute{a}liktu$ in Malku VI 209f., which sounds like a loan translation from Sumerian.

³⁶ The sign looks like $G\ddot{R}$ in BIN 5, and like LULXŠE in JCS 16.

51. The first sign is uncertain; the first possibility that comes to mind is to read $\acute{g}\ddot{r}k]id-A\acute{S}.NIGIN_2$, a type of reed mat known from the lexical lists (Hh VIII MSL 7, p. 26), the economic texts (TCL 5, 6036 xvii 25f.), and the literature (Dialogue 1:15; W.G. Lambert, BWL, p. 236:10). The traces, however, seem to point rather to KJA or $s]ag-dili$ "unmarried workman" (see my commentary to the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 179), or $(uzu)s]ag-dili$ "part of the tongue", Akk. $mili\acute{s}tu$ Hh XV 77; in the first case the translation would be "the lone worker threw a LAGAB"; in the second, LAGAB would be read naturally gu_r_4/gu_d_8 "he let hang down the thick tip(?) of the tongue", a perfectly bovine gesture.

54. There could be a missing sign between the KA and the $-mu$; in any case, it must be a part of the body of the ox, and the sentence stresses the young age of the animal. Note in passing the difference between the relativization rules of English and Sumerian.

55. $g\acute{u}-tar$ is here the "neck, shoulder" of the animal, Akk. $kutallu^{37}$. The young beast has not yet been working under the yoke. The dust raised by the working oxen is mentioned in Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, 2.90. Here, the $-bi$ characterizes the form as a "pronominal" conjugation.

56. Only a broken vertical wedge is preserved before $-me-e-n$, so that instead of the proposed reading, one could have also $-[x]-\acute{a}'-me-e-n$. I assume, in any case, a relative clause which would be awkward to translate as such into English.

57ff. The ox stops talking in line 56, and 57-61 must be attributed to a new speaker, most likely the Farmer. The speech sounds like a riddle. I am at a loss to explain satisfactorily the initial $gi\acute{s}.KU$ of 59f. It must be a metaphoric term to designate the plow or the yoke. An equally obscure $gi\acute{s}.KU$ appears in connection with oxen in Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, 2.83: $gud-gen-a/\acute{a}m gi\acute{s}.KU-(a) AB-\acute{a}m^{38}$. Note also Lipit-Ištar Code viii 43 $sa-sal KU-a bi-in-s\acute{í}r$ (cf. my note in AS 16 [1965], 8); does it mean that the neck muscles have been damaged by the yoke? The "fathers and mothers" are the plowman and his helpers, and the oxen of the team as shown, from a slightly different perspective, in the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 91: $gud-zu 6-\acute{a}m l\acute{u}-zu 4-\acute{a}m \acute{u} za-e \acute{s}\grave{a} ll-kam-ma-bi-me-e-n$ "your oxen are six, your men are four, and you (the Plow) make eleven". In the present context the plow has four pairs of oxen instead of three; cf. $\acute{g}\ddot{r}a pin-gud-8-l\acute{a}$ Hh V, 129³⁹. The young oxen, in a team with several pairs, were yoked in front to train them progressively to the task of carrying the yoke and pulling the plow; see AS 16 (1965), 4f. for differences in hiring prices which reflect this practice. The word $gi\acute{s}$ (line 61) alone can mean "yoke" and/or "plow": Hh V 104f.; XIII 292 (with Landsberger's remarks MSL 8/1, pp. 66ff.); Idu II 187; a literary example is $dumu uru-na mu-un-<re_7>-e\acute{s} amar gi\acute{s} nu-zu-gin_x ha-ra-k\acute{e}\acute{s}-re_6-e\acute{s}$ VAS 10,196 iv 15, with dupl. 3N-T750. The key to explain the mention of the sun could be the use of the length and position of the shadow of the yoke as a guide for plowing straight.

63. $\acute{s}u-nim$, Akk. $q\acute{a}tum \acute{h}aruptum$, "early work" MSL 13, p. 120:193; cf. A.i. IV i 24; $a-g\acute{a}r gal-gal g\acute{a}n-zi \acute{s}u-nim-ta kin nu-mu-ra-ab-ak-en$ Debate between Winter and Summer 180.

³⁷ Note $g\acute{u}-t\acute{a}l-li$ on the rev. of D_2 .

³⁸ The proverb, in turn, is reminiscent of Inanna and Ebiš 168f.: $\acute{a} zi-da-mu \acute{g}\ddot{r}tukul mi-ni-in-ri, \acute{a} g\acute{u}b-bu-mu AB-e ri-ri-me-e-n$. The sign AB, not completely certain in any source, is probably KU_7 , to be read $*gaml$ (see Biggs and Civil, RA 60 [1966], 10, where KU_7 , spelled $ga-a-m-le$, is found next to $tukul$). It is possible that the proverb 2.83 is a further instance of the topic $tukul/gaml$, since the signs AB and KU_7 are very difficult to tell apart even on carefully written tablets.

³⁹ The coincidence of these numbers with $\acute{\alpha}ρτον... τετράτρυφον, δεκάβλωμον$ in Hesiod, Works and Days 442, is curious but certainly accidental.

67ff. The mention of the stars, followed by a reference to bedding, must refer to night time, and the dream must have ended with the first lights of the day (for *gùn a n - n a*, cf. Akk. *burūmū*), rather than to the constellations showing the arrival of the plowing season, a traditional topic found from the Farmer's Instructions to Virgil's *Georgica*, and that must have been included somewhere in our song (cf. perhaps line 48).

Another literary link between stars and farming is the comparison of the constellation to well-ordered rows of furrows, and vice versa: see TCL 6, 51:7 for the former, and [*h e n b u r*] *s a h a r s a g - í l - l a - b a m u l a n - g i n x g ù n - a : h á b - b u r - r a š a i - n a e - p é - r i* [. . .] LIP 123, for the latter. Falkenstein, CRRA 14 (1966), 64f., has suggested some relationship between dreams and astrology; his passages, however, sound more natural if *m u l* is taken there as designating the writing on the tablets seen by Gudea in his dreams. In lines 67ff it is not clear whether one must read *g á - o r - k e*. For a parallel to line 69, compare *t ú g è m - b a r a _ g a - n a u r b a - e - n á* CT 15, 18:12 = *è m - b a - r a - g a - n a u r _ b é - n u* CBS 145:5', where *u r* and *u r _* stand for *ù r* "roof". The meaning "bedding" for *t ú g è m - b a r a _ g a - n a u r b a - e - n á* (g) is clear from SRT 1: 178f. (cf. Römer, SKIZ, p. 189), and *k i - n á t ú g è m - b a r a _ g a - n a u r b a - e - n á* Uruk Lament 3.24 (ms. Civil-Green), but the word is poorly attested in the lexical lists: Hh X 147:57ff.; Ur III references in Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie*, pp. 119, 126.

97. *i m - s a g*, Akk. *h a r u p t u*, "early rain".

120. For the harrow in general, see Salonen, *Agricultura*, pp. 108ff. The reading *g i š g a - r í g*, first suggested in JNES 26 (1967), 210f., is now confirmed⁴⁰ by the Ugarit recension of Diri: *k a - r i - i m G I Š*. GA.ZUM = *m[u-uš-tu]*, followed by *n i - i k - š i - * k i* (tablet -LA) *G I Š . N Í G . U M B I N* = *m[u-mar-ri-tu]* RS 20.203 r. 7f. (courtesy J. Nougayrol).

121. The teeth of the harrow are known from lexical lists: Hh V 175f., 186; and from administrative texts: DP 437 ii 1, iii 5, v 3 (*z ú g i š g á n - ù r 5 - t a l - k é š*); 450 vii 4; 451 vi 5; 458 ii 2; 461 ii 2; etc. The verb *s i* is *s i - (g)*, written also *s i - (g)*, "to provide an implement with one of its parts": *n a _ k i n k i n š u s i - g a* (ITT 3/2 5059:1; 5509:1; 6145:1; TCS 1, 105:3; etc.) contrasts with *n a _ k i n k i n š u n u - t u k u* (ITT 3/2 6184:2) to designate a millstone with or without the pounding stone. Other examples of the same verb are *g i š a l - e z ú s i - g a* "hoe provided with its blade" BIN 5, 79:1; 212:1; and *n u n - g a l - e g i š a l - e s a b i - i n - s i* Enki and the World Order 334 (but *g i š a l z ú s i - g a - n i*, ibid. 336). *g i š a l - e s a s i* an expression that puzzled Falkenstein, ZA 56 (1964), 83, means simply "to fit the hoe with its rope", for details see my study of the Sumerian hoe in the introduction to the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow. The exact nuance implied by the verb *r i* in the present context is not easy to determine, but seems to designate the typical action of the hoe. Note that this action is described often, in addition to *b a - a l*, by the verb *r a / r a - a h / r i*; for instance: a) *r a*: AfO 9 (1933-34), 246 ii 2ff.; Destruction of Agade 127; Ur Lament 245, 258, etc.; b) *r a - a h*: Sumer and Ur Lament 82 (ms. Kramer); and c) *r i*: ibid. 346. All these passages refer to the destruction of cities, but the verb is used metaphorically as shown by: *g á n g i š a l - e r i - a - g i n x* Ur Lament 272, and *a - g à r - b i g i š a l - e r i - e - d è* TRS 73 i 4'.

122. A meaning "to put on the ground" would be acceptable, but since *g ú k i - l á* governs elsewhere the terminative *- š è* (e.g., Destruction of Agade 113, 120; Debate between the Bird and the Fish 81; Sumer and Ur Lament 54), and here it has a locative-terminative (*- r e - < - r a - (dative) + - * l -*), it is likely that *k i - l á* has to be taken here as "to dig", as in *s u h u š k a l a m - m a k i b a - e - l á* "the foundations/ roots of the country have been dug out" Destruction of Agade 118 (cf. *k i - l á = k a l a k k u*, *h i r t u*), in which case *g ú* would be the "edges of the field" where hoeing must have been more difficult and important, as

⁴⁰ The apparent counterexamples with a spelling *g a - z u* quoted in Salonen, *Hausgeräte* 1, p. 109, can be eliminated: In HSS 15, 291:25 read *k à - s á* "(bronze) cup" (*k ā s u*), and in Wiseman, *Alalakh*, 417:8, the copy has an unambiguous ZUM.

shown by Farmer's Instructions 12: *g ú a - š à - g a u b - d a - 4 - b a g i š a l - e h a - r a - a b - n i g i n* "your hoe must work on the four edges of the field". For the meaning "stump" of *m u d*, cf. *g i š m u d* (with var. *g i m ú d*) *g i š i - r i x - n a - b i* "stumps and roots" Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 89. Note the *h*-sub-junctive + 2nd. person dative forms, alternating with imperatives, a style typical of the Farmer's Instructions. The meaning of *s á* is contextual.

123. Is this line an erroneous repetition, or is there a second half missing?

124. The plow was hung from a ceiling beam or similar support when not in use. This is corroborated by *g i š a p i n - z u d a l - l a / a e - n e b a - a n - g i _* Debate between the Tree and the Reed 114, and *g i š a p i n k ù - g á (g i š) d a l - l a / a ù - m u - n i - g a r* Debate between Summer and Winter 225. Despite the loan word *g i š t a l l*, the occasional absence of the determinative shows that the reading is simply *d a l*; the spellings with *- l a* exclude *g i š - d e*, (*g i š t l*). The meaning "to take down" for *s i - i g* is inferred from its contrast with *l á* "to hang up", see the parallel in Dumuzi's Dream 33 = 56.

125. Another possibility is to read *n a g a r g a l - z u* "the skilled carpenter". Cf. *t a - a g* TAG = *r a k ā s u*, *s i n i q t u* A V/1:226, 228. It must be remembered that the Mesopotamian plow had a "bound" construction, with ropes and pegs, rather than an "assembled" construction with joints and mortises.

139. For the reading *m u _ - m u _* (< *m u n - m u n*) for KAXLI-KAXLI, see Landsberger, MSL 8/1, p. 21 ad 157f.; in connection with his remarks, note that the gloss in source E of line 157 must be read *m u [n]*¹ - *m u*, and that the Ugarit recension of Diri gives [*m u*] - *m u* KAXLI-KAXLI = *ikribu*, *kāribu*, *karābu*, followed by the usual equivalents *rgm* and *rm m*.

143ff. Restored from LIP 116ff., quoted above 1.4.

147. *k i - b ú r* can mean "place of relaxation" or "solution" (of the dream); the passage *z i d u b - d u b - b a - b i h é - h ú l - l e - e n k i - b ú r - z u h é - a*, with *k a š d i d a* mentioned in the preceding line, in Lugale 575 = XIII 36, favors the first option.

148. The restoration of *k i - b i - - g i _* is only tentative.

Studies in Sumerian Lexicography, I*

Sol Cohen, Philadelphia

It is with profound gratitude and fond admiration that this firstling of my "Studies in Sumerian Lexicography" to appear in print is offered as a small tribute in honor of Professor Samuel Noah Kramer, my teacher, who having initiated me into Sumerology continues to share graciously with me his scholarly erudition.

1

b u l u ḫ / b u - l u - ú ḫ s i - i l

This enigmatic expression has already served more than one Sumerologist as an object for study and comment. However, the wide divergencies of their proffered renderings evidently leave it yet in its original problematic state.

E. Gordon¹, assuming b u - l u - ú ḫ to be a loanword from the Akkadian *pulḫu*, "awesomeness"², and taking s i - i l with its secondary meaning "to depart"³, comes up with the translation "to act irreverently", literally, "to depart from reverence".

T. Jacobsen⁴, on the other hand, differing with E. Gordon, follows the lexical equations in Izi B Bogh, 15-16: [b u - l u ḫ] : [b u] - l u - u ḫ - ṣ i - l á: *ma-ku-ú*, *ma-ku-ú-tum*, "wretched, wretched state", and renders the term as "to become wretched"⁵.

B. Alster⁶, in the most recent study of this expression dissents from T. Jacobsen's suggestion and comments, "The verb s i - i l is certainly = *duppuru*, "to expel", and it would be tempting, in spite of the lexical evidence, to translate b u - l u - ú ḫ as "excrement" or "vomit". The equations with *makū* and *makūtum* seem

* I would like to take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to Professor Åke W. Sjöberg, for his invaluable comments, and for kindly making available to me his private library, manuscripts and lexicographical index file throughout the preparation of these studies. I am also genuinely grateful to Professor Barry Eichler for his helpful criticism during the course of these inquiries.

In the present studies the references for the treated expressions are given in the latter section of each discussion. This may prove to be a nuisance in following the inquiry, especially for those who would like to put the already proffered translations to the test. For this encumbrance I apologize. However, since the passages wherein the expressions are found often require separate comment and treatment, it was found necessary as a practical expediency to place them in the second half of each study.

¹ Cf. E. Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, p. 96, 1.104 n. 10 and p. 188, 2.16 with n. 3.

² See AHW, p. 878, s.v. *pulḫu*.

³ For this nuance, see W.G. Lambert, AnSt 4 (1954), 76ff. (= BWL, p. 283); CAD D, p. 187 s.v. *duppuru*, bilingual section.

⁴ See Jacobsen apud Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, p. 479.

⁵ For this equation see now AHW, p. 591, s.v. *makū* I; for this lexical text see below section 1.5, p. 103.

⁶ Cf. B. Alster, "A Sumerian Incantation against Gall", Or 41 (1972), 355.

inexplicable." He, nevertheless, translates the relevant line of his treated text, *bu-lu-úh-gim h̄é-si-il-le*, as "Let it *pass away like a shiver!*".

Nonetheless, the obvious difficulty yet remains with all of the proposed renderings, in that when they are applied to all of the passages where the term occurs⁷ they simply will not work. A fresh attempt to solve the problem of *bu-lu-úh si-il* would, therefore, still be proper.

Setting aside, for the present, the information gleaned from the lexical entries or bilingual passage⁸, since it has proven to be of little or no avail for all of the occurrences, we shall proceed with the assumption that it would be methodologically sound to take *si-il* with its basic meaning of which we are certain: "to split" or "to divide"⁹.

The *crux interpretum* of this term remains, nevertheless, *bu-lu-úh*. E. Gordon intuitively looked outside of Sumerian for the determination of its meaning, taking it from Akkadian *pulhu* with the nuance of "reverence". However, one can readily see by the contexts of the references that this nuance is not always appropriate. Another possibility would be to take *bu-lu-úh* as a loanword in Sumerian — not from Akkadian — but rather from another Semitic language¹⁰. The reconstructed Semitic form in mind is either **palh* or

⁷ See below for references and note 8.

⁸ These references have been collected by B. Alster, loc. cit. The other equations not cited by him, *bu-lu-úh*AI = *ha-a-šu*, áš (var.: aš) - *bulu*h = MIN, Nabnitu IV 244f., have not been helpful since *h̄āšu* is taken here as "to worry", see CAD H, p. 146, s.v. *h̄āšu* B lexical section with discussion on p. 147 and AHW, p. 334 s.v. *h̄āšu(m)* I.

⁹ This meaning for *si-il* (< *sila*) is rendered in Akkadian by the following verbs: *letū*; *natāru*; *salātu*; *šalātu*; *šarātu*. For these verbs see AHW, p. 546 s.v. *letū(m)* II sub D; ibid., p. 766, s.v. *natāru* sub S; ibid., p. 1014, s.v. *salātu* sub D; Delitzsch, HWB, p. 662 sub ŠLT II. For *si-il* and its nuances see W.G. Lambert, AnSt 4 (1954), 76ff. (= BWL, p. 283); Krecher, Kultlyrik, p. 171 with n. 489. Although *si-il* and *sil-la/lá* appear to have more than one meaning, cf. Å. Sjöberg, AS 16, p. 67 n. 3 and H. Limet Or 40 (1971), 24 n. 9, a future study will show that in most instances they have merely undergone semantic developments from the basic meaning "to split" or "to divide".

¹⁰ It is assumed that both members of this expression, *bu-lu-úh* and *si-il* are borrowings from a non-Akkadian Semitic language since their proffered original forms are not found in Akkadian as we know it. The root of *sil* (*si-il*) and its longer and earlier form *sila* (*sil-la/lá*) appears predominantly in Arabic as *sala'a*, "to split", cf. Lane, Arabic-English lexicon, pp. 1406-1407, sub SL', and in Tigre as *sāllā'e*, "to divide", cf. Coulbeaux et Schreiber, Dictionnaire de la Langue Tigraï, (Wien, 1915), p. 208, s.v. *sāllā'e* I. The verb *šēlah*, "to split" in Aramaic and Syriac is an alloform, cf. Levy, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch, p. 326, s.v. *šēlah*, and Brockelmann, Lex. Syr.², p. 629, s.v. *šēlah*. *sila* is in relationship to *sala'(a)* as Sumerian *silim* is to Semitic *salam(a)* "to be well", except that the laryngeal was dropped while retaining its favored vowel *a*. (The laryngeal favored the vowel *a* already in Proto-Semitic, see Brockelmann, Grundriß der vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen I, p. 194.) For the Semitic origin of *bu-lu-úh* see the following note. It is generally assumed that the only Semitic linguistic contact which left its imprint upon the Sumerian language, and, conversely, allowed for numerous borrowings, was made by the Akkadians neighboring in the north. For a recent statement on this subject see J.S. Cooper, "Sumerian and Akkadian in Sumer and Akkad", Or 42 (1973), 239ff.; note especially his remarkable final comment, "And it is not unthinkable that in their confrontation beneath the walls of Uruk, Gilgamesh and Agga addressed each other in an earlier form of the Old Akkadian language that we know through the masterly works of Professor Gelb", ibid., p. 246.

However, besides the proffered etymology of *bu-lu-úh si-il*, there seem to be other linguistic phenomena that point to the presence of a non-Akkadian Semitic group.

1) Gelb has already stated, MAD 2, p. 142 that the older Semitic forms of loanwords in Sumerian having no endings like *sum*, "garlic", *ha-zi(-in)*, "ax", or with the endings -*a* like *ma-da*, "land", *bur-šu-ma*, "elder" — which are not found in Akkadian — "can be explained most plausibly as borrowings from a Semitic language or dialect having a declension without fully developed case endings".

One must consider here as well the vestiges of secondary *qatl* noun formations derived from the absence of case endings, retained especially in Sumerian syllabaries and lexical texts, for example: *ka-la-a-b* (Proto-

**pilh*¹¹, literally, "a splitting", which eventually would become *bu-lu-úh* in Sumerian. The expression *bu-lu-úh si-il* would therefore be translated literally as, "to split a splitting", and *bu-lu-úh si-il-si-il*, "to divide (into) pieces", the first element serving as a non-cognate internal accusative¹².

This proposed rendition must now be put to the test whereby its soundness is to be demonstrated not merely by applying it mechanically to all passages but rather by having it conform to their contexts as well.

1. Lugalbanda-Hurru, OB version, (MS S. Cohen) 299-303 = 311-315:

Lugalbanda is described in this passage to be eating from the uncultivated plants of the highland steppe (note the parallelism):

ù-ur₅-re šim-gig še-àm ì-tukúr-re
 g̃š̃ha-šu-úr-ra ùnumún (UD.SAR)-bur-gin_x ì-ma₅-mù
 pa-g̃š̃še-nu ùKI.KAL-gin_x ú-ka-ba mu-un-sim(NAM, var. si-im)-me
 a-i, ḫal-ḫal-la-ka i-im-na₅-naga(NAG)-dè
 ú-li-in-nu-uš ú-sikil-kur-ra-ka bu-lu-úh mu-un-si-il-si-il-le

"In melancholy languor¹³ *kanaktu* (-seed)¹⁴ like barley grain he was chewing,¹⁵

Ea, MSL 2, p. 80: 648) instead of *kalbu*, "dog"; a-l-a-a p (Ea, AS 7, p. 20, 130) for *alpu*, "ox"; a-b-a-a n for *abnu* (Ea II 30) "stone"; a-r-a-d (A VIII/2, 213) in place of Akkadian *ardu*, "slave".

2) The formations of some of the loanwords do not correspond to their proffered original counterparts in Akkadian, compare for example: Sumerian *na-ga-da/ga-da* (< *naqqāda*, cf. perhaps Aramaic *naggāda*) with Akkadian *nāqīdu*, "shepherd"; r̃ā-g-a-b-a (< *rakkāba*, cf. Aramaic *rakkāba* and Hebrew *rakkāb*) with Akkadian *rākibu*, "rider"; (g̃š̃)l í/li-id-g-a with Akkadian *litiktu*, "the *letek*-measuring vessel".

3) Hebrew uses four different laryngals, 'h, h, ' , to reproduce loanwords assumed to be of Sumerian origin: (a) 'ēd, "groundflow" (Sumerian *a-dé-a*, thus Speiser, Oriental and Biblical Studies, pp. 19ff.; Albright, JBL 58 (1939), 102-103 n. 2, takes it from *id*, "river"); (b) hēkāl (é-g-a-l), "palace"; (c) ḥiddeqel (< *idigina*), "Tigris"; (d) 'ēden (*edin*), "steppe". This phenomenon points to a non-Akkadian source of oral transmission — if not to direct contact between early Hebrew and Sumerian.

¹¹ This word appears in Hebrew as *pēlah*, "a split", "portion", cf. Gesenius¹⁷, p. 642, s.v. *pēlah*, Jastrow, Dict. p. 1178, s.v. *pēlah*, and in Palestinian Aramaic as *pilhā*, "portion", cf. Jastrow, ibid. The Arabic cognate is *falh*, "a cleavage", see Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, p. 2438 s.v. *falh*. It is assumed that in this instance *h > ḫ* as in some cases in Akkadian, see von Soden GAG, p. 11, i. For Semitic *qatl > qut* in Sumerian, compare *karm*, "vine" Sumerian *kurum/n* "vine", see A. Poebel, ZA 39 (1930), 149 n.2.

However, I cannot rule out completely, at this point, the possibility that *bu-lu-úh* may be a variant of *bulug* (Semitic *PLC/K*) "splitting", which is known to us from: *bulug* = *qarāšu ša isi* (Ant 19, 17 I 15), *šu-bulug* = *qarāšu* (MAOG 1/2, 11, 232/5, (Alam), both cited in AHW, p. 903 s.v. *qarāšu*, "to split"; *bulug* = *pulukku*, "dividing stake", "boundary" (compare *pilku* (*palāku*) "demarcation of an area", cf. AHW, p. 863, s.v. *pilku(m)* I and p. 879, s.v. *pulukku(m)*); *bulug*, "chisel", "wedge-shaped instrument", "pin", see MSL 9, pp. 207 ff.; for further discussion on *bulug* see Krecher, Kultlyrik, pp. 137ff. with notes.

For the alternation between *g* and *h* in Sumerian compare: *lal-gār* and *lal-ḫār*, see Civil, RA 60 (1966), 92; *še-er-ga-a-n-du₁₁* and *še-er-ḫa-a-n-du₁₁*, see Å. Sjöberg, Temple Hymns, p. 92; compare as well *eme-gir_x*: *ha-lam* and *eme-sal*: *gil-le-em*, see Falkenstein, Das Sumerische, p. 31.

¹² By this temporary designation I mean "an accusative of kindred meaning — but not of cognate formation — which repeats the idea already contained in the verb". A similar construction would be *ka-aš-bar*, literally, "to decide a decision", for which see the comprehensive article by J. Klein, JCS 23 (1970), 118ff., especially n. 30.

¹³ For *ù* = *kāru* "to be in a stupor", see CAD K, p. 240 s.v. *kāru* B lexical section. For *ur₅* - [n]i-ziq-tum "distress" see CT 12, 21 (= K 93040) rev. 22b (cited in AHW, p. 799 s.v. *niziqtu(m)*). Cf. LSUr 468 (MS S.N. Kramer, translation my own): *urukⁱ.gul bād-gal bād-si-bé u₄-s₁-ge-ù-ur₅-re bal-bal-àm*, "the day of desolation, stupor and melancholy is passing away from the destroyed city, its great wall and towers". For *sìg* = *šuharruru* "to be still", cf. ŠL 164, 21 and Kramer, "Death of Gilgamesh", BASOR 94 (1944), 8:70: *gub-ba nu-ub-s₁-ge tuš-a nu-ub-s₁-ge a-nir im-gá-gá*, "the stand-

Hashhur (-aromatics) like alfa-seed¹⁶ he was grinding¹⁷,
The leaf¹⁸ of the *shenu*-tree¹⁹ like *sassatu*-grass²⁰
he was picking²¹ out (for) an herbal chew²²,
Water of the fast flowing river he was drinking²³,
Soapwort, the pure herb of the mountain²⁴, he was crumbling into pieces.”

The Ur III version of the epic, 6N-T638²⁵ (unpublished):

obv. II 7ff. = rev. 8ff. reads:

šim-gig še-gi[n_x . . .]
šim-ḫa-šu-úr-[ra . . .]-gin_x[. . .]
še-bappir nun[. . .]-gin_x ì-àr-[àr] . .
a-ḫal-ḫal-ka ša igi-sa₆[. . .] ì-ib-si-[si]
eš_x (LAMxKUR)-lam-kur-ra-ka buluḫ mu-si-il-si-il
šim-li giš-ú-[siki]-hur]-sag-gá-ka ka-[ba ì]-ib-[. . .]

“*Kanaktu* (-seed) like barley grain ,

Hashhur (-aromatics) like ,

Beer-bread like he was grinding,

With the fast flowing water he was liberally²⁶ filling (his) stomach,

The luxuriant *esh*²⁷-(fruit) of the mountain he was crumbling into pieces,

ing are not silent, the sitting are not silent, they set up a lament”. For the series: *šuharruru*, *kāru* and *niziqtum*, see further M. Held, JCS 15 (1961) 16. Nippur Lament (MS S.N. Kramer, translation my own) 218: u_r-z u a-gin_x ì-ta b ša-sìg-ga a-gin_x ì-k úš-ù-d è, “How your melancholy has been dissipated, how the anxious heart is eased!” For ta b = *šu-ru-ú* “to untie”, see Delitzsch HWB, p. 689 s.v. *ŠRH* I and MSI. 9, p. 133 (Proto-Ea bilingual) 465; for u_r ta b compare *patar niziqti*, Dream-book, p. 330: 75f. (cited in AHw, loc. cit.).

¹⁴ For šim-gig and *kanaktu*-seed (NUMUN-*kanakti*) see CAD K, p. 135 s.v. *kanaktu* lexical section.

¹⁵ For tuk úr = *kasāsu* “to chew up, gnaw”, see CAD K, p. 242 s.v. *kasāsu* A, lexical section.

¹⁶ *UD.SAR* is a variant writing for *NUMUN*, see ISET 2, Ni 9724 (*Emesh-Enten*) obv III, 5: *UD.SAR* ki-n á-bi-šè nu-z é and duplicate ibid. Ni 4572 obv. 13: *NUMUN*.

¹⁷ For the various readings and meaning of KAxZl-KAxZl, see AHw, p. 913 s.v. *qēmu(m)* “to grind”.

¹⁸ For pa = *artu* “leaves, foliage”, see CAD A/2, p. 310 s.v. *artu* lexical section.

¹⁹ For *gišše-nu* see MSI. 5, p. 97, note to 55-60, copy of SLT 128 rev. I, 16 is correct, the reading is *gišše-nu* on original, not *gišše-BAD*.

²⁰ For this grass see B. Meissner, BAW, pp. 9ff., 9.

²¹ For sim see CT 18,35:III-IV 59-61 (Antagal III 225-227): si-imNAM = *ša-ḫa-lum*, NAM^{si-im} si-imNAM = *na-pu-u*, šu^{si-im} si-imNAM = *šu-šu-u*; MSI. 4, p. 124 (OBGT XV) 12: si-im = *ša-ḫa-lum*. Literally, “to draw out;” for the nuance “to pick out” compare as well Aramaic *šīl*, see Jastrow Dict. p. 1548, s.v. *šēḫal*.

²² For ka-ba see A. Falkenstein, Götterlieder, p. 72 with n. 105.

²³ I cannot explain the suffix -d è other than positing an expanded root na ga d “to drink”. For lines 301-302 compare MBI 8 obv. 23, UET 6/1 33: 24. Lahar and Ashnan 24-25: udu-gin_x ka-ba ú mu-ni-ib-kú a-mú-sar-ra-ka i-im-nag-naga (NAG)-d è, “they (mankind), like sheep masticating, ate grass, drank water from the garden bed.”

²⁴ For *šil-in-nu-uš* ú-siki-kur-ra-ka see Wilcke, Iugalbandaepos pp. 187ff. It is possible that the plant *šil-in-nu-uš* / *širiana* is to be identified with or related to the Hebrew *yar‘inan*, *yir‘ana* (*Hypericum* Crispum L.) which also produces soap, see E. Hareuveni, Sinai, (1939) 622ff. and Saul Lieberman, Tosefta Kifshutah Zeraim 2, p. 187, l. 1, and ibid. The Tosefta Shebiith, pp. 549ff.

²⁵ I am indebted to Professor John Brinkman, Chairman of the Baghdad School of the American Schools for Oriental Research for kindly granting me permission to quote from this tablet.

²⁶ Literally, “with a kind eye”; for the same idiom compare Hebrew *‘ayin yāfā* or *‘ayin tōbā*. See Jastrow Dict., p. 1071 s.v. *‘ayin*.

²⁷ For *gišLAMxKUR* see MSI. 5, p. 98: 61-66 with note and MSI. 2, p. 92: 918 with notes. For lam = *e-še-bu* “to grow luxuriantly”, see Nabnitu R 166, cited in CAD E, p. 352 s.v. *ešebu*, lexical section.

Juniper, the tree with pure vegetation of the highland,
[was providing (him)] with a chew”.

2. Proverbs 1.103-1.106 in E. Gordon’s Sumerian Proverbs²⁸ deal with the unrefined eating habits of the rustic, niggard and greedy person.

1.103: in-kú nu-un-kú numun sa₆-ga-àm

“Whether he has eaten or not seed is pleasurable.”

The rustic, whether he has eaten or not, is always found to be chewing upon barley grain — a habit considered unrefined in ancient Mesopotamia²⁹.

1.104: in-pad ša an-SI.A šu bí-in-tukure (KAxŠE)

bu-lu-úḫ mu-un-si-il-si-il-e

“He broke off (a morsel), was over-eager, nibbled (it)
in (his) hand and crumbled (it) into pieces.”

The niggard will break off a morsel, become over-eager, nibble upon it even in his hand, and then continue to chew upon it.

1.105: kaš-nag-nag-e a ba-nag-nag

“He who drinks much beer drinks much water.”

The one who out of greed drinks beer heavily must perforce become a “heavy” drinker of water. Drinking large quantities of beer will make the throat dry and necessitate the drinking of equally large amounts of water.

1.106: níg-maḫ-kú-kú-e ù nu-un-ši-ku-ku

“He who eats too much will not sleep because of it.”

3. The following proverbs describe the poor man or beggar, cf. ibid., 2.15-2.19³⁰:

ukú-re ninda-kú-ù-da-ni-šè igi an-ši-dù-dù
ukú-bu-lu-úḫ-si-il-[l]e lú-níg-tuk-e igi-tur nam-ba-e-gíd-i
ukú-re še-ur_x (APIN)-ru nu-mu-un-zu-a zíz a-na ba-ur_x-ru
ukú nu-kal
ukú ninda šu-ti-a kiri₄ an-ḫar

“The beggar always looks up to (where) his bread (is coming from),

²⁸ For proverbs 1.103, 1.105 and 1.106 see Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, pp. 94-97; for the other proverbs I have generally followed Jacobsen apud Gordon, ibid. pp. 478-479.

²⁹ Illustrative of this is the following incident reported in the Babylonian Talmud (Soncino translation Kethuboth 77a (p. 484)):

Rab stated: If a husband says, ‘I will neither maintain nor support [my wife]; he must divorce her and give her also her *kethubah* (the wife’s settlement). Rabbi Eleazar went and told this reported statement to Samuel (who) exclaimed, ‘Make Eleazar eat (lit. chew) barley (like an animal, since he by being so credulous as to accept an absurd statement, displayed no higher intelligence); rather than compel him to divorce her let him be compelled to maintain her.’ And Rab (why does he order divorce rather than maintenance)? — No one can live with a serpent in the same basket (metaphor, divorce is, therefore, preferable). When Rabbi Zera went up (from Babylon to Palestine) he found Rabbi Benjamin b. Japeth sitting (at the college) and reporting this (Rab’s ruling) in the name of Rabbi Johanan (i.e. that Rabbi Johanan also was of the same opinion as Rab). ‘For this statement’, he said to him, ‘Eleazar was told in Babylon to eat barley’.

³⁰ See note 28.

The wretched³¹ beggar may not look begrudgingly³² at the rich man,
The poor man - who knows not how to cultivate barley - what wheat will he cultivate?
The beggar is not endeared,
The beggar who takes a loaf of bread incurs indignation."

The argument of the third proverb seems to be that a poor man who cannot gain an income from an available source as the cultivation of barley - the common grain of Mesopotamia - will not earn a livelihood from a less likely source such as the cultivation of wheat - the predominant grain to the west of Mesopotamia³³.

The fifth saying states that the beggar, marked by the morsels of bread³⁴ for which he begs, when found to be in the possession of a whole loaf - reserved for the breadwinner - will only evoke indignation. The other sayings are self-explanatory.

4. The following references are from incantations containing a prescription for the patient,

A. B. Alster, "A Sumerian Incantation against Gall", Or 41 (1972), 350ff. lines 15-20 (modified translation):

lag-mun-na šu ù-me-ti	"After you have taken a lump of salt in (your) hand,
nam-šub ù-me-sì	after you have cast the spell (upon it),
ka-ka-na ù-me-gar	and after you have placed it in his mouth,
še ₁₀ -gin _x hē-dúr-re	Let it be discharged like a fart!
bu-lu-úh-gin _x hē-si-il-le	Let it burst forth like breaking (wind)! ³⁵
im-gin _x gu-du-ni-ta hē-em-ma-ra-du	Let it come out from his anus like wind!"

B. CT 4 8a (Bu 88-5-12,51): 35-40, cf. *ibid.*, p. 354 (modified):

lag-mun ù ha'-še-na ù-un-ta_h-he ù-bí-i[n-...]
kīrbān lābtī ù hašš uš-ša-a[b¹...]
še₁₀ ki-šē hē-si-il-le
kīma šī-it-[ti...]
bu-lu-úh-gin_x hē-si-il-le

³¹ For this epithet see p. 103.

³² For *igi-tur gíd-i*, see F. Ali, *Sumerian Letters* (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1964), p. 86: 16-17: *ku-li du₁₀-sa zu-a kal-la-mu lú-aš-kú-ù-gin_x igi-tur mu-un-gíd (BU)-i-eš*, "My companions, friends, acquaintances (and) dear ones are contemptuous of (me), like a man who eats by himself".

³³ Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 44.

³⁴ Cf. below, n. 41.

³⁵ Because *bu-lu-úh* is followed by *-gin_x*, and the whole term, *bu-lu-úh si-il*, stands between two expressions for "breaking wind", it would be sheer folly to translate this line as, "Let it disintegrate like (any) particle." On the other hand, since words for "farting" are semantically related to "snapping", "bursting", the present translation has been offered. Compare, for example, Arabic *faqa'a*, "he emitted wind from the anus with a sound"; *fiqi^{un}* "an emission of wind from the anus with sound"; *faqā^{un}* "one who emits wind from the anus with a sound"; *mišqa^{un}* "the anus with which wind is emitted vehemently with a sound" (From Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, pp. 2427-2428 s.v. *FQ'*). These Arabic forms go back to *FQ'* "to split", see Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT*, p. 825 s.v. *PQ'*. [It is possible that Akkadian *šarāt/du* "to break wind" and Hebrew (*ešba*) *šerēdā* "a snapping (finger)" (with no satisfactory etymology) may ultimately go back to the root **SRT/T* (another form of the root *SLT/ŠLT/ŠRT*) "to split" for which see note 9. Assuming that our etymology is correct, the use of *q* in Arabic *darāṭa* "to break wind" would seem to point to a fricative-lateral nature of the initial sound, for which see Richard Cecil Steiner, *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic*, Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1973, especially ch. XII.]

kīma g[i-lit-ti...]
im-gin_x gu¹-du-šē ò-ib-ta
kīma x [...]

Sum.: "After adding a lump of salt and *hašū*-spice and ...

Akk.: The lump of salt and *hašū*-spice which he adds ...

Sum.: Let the evacuation burst forth upon the ground³⁶

Akk.: Like urine ...

Sum.: Let it erupt like breaking (wind)

Akk.: Like an ejaculation?³⁷ ...

Sum.: Come out like wind from³⁸ the anus!

Akk.: Like ...,"

5. The following lexical text, Izi Boghazköy B 11ff.,³⁹ requires clarification:

11. [m]ud-mud: mu-ud-mu-ud: *ki-ta-al-lu-ut¹-tum: á-e-ri-te-*[
12. [b¹]-lu_h: bu-lu-uh: *ki-li-it-tum: á-e-ri-te-im-[ma-aš]*, "fright"
13. [bu-l]u_h: MIN : *ga-la-a-tum: MIN* , "fright"
14. [bu-lu_h-bu-lu_h]: 'bu¹-lu-uh-bu-lu-uh: *ki-ta-al-lu-ut-tum: á-e-ri-te-nu-m[ar²]*, "to frighten" (inf. causat.)
15. [bu-lu_h...]: bu-lu-uh-šī-lá: *ma-ku-á: šī-nu-ú-ra-aš*, hapax (mas. adj.)
16. [...]:[...]: *ma-ku-ú-tum: SAL-za[šī-nu-u-ra-aš]*, "a ... woman".

The compiler of this lexical text lists from line 1 to 11 *m u d*, "fright" and its variations. By association he follows that with *b u - l u h*⁴⁰ also "fright" with its modified forms. Thereupon, he lists its homonym *b u - l u h* in combination with *š i l a*, literally, "the one who splits into little pieces". The equation given, however, is that of the epithet for the beggar, *makū*, "wretched". This epithet developed from the fact that a beggar is marked by the morsels of bread and tidbits of food for which he begs; he is literally "the one who splits food into little pieces".⁴¹

³⁶ The text has *še₁₀ ki-šē*. Alster reads *še₁₀-d ú r (? !)-g i m (? !)*.

³⁷ The Akkadian translator followed the equation cited in Izi B Boghazköy 12, see above. For *galātu* "to have a premature emission", cf. CAD G, p. 11 s.v. *galātu*.

³⁸ B. Alster is bothered by *-šē* following the noun and *-ta* in the verbal complex. This construction may aim at conveying "outside as regards to"; Compare further, Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, pp. 377ff. 119c.

³⁹ See MSI. 13, pp. 143ff.

⁴⁰ From Akkadian *palāhu*, "to fear", compare *mud = pa-la-hu* VAT 9718: IV 24 cited in AHW, p. 812 s.v. *palāhu(m)*.

⁴¹ Evidence for this are the numerous passages in the Talmud that deal with the beggar wherein the word *perūsā* "piece, morsel" is used; for example: Talmud Pesachim 115b (Soncino translation): "Bread of (*oni*): *ani* (poverty) is written: just as a beggar generally has a piece, so here too a piece (is taken)"; Jerusalem Talmud Megilla 75a: "Ezra enacted that a housewife rise early to bake bread on Thursday so that piece(s) (*perūsā*) of bread be available for the poor (on the Sabbath)"; Parable in Talmud Berachoth 31a (Soncino translation): A king made a feast for his servants, and a poor man came and stood by the door and said to them, "Give me a piece (*perūsā*) of food, and no one took any notice of him, so he found his way into the presence of the king and said to him, 'Your Majesty, out of all the feast which you made is it so hard in your eyes to give me one piece (of food)?'". For *b u - l u - ú h s i - i l* as an epithet for the beggar, see proverb 2.16 and interpretation of proverb 2.19, on p. 102.

makū I, *māku(m)* "poor" in AHW, p. 591 is to be related to Hebrew *mūk* "to grow poor", for which see Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT*, p. 557, s.v. *mūk*.

This term was first studied by Poebel⁴² who proposed the meaning "to force into submission"⁴³. With the coming to light of more passages in which this expression is found, it becomes difficult to retain this meaning⁴⁴. From the context of the known references it seems that ka si-il is to be taken basically as "to snap/burst open the mouth (with sound)"⁴⁵, "to roar".

The following references are known to me⁴⁶.

1. Inanna and Ebiḫ (MS B. Eichler) 143-144

ša-bé gù mir-a ba-ni-in-ra

ka⁴⁷-gal kurku (GÙ.AN.NÉ.SI.A)-gin_x mu-un-si-il-le

"At its (Ebiḫ) heart, she (Inanna) shouted furiously,

Like the waves⁴⁸ she roared loudly⁴⁹.

2. Emmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (Cohen, ELA) 413-415.⁵⁰

kin-gi₄-a dūr⁵¹ si-gigir ku₅-du-gin_x

ka-si-il-lá mu-un-gin

anše-edin-na pá-rim₄-ma kaš₄-di-gin_x

giri⁵² ò-tag-tag-e

ka-ni im-a bí-ib-zi-zi-zi

udu-suluḫ_u (SÍG.SUD) udu⁵³ šúr⁵⁴-ba du₇-du₇-gin_x

du₁₀ ús-aša⁵⁵ mu-un-dab₅

"The emissary went roaringly⁵¹ like a young donkey cut off from the chariot tongue,

Like a wild ass fleeing through the barrens,⁵²

(his) feet touched (the ground),

With wind he filled his mouth,

He ran in one track like the long-wooled sheep butting sheep in its fury."

⁴² Cf. AfO 9 (1933-1934), 281-282.

⁴³ This rendition was later accepted by D.O. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 169, n. 914 and Å. Sjöberg, *ZA* 54 (1961), 51.

⁴⁴ See already Edzard, loc. cit. for the difficulty with the Enmerkar 414 reference and for A. Falkenstein's suggestion: KA-si-il-la mu-un-DU "(der Bote) brauste los?". For subsequent studies, see Heimpel, *Tierbilder*, p. 265 and H. Limet, *Or* 40 (1971), 17, line 21 with commentary.

⁴⁵ For si-il "to split" see above n. 10. ka si-il "to split the mouth (with sound) has its analogue in Hebrew *pāšā pē*" to snap/burst open the mouth (with sound), cf. Gesenius¹⁷ p. 653 s.v. *PŠH*.

⁴⁶ SLTN 131: rev. II, 4: x x á-á-g' x BAD ša-ta-ḫa-ar ka' ma ḫ-bi ò-ni-si-il is epigraphically uncertain.

TCL 16, 71: II 50 (= Enki and Ninmah) cited by W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder*, should read ka-tar⁵⁶ ò-im-si-il-le-ne.

⁴⁷ There is no evidence at the present time for reading gù as J. Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, p. 127 and H. Limet, *Or* 40 (1970), 17 have done.

⁴⁸ Differing with the diverse interpretations of Å. Sjöberg, *AS* 16, p. 67; J. Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, p. 127; and H. Limet, *Or* 40 (1971), 20:21, my rendition assumes that GÙ.AN.NÉ.SI(A) is also a variant writing for k u r k u, "waves."

⁴⁹ Literally, "she burst open a large mouth".

⁵⁰ See as well W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder*, pp. 265ff. for lines 413-414.

⁵¹ ka-si-il-lá refers here to the labored, rasping sound in breathing.

⁵² For the nuance of "steppe", "barrens" for pá-rim₄ see C. Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos*, p. 204, commentary to 298/364.

3. MSL 8/1, p. 88: 249 (OB Forerunner to Hh XII):

a n š e - k a - s i - i l "a braying donkey".

Cf. Emeš and Enten (MS Civil) 189-190⁵³

mìn-kam-ma-šè en-te-en-e é-me-eš-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄

é-me-eš du₂ ú ki-buru_x kú-a ka-si-il-lá gù-di

"Again Enten replied to Emesh:

'Emesh, (you are) a *dusu*-donkey eating grass at the place of the harvest, braying and roaring';"

By the OB period already ka si-il seems to have undergone interpretative distortion, see Lugale

11:

OB: zag-pirig-e muš-e-eš eme-è-dè dGÙ.AN.NÉ.SI KA si-il-l[e (so a.: CBS 8243 obv. 5 (collated);

b.: SLTNi 7, obv. 11: GÙ.AN.NÉ.SI še⁵⁴ si-il-le; c.: Ni 4366, obv.4: GÙ.AN.NÉ.SI še_x (KA x BAL[AG]⁵⁵ š[i-]l-le; d.: UM 29-16-242 + 29-14-439, obv. 2: ka GÙ.AN.NÉ.SI-šè si-il-i)

"O one with the strength of a beast!, darting a tongue like⁵⁴ a serpent, roaring (like) a wave⁵⁵,

Post OB zag-pirig-gá muš-gal eme-è-dè kur-kur-ra si-il-lá

e-mu-uq la-ab-bi muš-gal-la muk-taš-šá-áš-šu mu-šat-tir šad⁵⁶

"With the strength of a beast, a great serpent with darting tongue cleaving the mountains (Sumerian):

With the strength of a lion, lording it over, cleaving the mountains" (Akkadian)."⁵⁶

The possible writing of KA x BALAG in text c and the certain reading of še_x in texts b. and its deviate version in text d are distortions of ka si-il since the duplicate texts of the references cited in section I of this study do not show any evidence of either a compound KA sign or a phonetic writing in ka si-il. še and še_x are interpretative readings borrowed from the expression še_x (KA x ŠID/ŠU/BALAG/SIG₄/ŠID) gi₄ (gi₄)⁵⁷ "to shout" which at times is written merely as KA gi₄ (gi₄).⁵⁸

III. The nominalized form ka-si-il-lá can also denote "an object at which one hoots in derision" or "against which one rails"⁵⁹.

BE 6/2, p. 73:

mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e dug₄-dēn-líl-lá-ta ki-sur-ra^{ki} sa-bu-um-bi-da-ge ka-si-il-lá-aš bí-in-ku₄-ra

"The year when King Samsuiluna by the command of Enlil turned Kisurra and Sabum into objects of derision.

⁵³ Reference courtesy of Professor M. Civil.

⁵⁴ For -e-e-š "in the manner of" see Poebel GSG § 389 and §§ 394-95.

⁵⁵ Literally, "a wave that roars"; for GÙ.AN.NE.SI, see above n. 44.

⁵⁶ There seems to be confusion in the translation of this line in CAD K, p. 286 s.v. *kašāšu* A, bilingual section.

⁵⁷ For this expression, see now Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos Inanna und Enki* (Studia Pohl 10 [Rome, 1973]), p. 250 with previous literature. Prof. M. Civil kindly informs me that the variant writing KA x LI for KA x BALAG is nonexistent.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., SEM 21: 45 and SRT 39: obv. 8: KA gi₄-gi₄-da for KA x ŠID in Ni 4507 and UET 6/1, 55: 49 (line 48 of Gilgamesh Enkidu and the Netherworld; Lugalbanda 76, note 3 text I.

⁵⁹ Compare Lamentations 2: 15-16 (RSV): "All who pass along the way clap their hands at you; they hiss and wag their heads at the daughter of Jerusalem;" Is this the city which was called the perfection of beauty the joy of all the earth? All your enemies rail against you (Heb. *pāšū 'alayik pīhēm* lit. "they burst open their mouth against you"); they hiss, they gnash their teeth, they cry: "We have destroyed her! Ah, this is the day we longed for; now we have it; we see it!" See as well Lamentations 3: 45-46 and Job 16: 9-10.

RA 9 (1912), 122 I 10: 16-19:

lugal . . . du₁₁ -du₁₁ -d₁₁nanna d₁₁utu-bi ka-zal-lu ì-ni-in-dù-ba bàd-bi ì-ni-in-sì-ga ka-si-il-la-aš i-ni-in-gar-ra
“(Kudurmabuk) the king who . . . by the command of Nanna and Utu conquered Kazallu, levelled its wall, and turned it into an object of derision”.

Å. Sjöberg, “Ein Selbstpreis des Königs Hammurabi von Babylon”, ZA 54 (1961), p. 51, 1-2 (modified reading):

igi-mu-ta siqa (SIG₄)⁶⁰ -bi siqa (ŠEG₉)⁶¹ -àm dù ù¹-ús
un mu-ni-in-tab-e-en-na-mu d₁₁iskur-gin_x ka-si-il-la mi-ni-in-gar

“Before me⁶² its⁶³ wall⁶⁴ which was build up⁶⁵ like a wild ram quaked⁶⁶,
The people whom he (Marduk) had me conquer in it, he made into (objects of derision) to hoot at like Ishkur⁶⁷”.

3

šà - k a - t a b - b a

S.N. Kramer⁶⁸, who was first confronted with šà - k a - t a b - b a in Emmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 391: n a m - b i - š è s a ħ a r - a K A b a - a n - t u š à - K A - t a b - b a b a - a n - n á. rendered it from the context “He put his mouth to the dust, he lay down in a (ground) hole because of it”. A. Falkenstein⁶⁹ later proffered, “Darauf ließ er den Mund an die Erde kommen (d.h. er warf sich zu Boden)”. F.J. Stephens⁷⁰ in his study of k a - t a b - b a “lid” or “bridle”, followed with a new reading and translation: n a m - b i - š è i s i š - a d u ₁₁ b a - a n - t u š à k a t a b - b a b a - a n - n á, “On account of this, by weeping speech was turned back; with heart and mouth tightly closed he lay down.”⁷¹

⁶⁰ For this reading of SIG₄ see CAD I, p. 176 s.v. libittu lex. sect.

⁶¹ For this reading of ŠEG₉ see CAD A/2, p. 521 s.v. atūdu lexical section.

⁶² i g i - t a has here the same force as Akkadian *ina pāni*; *ištu pān*; *lapān(i)*; and Hebrew *mippēnē*, see Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew-English Lexicon, p. 818 s.v. *panē* sub *mippenē* 6, where these prepositions are used to describe a person or thing serving as an object inspiring fear.

⁶³ These lines are evidently not the beginning of the hymn. “Its” refers in all likelihood to a city or its people mentioned in the missing section.

⁶⁴ For siq a (SIG₄) literally, “brickwork” denoting “wall”, see Krecher Kultlyrik, p. 81 commentary to l. 3 and the variant siq₄ - bi for bàd - bi in Wilcke, Lugalbanda, p. 128: 414. The wall is pictured as a wild ram because of the word play and since the two towers (bàd - s_i) would give it a horned appearance.

⁶⁵ dù ù - ú s may stand for either dù - a ù - ú s or dù - a ù - ú s. The two u vowels have caused the contraction and/or the assimilation of either - a ù - > ù or - a ù - > ù -.

⁶⁶ For ú s = ħālu “to tremble, writhe”, see BA 10/1 (1913), 100 no. 21: 11f [m u - z u] ħ u - l u ħ - ħ a n - n a m u - u n - p à - d a k i - a b a - a b - ú s - s a : šum - ki gal - tū ina AN - e i - za - kar - ma KI - tim i - ħ al, “he pronounces your awe-inspiring name in heaven and the earth shakes” (Sum. “jostles the earth”), reference with translation from CAD H, p. 55 s.v. ħālu B. For i g i - t a ú s compare Akkadian ù ti - ħ i - lu [ina pā] ni šarri bēliya “And they tremble before the king my lord, EA 281:18, cited in CAD H, p. 55 s.v. ħālu B sub (b), and Hebrew ħāl mippēnē “to tremble before someone” which occurs several times in the Bible, e.g. Jeremiah 5: 22.

⁶⁷ Since the weather god Ishkur is always described as roaring or thundering, our interpretation of k a - s i - ù - l a makes the comparison with him quite understandable.

⁶⁸ Kramer, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, pp. 30-31.

⁶⁹ Kindly communicated to me by Professor Å. Sjöberg who participated in Falkenstein’s seminar on Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta in 1953.

⁷⁰ F.J. Stephens, “Sumerian KA.TAB”, JCS 13 (1959), 13.

⁷¹ F.J. Stephens’ interpretation is that the lord of Aratta, to whom this line refers, was prostrated and made speechless by the demand; when he regained consciousness he could speak only incoherently. The latter part

Although S.N. Kramer subsequently in his rendition of “Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur” left this expression in line 306 untranslated,⁷² he, nevertheless, rendered šà - k a - t a b - b a b a - a n - n á in “Curse of Agade”, 208⁷³ as “he lay down on (his) *katabba*.” This expression appeared later in another treatment by Kramer⁷⁴, “Death of Ur-Nammu” 12 where it was again left untranslated, but šà of this term was taken as “in the midst of”.

The last attempt at solving this enigmatic expression was undertaken by Wilcke⁷⁵, who futilely translated šà KA - t a b - b a b a - a n - n á as “ließ den Sinn im liegen”.

In proceeding to puzzle out the conundrum of šà - k a - t a b - b a it must be pointed out at first that neither g i š k a - t a b - b a nor k u š k a - t a b - b a exists with certainty in any of the texts or their duplicates cited above⁷⁶.

Furthermore, from the context of all the references known to me it would appear that F.J. Stephens was closest when he translated šà k a - t a b - b a as “with heart and mouth tightly closed”. I differ with him in his interpretation that it means to render one “speechless”.⁷⁷ My understanding of šà - k a - t a b - b a is a “muzzling or covering of the stomach”, it connotes “a privation or abstention from food”, “a fast”.⁷⁸

The following are the references known to me:

of his statement is based on a misunderstanding of the text, see now S. Cohen, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1973) pp. 81, 131, ll. 390ff. with commentary and Introduction, p. 36.

⁷² ANET, p. 616.

⁷³ *ibid.* p. 650. In note 56, Kramer remarks: “The complex k a - t a b - b a used with the determinative for leather means “halter”; when used with the determinative for “reed” it designates a type of basket; here it is used with the determinative for wood, and its meaning is uncertain”.

⁷⁴ JCS 21 (1967) 104ff. See commentary to l. 12 on p. 121 where he cites g i š k a - t a b - b a and k u š k a - t a b - b a as variants in Curse of Agade 208. Kramer adds, “the k a - t a b - b a therefore seems to be a special type of couch on which a god lay down to sleep when he wanted to avoid human complaints and pleading.”

⁷⁵ ZA 62 (1972), 52-53: 39’ with commentary on pp. 60-61. Regrettably, the note contains the following errors: (1) i t i m a does exist in a published text of Curse of Agade 208. Thus his collation of text W(HS 1514) is questionable, see my treatment of this line on p. . (2) The article in JCS 13 on k a - t a b - b a was written by Ferris J. Stephens and not by M. Fish. (3) Nowhere in Stephens’ article is there to be found the reading z ú - k a - t a b - b a or the interpretation “mit zusammengebissenen Zähnen” attributed to him by Wilcke.

⁷⁶ Although k u š k a - t a b - b a = *katappu*, “bit, bridle (for a donkey)”, see CAD K, p. 303, s.v. *katappu*, or k a - t a b = *katammu* “a lid”, see CAD *ibid.* p. 297 s.v. *katammu*, lexical section (Reference courtesy of Prof. M. Civil), the k u š / g i š k a - t a b - b a reading in Curse of Agade 211 is based either on an uncertain reading of a poorly preserved duplicate, UM 29-13-92 rev. IV 10 (collated), or on a broken sign in Ni 4487, (Death of Ur-Nammu) obv. 12, which requires collation. In both cases the sign may very well have been šà. S.N. Kramer’s translation of Curse of Agade was based upon Adele Feigenbaum Berlin’s transliteration, see ANET, p. 647.

⁷⁷ See above note 71. Besides his misunderstanding of what follows in the ELA passage, k a - t a b - b a is a fixed expression and for “with heart and mouth tightly closed” we might expect šà k a - t a b - t a b - b a.

⁷⁸ Compare Two Elegies (MS Å. Sjöberg, translation my own) 9-10:

tu-ra-ú-nu-kú gaba ba-ri tu-ra ba-an-dab₅

ka ù-ba-e-šú ninda nu-mu-un-šú-šú šà-šú-ga ba-an-ná

“An illness (with) loss of appetite confronted him, the illness had taken hold (of him),

Having covered (his) mouth he ate no food, he lay in hunger”.

For šú = *katāmu* “to cover” see AHW, p. 464, s.v. *katāmu*. For šú - šú = *lēmu(m)* “to eat” see *ibid.*, p. 543 s.v. *lēmu(m)* and *lemū(m)* I.

1. The first half of the third *kirugu* in the Lamentation over Sumer and Ur⁷⁹ deals with the severe famine which was widespread in Ur, lines 304-308 (MS S.N. Kramer) read:

lugal-bi DU dub-lá-a u₅-a ninda-kú la-ba-na-gál
 lugal ninda-sa₆-ga-kú-kú-a kur₆-re im-ma-an-dab₅
 u₄ im-šú-šú igi im-lá-e šà-ka-tab ì-zu-zu
 é-bappir-ra kaš nu-un-gál gíd-da-bi nu-un-gál
 é-gal-la-na ninda-kú la-ba-na-gál tuš-ù-bi[la-b]a-ab-du₇

"For its king . . . who was lofty on the *dubla*⁸⁰ food was not served,
 The king who was accustomed to eat fine food now seized upon the food ration,
 (As) the day grew dark⁸¹, the eye (the sun) was eclipsing⁸², fasting was proclaimed,
 In his beer-hall, there was no beer, there was no more reclining in it,
 He was not served food in his palace, it was made unsuitable to live in."

2. Lines 170-207 of the Curse of Agade⁸³ describe how the cities of Sumer became desolate; fields and gardens were abandoned; famine raged, and death stalked the inhabitants of Sumer; the land was filled with wailing and lamenting, the suffering of the people was brought to Enlil; line 208 reads:⁸⁴

⁷⁹ See Kramer, ANET p. 616, ll. 294ff.

⁸⁰ For the *dublu*, "foundation terrace", especially the area around the gateway, see Sjöberg, Temple Hymns, p. 57 and Heimpel, Tierbilder pp. 323ff.

It seems to me that as an act of penitential mourning the king moved from his comfortable palace, see l. 308, to the gateway; compare perhaps 2. Samuel 19:9,12.

⁸¹ For u₄ šú-šú see van Dijk, La Sagesse, p. 55: 265.

⁸² igi-lá = *amāru* "to see" does not fit the context. For igi, "eye" = sun, compare the personal names ša ma š-i-in-ma-tim "Shamash is the Eye of the Land" (CT 49 6:30 and UET 5, 606, references are from CAD I, p. 156 s.v. īnu sub d) and AHW p. 383 s.v. īnu(m) sub i) respectively) and 'ēn hā'āreš "eye of the land" Exodus 10: 15 with Targum Onkelos 'ēn šimša de'ar'ā "the eye of the sun of the land". For lá = 'na'-a-du-rum' in S^a voc, l. 28, "to become eclipsed (said of sun)" see CAD A/1 p. 103 s.v. *adāru* A lexical section and p. 107 sub 8 b).

⁸³ See Kramer, ANET, pp. 646ff.

⁸⁴ Wilcke, following Falkenstein in ZA 57 (1965) 43ff has this passage as line 211. The present numbering is based upon A. Feigenbaum Berlin's manuscript.

The following are the texts:

N 2707 (unpublished and collated): rev. II: nam-bi-šè den-líl itim-kù ba-an-k[u₄...]

UM 29-13-92 (unpublished and collated): rev. IV, 10: [...] an-ku₄ šà-kā-... ba[ba]-an-[...]

TAD 8/2 (Ni 4155) II: 3: nam-[bi]-šè den[...]

ISCT I p. 148 Ni 4559: II: [...] ba'-an-ku₄ šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná (not ba-an-šī - as Wilcke read it)

STVC 135: obv. 8 [...] líl-le GÁ/ÉxMI [...] ba'ba'-[...]

TuM NF 3 30: obv. II 28: nam-bi-šè [d]en-líl-[l]é it[im] k[a ba]-an-[ku₄]
 šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná.

Wilcke's collation of this line (ZA 62 [1972] 60-61): nam-bi-šè den-líl-le KA ba-an-TU šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná omitting itim- is highly questionable and seems to be prejudiced by his not having available any texts with itim; but see already STVC 135: obv. 8.

- ⁸⁵ The reading ka is certain since the variant in N 2707 has -kù. ka ba-an-ku₄ means literally "he entered the mouth" (Cf. perhaps E. Gordon, JAOS 77 [1957] 78: 4. 60 (modified): nam-šèš-a be₅ i b-ra ka ba-an-ku₄, literally, "with a bitter taste, a fart struck and entered the mouth"), that is "he went inside". Compare Akkadian *pû(m)* "mouth" and its nuance "opening, entrance", see AHW p. 874 s.v. *pû(m)* sub E, 3-4. In Sumerian, as well, ka means "entrance" and is not a variant writing for ká "gate" as is commonly explained. Cf. Oppenheim, Eames p. 45, E 6: ka-gi₆-pa-ra; ibid. p. 59, F 6: ka-gi pa-ra; Kang, Drehem Economic Texts, p. 137, 132, 2: ka-gi₆-pa-ra; ibid. 4, ka-èš; A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, p. 19 n. 7; Edzard, Rechtsurkunden, p. 108, 56: I 10: ka-ga-nu-n-na-ka "at the entrance of the storehouse"; perhaps also A. Falkenstein, Gerichtsurkunden 2 p. 221, 130: 8: é-gal ka ba-an-ku₄ "he entered the palace" (see A. Falkenstein for a different translation); Curse of Agade (MS

nam-bi-šè den-líl-le itima ka ba-an-ku₄ šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná.

On account of this, Enlil went inside⁸⁵ the underground (bed chamber)⁸⁶ and lay in a fast.⁸⁷

3. Lines 10-16 of Death of Ur-Nammu⁸⁸ relate how the gods were mourning for Ur-Nammu who was carried off and killed. Line 12 reads:⁸⁹

dnu-dím-[mud] it[im]-ma ka ba-an-ku₄ šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná

"Nudimmud went inside the underground (bedchamber) and lay in a fast."

4. Lines 367-375 of Emmerkar and the Lord of Aratta⁹⁰ describe the readiness of both the citizens and the elders of Aratta to capitulate to Emmerkar after receiving his poignant message. When it is then given over by the emissary to the lord of Aratta, the epic relates (ll. 390-391):

nam-bi-šè isi-a ka ba-an-ku₄ šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná

u₄ im-zal inim im-šár-šár-šár

"On account of this, he went inside the underground⁹¹ (bedchamber) and lay (all night) in a fast,

Berlin) 43-44: ká-gal-a-bi i⁷idigina a-ab-ba-šè dé-a-gin_x kù-dinanna-ke₄ ka-bé-gál bí-in-ta-g₄ literally, "of its (Agade) gate, like the Tigris pouring out water into the sea, its opening holy Ianna opened wide." For the ka "opening" of a ká "gate", compare Akkadian *ina pi-bābi*, VAB 2, 357: 55 cited in AHW, p. 874 s.v. *pû(m)*. For the Curse of Agade reference, see further T. Jacobsen, TIT, p. 191 with n. 21. Cohen, ELA 442-443: en-arattak_i-ke₄ gidru-ta igi-tab-ba, itima-ka ki-tuš-kù-ga-ni-a ní-im-kár-kár-ka, en-e šà-tam-a-ni-ir gù mu-na-dé-e, "The lord of Aratta, aware of the scepter - which was exciting awe.

In the cella-entrance, within his holy dwelling, he, the lord, called to his *shatam*-officer."

- ⁸⁶ For itima (GÁxMI or ÉxMI), see Falkenstein, ZA 57 (1965) 69: 130 where he translates it as "Dunkles Haus" and his commentary on p. 100; AHW, p. 489 s.v. *kišsu(m)* I for the translation "Heiligtum" and CAD K, p. 443 s.v. *kišsum* for the rendering "cella, chapel". From the references cited by Falkenstein and the present lines it seems that the itima was:

"a cool underground bedchamber where no sunlight entered and was used for lying down or sleeping". For itima see further Sjöberg, Temple Hymns, p. 89: 188 (Wilcke's restoration in ZA 62 (1972), 50: 12': š[en-k]ù u₄ nu-zu-ba un-e igi h é-ni-in-bar is questionable. If šen is to be restored we might expect uru dušen, see references cited by Wilcke, ibid., pp. 59-60. Furthermore, it is the itima which is unexposed to sunlight, see ZA 57 (1965), 56, Curse of Agade 131: itima é-u₄-nu-zu-ba un-e igi i-in-bar, and Falkenstein's commentary to line on p. 100. Compare, as well, Enlil Hymn 76: kur-sig itima-kù ki-ní-te-en-te-en-zu, "the deep (recess) of the kur, the holy underground-chamber where you cool yourself". I would, therefore, restore like the Curse of Agade line: it[im-a-k]ù u₄-nu-zu-ba un-e igi h é-ni-in-bar. Lastly, Wilcke's copy of the remains of the first sign are those of itima and not of šen, see C. Wilcke, "Kollationen zu den Sumerischen Literarischen Texten aus Nippur," p. 57 to be published in ASAW.)

- ⁸⁷ For the demonstration of mourning described here and in the following references, compare 2 Samuel 12: 16 (RSV): "David, therefore, besought God for the child, and David fasted, and went in and lay all night upon the ground".

⁸⁸ See Kramer, "Death of Ur-Nammu", JCS 21 (1967), 104ff.

⁸⁹ Cf. Kramer, ibid., p. 112, line 12 with following modifications: Text A (Ni 4487) obv. 12: dnu-dím-[mud] É/GÁ x[MI]-ma k[a] ba-an-ku₄ šà-kā-ka-tab-[...]
 Text C (HS 1549) obv. 4) -É/GÁx[MI]-a ka ba-an-ku₄ šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná.

⁹⁰ Cf. Cohen, ELA.

⁹¹ I can not follow Stephens' reading and translation isiš, "tears", since it occurs only once in a late variant text ASKT, p. 116: rev. 13 f; its duplicate 4 R 49: rev. 13 f. has i-si-iš. Both references are cited in CAD B, p. 36 s.v. *bakû* bilingual section.

Edzard, Zwischenzeit, n. 430 should be corrected: l. 66 of the Nippur Lament has u₈-a-bi (not isiš-a-bi) im-me (Nippur Lament, MS S.N. Kramer).

The CT 19, 41 (K. 4328, 3c) reference in ŠI. 212, 5 should read IS = i-šī = ba-[aš-šu] (not bakû) "sand", cf. CAD B, p. 134 s.v. *baššu*, lexical section.

Although the possibility exists that SAJJAR may be a scribal error for itima which it resembles, the sign

(When) day broke, he discussed the matter at length."⁹²

5. In the "Eridu Lament" text TuM NF 4, 27⁹³, it is related (ll. 34-36) that after Damgalnunna had spoken to Enki about the destruction of Eridu and the main temple, Abzu:

den-ki lugal-abzu-ke₄
 šà ba-an-sìg m[ur-r]a-ni ba-BAD inim-MÍ.ÚS.DAM-na-šè
 ní-te-a-né i-si-iš mi-ni-ib-lá-lá šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná

"Enki, the lord of Abzu,
 Became depressed, his mood became gloomy⁹⁴ at the message of his spouse,
 In his solitude, anguish filled him full⁹⁵, and he lay in a fast."

6. In the epic, Emmerkar and Ensuhkeshdanna, the lord of Aratta, Ensuhkeshdanna, after receiving an insolent message from Emmerkar, brings to him a m a š - m a š (incantation)-priest who offers to subdue Uruk through magic. The magician sets out and comes to Uruk, the city of Nidaba. Using his magic, he talks with the temple cows and goats and orders them to cease producing their milk. Lines 198-205 (MS A. Berlin modified) read:

u₄-bi-a tūr-amaš-a é-si-ga ba-ab-du₁₁ níg-ja-lam-ma ba-ab-ak
 akan-áb ka ga nu-un-gál amar-e u₄ bí-in-šu a-š₁[?] mu-un-ni-du₁₁-d₁₁[?]
 akan-ùz ka ga mu-un-[gál máš-e . . .]
 máš-ùz-da-bi šà-ka-tab-[ba . . .] zi-bi mi-ni-[ib-túm-túm-mu]
 áb-e amar-bi-šè gù-gig [bí-ib-bé]
 ùz-dè máš-bi mu-na-ab[?][- . . .]
 tūr-kù[?]-kù-ga si-si-ig-ga [. . .] šà-sù-ga mu-un-gál šà-ka-[tab- . . .]

"Thereat, he ordered the stall and the fold to become a house of desolation,
 he made it into an object of calamity."⁹⁶

The teat of the cow did not provide the mouth (with) milk, for the calf the day passed gloomily,
 Its young calf was hungry, it set up a wail,
 The teat of the goat did not provide the mouth (with) milk, for the kid
 Its he-goat, privation of food, its life expired,
 The cow [called] bitterly to its calf,
 The goat its kid,
 In the pure stalls, utter desolation, he let (there) be hunger, privation of food"

7. UET 6/2,143: rev. 7-8 in broken context:

[. . .] TUK šà-ka-tab-ba ba-[an-ná]
 [. . .] A.ŠI ì-še₈-še₈ A[. . .]

may, nevertheless, be retained until a duplicate text would show otherwise. Since the itima was an "under-ground (bedchamber)" (see above note 86), SAHAR may be taken as isi = šatpu "a cavity in the ground" (see Güterbock, AfO 13 (1939-1941), 50 with n. 11). Supporting this would be the equation šat-pi = dublu x x RA 28, (1931), 134: I 17 (cited in CAD D, p. 168 s.v. dublu, semantic section.) The dublu was a "foundation platform".

⁹² For inim-šár-šár = muš-ta-bil a-ma-ti "discussing, arguing a matter", see Nabnitu IV 36, cited in CAD A/1, p. 27ff. s.v. abālu A sub šutābulu, c).

⁹³ See Wilcke's treatment in ZA 62 (1972), 49ff. My translation differs from that of Wilcke.

⁹⁴ For BAD = adāru, "to be gloomy", cf. en al-BAD = be-lum a-di-ir "the lord is gloomy", Nabnitu I 158, cited in CAD A/1, p. 103 s.v. adāru A lexical section.

⁹⁵ For i-si-iš lá-lá see Krecher, Kultlyrik, pp. 90-91; for lá-lá see, as well, T. Jacobsen, TIT, p. 331, n. 23.

⁹⁶ Cf. MSI. 13, p. 117: 84 for níg-ja-lam-ma = ša le-mu-ut-tim "that of desolation, calamity".

New Inscriptions from Moenjo-Daro, Pakistan

George F. Dales, Berkeley

Sumerian texts, both literary and economic, stress the importance of three far distant lands called Magan, Meluhha and Dilmun. The identification of these rich and important places has occupied the imaginations of scholars for decades. Professor Kramer is one who has maintained the belief that the Harappan civilization, centered in the Indus Valley of Pakistan, could have represented one of those three distant lands so important to the Sumerians. It was the exciting prospect of identifying one of those fabled lands that spurred me from his classes to the Makran coast of Pakistan in 1960 in search of ancient seaports.¹ Much of my research since then has concentrated on defining the nature of Mesopotamian-South Asian contacts that are evidenced in the archaeological record. In the winter of 1964-65 I had the opportunity of directing excavations for the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Moenjo-Daro, the most famous of the Indus cities.² The publication of this article is a small token of gratitude to Professor Kramer for the many years during which he has supported and encouraged my archaeological explorations. This is not only a happy occasion for me but perhaps an auspicious one. At the time of writing this article permission was granted to open excavations at one of the three known Harappan seaports in Pakistan. In October 1973 I began excavations for the University of California, Berkeley at Bala-Kot, near Sommiani, some 70 kilometers north of Karachi (or should we say in Meluhha?).

Presented here is a description and typological analysis of the Harappan inscriptions discovered during our 1964-65 Moenjo-Daro excavations. No attempt is made to assign linguistic values to any of the signs. Photographs of several of these inscriptions have appeared in earlier reports³ but this is the first time a descriptive analysis of them has been offered. The objects themselves are presently stored with the collections of the Pakistan Department of Archaeology.

The find-spots of the inscribed materials are indicated in the Catalogue. The areas designated III, IV, and VII refer to the brick structures excavated along the top of the southwestern edge of the Lower Town (the HR area of Sir John Marshall's excavations). These inscriptions thus came from the latest architectural level in that part of the site, dated by radiocarbon to approximately 1900 B.C.. Inscriptions from other areas of the excavations are, unfortunately, associated with surface debris or with materials that have washed down the side of the mound since the abandonment of the city.

¹ G. Dales, *Antiquity* 36 (1962), 86-92 and *Expedition* 4/2 (1962), 2-10.

² G. Dales, *Scientific American* (May 1966), 93-100; *Archaeology* 18/2 (1965); 145-150; *Expedition* 7/4 (1965), 10-17; *Illustrated London News* (May 29, 1965), 25-27.

³ References are given in the Catalogue.

In addition to the new inscriptions from our Moenjo-Daro excavations, I include here a description of a heretofore unpublished Indus seal that is in the collection of Mr. Edward Gans of Berkeley, California. This complete and beautiful example of an inscribed, unicorn seal was purchased from an Egyptian dealer in Los Angeles in 1965. The only information offered by the dealer was that the seal was from the collection of a Sir Lionel Edwards of London. The seal came to Mr. Gans in an elegant velvet covered box on the lid of which is a silver plate with the simple inscription "Indus Valley Seal." My study of the seal and its inscription convince me that it was originally from Moenjo-Daro, but I have not had an opportunity to trace its subsequent history. I wish to thank Mr. Gans for his generosity in allowing me to publish this beautiful example of the finest of the ancient Indus stone cutters art (Pl. VII*).

The paper concludes with a brief description of the recent attempts to decipher the Indus inscriptions. Special attention is focused on the current work of teams of Finnish and Soviet scholars, which, with the aid of computers, claim to have identified and deciphered the language.

A. Stone seals, square, with animal and inscription on obverse and grooved, pierced knob on reverse

Field # UPM-	Dimensions (cm.) and Condition	Animal	Area of Find	Published
607	2.6 × 2.6, complete	Unicorn	III	No
624	2.8 × 2.8, complete	Unicorn	III	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 35, lower
511	1.7 × 1.7, complete	Unicorn	XI	No
339	2.8 × 2.8, complete	Humped bull	XV	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 34; Scientific American (May 1966), 98.
177	2.3 × 2.3, complete	Unicorn	XIX	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 34, top
308	2.5 × 2.5, complete	Unicorn	XXI	No
558	2.2 × 2.2, complete	Unicorn	XLVII	No
523	3.0 × 3.0, complete	Unicorn	XLVII	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 35, middle.
592	? — only upper left corner with animal head & two signs	Unicorn	XLVII	No
126	2.1 × 2.1, Unfinished	Unicorn	VI	No
9	? — only rump of animal & 3 signs	?	VII	No
396a	? — only upper left corner	Unicorn	VII	No
306	2.9 × 2.9, defaced	?	XXI	No
Gans (Berkeley)	2.8 × 2.8, complete	Unicorn	Moenjo-Daro	No










Field #	Dimensions & Condition	Area	Published
B.	Stone seal, rectangular, script only, reverse convex, pierced.		
238	3.9 × 1.2, complete	VII	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 36.
C.	Clay "amulet," triangular section, script on one side, boat on second side, gharial and fish on third side.		
602	4.6 long; sides 1.15, 1.15, 1.2 wide; complete	III	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 39; 11/1 (1968), 39.
D.	Ivory Rod, deeply incised inscription between incised geometric patterns at ends of rod		
412	Length 7.3 complete, Diam. 0.8 red pigment in incisions.	XI	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 38.
E.	Inscribed Pottery. Script scratched into fired pottery		
1426	Body sherd of large storage jar	VI	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 37, top right
1427	Jar rim, part only	XI	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 37, top left
F.	Pottery with stamp impression		
1	2.0 × 2.0, lower right half missing; script only; probably a pointed-base goblet Marshall type B	VII	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 36.
138	1.5 × 1.5, on shoulder of goblet	VII	No
G.	Pottery with script molded into base during manufacture.		
1430	Script in raised relief on concave lower part of large storage jar. Part of right sign missing.	XI	Expedition 9/4 (1967), 37, middle
1226	— ditto —	XI	No

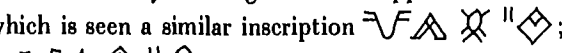
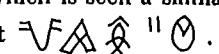
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INSCRIPTIONS

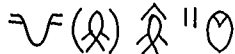
Signs are in the order they are seen in impression or on objects other than seals and to be read from right to left.

UPM-607 

There are no exact parallels to this seal or inscription but FEMD-646 (DK section, G area, lower levels) is a square, unicorn seal with a similar inscription. The first sign is partially broken away but it appears to be oval or round in outline. The second sign, the fish, is shown without the inverted V above it.




Neither Marshall or Mackay list an occurrence of the sign  at Moenjo-Daro. Its accented form  — if that is in fact what is involved — does occur three times in Marshall's list (Seals 59, 396, and 445), each time on square, unicorn seals and invariably at the beginning of the inscriptions. The absence of this sign in FEMD highlights its rarity. One is tempted to see  as a variant of the more common  that always occurs at the beginning of inscriptions (in all the twenty-four occurrences at Moenjo-Daro and all the nine occurrences at Harappa). Harappa has no examples of  but has three examples of  — all on the tiny two-sided "seals" common to the early levels.⁴ The evidence is very limited but the temporal distribution of the occurrences of sign  is worth noting for the future when we may understand more about the question of the contemporaneity of Moenjo-Daro and Harappa. The Moenjo-Daro occurrences — all accented  — are from the upper levels on square, unicorn seals whereas at Harappa, unaccented  occurs only on the tiny early "seals."

Other possible variants of the initial two signs are seen on a clay "sealing" from Harappa⁵ — an oblong object with two axial lines of script in raised relief — on which is seen a similar inscription ; and in another Harappa inscription (H.84) in Marshall's list .

From Chanhudaro, a typical square seal with unicorn,⁶ has an inscription  that, again, may bear ultimately on the question of regional and/or temporal variants in the script.

As for the three terminal signs of the inscription UPM-607 there are three other square, unicorn seals that carry only this group, with identical forms of the individual signs. One is from Moenjo-Daro,⁷ one from Chanhudaro,⁸ and one from Lothal.⁹

UPM-624 

There are no exact parallels to this seal and inscription but several inscriptions have suggestive variants and sign combinations. Closest to the entire seal is MD-326, but it has instead of a unicorn a short-horned bull. The inscription is identical except for the fish signs which are shown as  . MD-345, a square seal with a rhinoceros, has the related inscription . FEMD-208, is a square, unicorn seal

⁴ Vats, Har., Pl. XCVI, 449, seal 11077; Pl. XCVI, 450, seal 3758; Pl. XCVIII, 584, seal 3508.

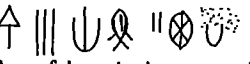
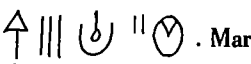
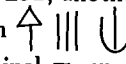
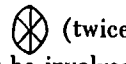



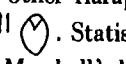
⁵ Ibid., Pl. CIX, 343, seal 1646.

⁶ Mackay, Ch, Pl. LI, 24.

⁷ Marshall, MD, seal 283.

⁸ Ch, Pl. LII, seal 24.

⁹ IA (1957-58), Pl. XIX, B.

with ; and 251, another unicorn seal has . Marshall lists thirteen examples of inscriptions terminating in . Of these, ten examples have one or two fish preceding this terminal group. And of these ten terminal groups with fish signs, six have either  (twice), ,  or  as the initial sign. Variants or cognates — orthographic or linguistic — may be involved (see above, UPM-607). There are no similar inscriptions at other Harappan sites. Harappa and Chanh-Daro do, however, have examples of inscriptions beginning with . Statistically, this is basically an initial combination, as seen in thirty-five out of thirty-nine examples in Marshall's list and in eighteen of nineteen examples published by Vats from Harappa.

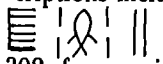
UPM-511



This sign combination is restricted to Moenjo-Daro. MD-287, from Site C in the DK area, is an exact parallel in terms of the script and the animal depicted. Of nine other seals with this terminal sign, all have in penultimate position a set of vertical lines — six have three lines, two have four, one has five. Five of the nine seals have *only* the terminal sign plus these vertical lines, whereas the other four have one or more signs preceding the verticals. The unicorn is depicted on all these seals except one (FEMD-633) which has a short-horned bull.


UPM-339



Taking the fish with the four vertical lines as a composite sign, there are few parallels to be cited. FEMD-226 has the sign but the humped bull on our seal is replaced by a unicorn. Marshall's list has six inscriptions including this sign but in no consistent relationship with other signs. Harappa has a single example  on a tiny shield-shaped steatite "seal."¹⁰ Other sites provide no parallels. See below, UPM-308, for a variant of this composite fish sign.

UPM-177



There are no exact parallels. Closest at Moenjo-Daro is FEMD-173  on a square, unicorn seal. Marshall's list has twenty-one examples of variants of the lattice sign, fourteen of which have the sign occurring in pairs.

UPM-308




There are no inscriptions from any Indus sites even remotely similar. The initial sign, Marshall's CCLXIII, occurs eighteen times in his list but in no consistent relational pattern. Only three examples of the sign are reported from Harappa. The second sign, apparently Marshall's CCLXXXII, is very rare. Marshall lists only one occurrence of a close variant of the sign in a totally different inscription on unicorn seal 556. The terminal sign was discussed above under UPM-339, although note the slight variation in form.

¹⁰ Har., Pl. XCVII, 556, seal Af 97.








UPM-558




These two signs, including variants of the fish sign, constitute one of the more common groups in Indus inscriptions. From Moenjo-Daro come two identical seals and inscriptions from upper levels of the DK area (MD-254 and 261). A third unicorn seal, also from the upper levels of DK (FEMD-26) has the same two signs but a variant form of the fish . At least a dozen other seals from Moenjo-Daro are published with this terminal group (with variants of the fish) plus from one to three other signs preceding it. Five of these seals have unicorns, one an elephant, one a short-horned bull, one a humped bull, and one a "Gilgamesh" motif (FEMD-75). This is also a common terminal combination at Harappa. Two tiny seals — or amulets — from the early levels have only these two signs. One is a small, round steatite object.¹¹ The other, a round object made of faience.¹² Chanh-Daro has a single example of this terminal group on a unicorn seal.¹³

UPM-523











There are no exact parallels. Closest is FEMD-139, a unicorn seal but with the initial sign  instead of . The middle sign is enigmatic. It is not in Marshall's list. In FEMD there seem to be variants in the forms , , , ,  which may or may not be significant. With the exception of FEMD-139 cited above, this tree or forklike sign is always preceded by a group of vertical lines (from three to eight) suggesting that the variations in form may be insignificant.

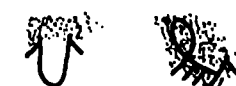
This same basic type of inscription with the trident or fork preceded by a number of vertical lines may be what we see stamped into pointed-base goblets at Moenjo-Daro (see UPM-138 below). The trident  occurs at Harappa (sign 441) but not in similar inscriptions.


UPM-592



The initial sign (Marshall XXII) is found most frequently at Moenjo-Daro with thirteen occurrences listed in MD and FEMD. No examples are published from Harappa and only two from Chanh-Daro. Eleven of the thirteen Moenjo-Daro seals are of the square, unicorn type as are the three Chanh-Daro seals. Of the two remaining Moenjo-Daro examples, one is a square seal with a short-horned bull and one is a rectangular stone seal with inscription only. In twelve of the thirteen Moenjo-Daro seals, the initial two signs   are the same as on our UPM-592. The thirteenth seal (FEMD-598) has an interesting variant in the inscription   in which the second sign is one which is always closely associated with the  sign. In fact, it is only rarely that it is found without  directly following it. Two of the Chanh-Daro seals¹⁴ have an initial group  while the third¹⁵ has only  followed by other signs.

UPM-126



The seal is unfinished. The two signs have only been scratched into the surface and the seal has no white coating. This may represent an example of an artisan's mistake. If the second sign was really intended to be the  sign then it is backwards. Perhaps the seal was discarded because of this mistake.

¹¹ Ibid., Pl. XCVII, 551, seal 3961.

¹² Ibid., Pl. XCV, 374, seal 11027.

¹³ Ch., Pl. LII, 17.

¹⁴ Ibid., Pl. LII, 22 and 31.

¹⁵ Ibid., Pl. LII, 33.



Berkeley Seal (Mr. Gans)



There is an exact parallel to this seal and inscription from Mackay's excavations at Moenjo-Daro (FEMD-26 from DK area, G section, upper levels). The same area of excavation produced also a rectangular, inscription-only seal (FEMD-170) with a very similar inscription . Another close parallel is MD-436, a rectangular, script-only seal, with .

It was noted above (UPM-607 and 624) that appears to be an orthographic variant of several other signs including . It remains to be seen whether or not there is any linguistic or semantic difference between these suggested orthographic variants.

At Harappa, there are no identical inscriptions but there are some suggestive orthographic similarities. It should be noted first, that the Harappa seals with such similar inscriptions are, with only two exceptions, rectangular, script-only seals. Also, the rendering of the individual signs appears to indicate a regional variation that may prove significant when a complete list of Indus inscriptions – by site – is available.

At Harappa, the sign appears initially nine times, but none of the inscriptions resemble the Berkeley seal. A possible orthographic variant of this sign is seen on two of the Harappa seals in very similar inscriptions – a square, unicorn seal published by Vats¹⁶ and a rectangular, script-only seal published by Wheeler¹⁷ .

The group and its apparently orthographic variants, appears at Harappa eight times, in seven of which it is in terminal position. In the eighth example,¹⁸ it occurs in the inscription . The one Harappa example of this group of three signs¹⁹ is on a cylindrical clay object made in a two-part mold – an object of which there are several duplicates. The script reads .

The present evidence for attributing the seal to Moenjo-Daro is, admittedly, very limited and somewhat ambiguous; but on empirical grounds – given the fact that there is an absolute parallel to both the seal and the inscription there, and that the Harappa seals with similar inscriptions are predominately rectangular rather than square, unicorn seals – makes the attribution plausible.



Seals of this type are found only at Moenjo-Daro and Harappa. This particular inscription has no close parallel but some of the signs are of interest – in particular the penultimate sign . I find only one example of this basic form of the sign where it is in the middle of a long inscription (MD-429). However, which appears to be a simple variant of this sign, occurs in six other inscriptions at Moenjo-Daro, always in penultimate position followed by . Four of these inscriptions are on copper tablets which are from early levels of Moenjo-Daro.²⁰ The complete inscription on each copper tablet is identical . The fifth inscription is on a square, unicorn seal (FEMD-396) from DK area, G section, lower levels. The last four

¹⁶ Har., Pl. LXXXVI, 17, seal 3545.

¹⁷ AI 3 (1947), Pl. LII, B,2.

¹⁸ Har., Pl. XCII, 276, seal 2630.

¹⁹ Ibid., Pl. XCIII, 323, seal 7098.

²⁰ Mackay, FEMD, Pls. CIII, CXVII, CXVIII.

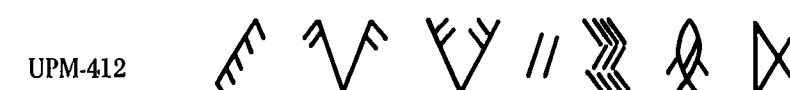
signs of the seven sign inscription are which display an interesting variant to the copper tablet inscriptions. The sixth example of terminal is on a rectangular, script-only seal (FEMD-125) from the upper levels of DK area, G section. It is perhaps significant that the combination is fairly common in the Moenjo-Daro inscription. In all seven examples in Marshall's list, the pair is in terminal position. FEMD-45 has the following inscription on a square seal with a tiger: which is intriguingly close to our UPM-238. Thus, on the basis of the Moenjo-Daro inscriptions, , and appear to be variants of a common terminal sign group.

At Harappa, there is only one example of .²¹ It is in the pair but in the middle of a seven sign inscription instead of at the end. Also, there is only a single example of the sign and it is at the beginning of a five sign inscription which has in penultimate position.²²



A couple of dozen terracotta rods, with either round or triangular section, are published from Moenjo-Daro and Harappa. A lone round example is reported from Chanhudaro. Of those with triangular sections, none have the same arrangement of script and pictorial representations as our UPM-602. Furthermore, there are no published inscriptions from any site that correspond exactly to our inscription. The closest is FEMD-255, a square, unicorn seal from the upper levels of DK area, G section . It was suggested above (UPM-607 and 624) that the initial sign may be an orthographic variant of . If this does prove to be the case, then these two inscriptions are nearly identical.

The terminal sign pair is common at Moenjo-Daro and Harappa. Marshall's list has sixteen inscriptions with the "man" sign in terminal position. Of these, seven have in penultimate position. FEMD has at least ten examples with this terminal pair, At Harappa, of twelve inscriptions including the "man" sign, six have in terminal position and three have as terminal.









Ivory rods of this type are published only from Moenjo-Daro. Of twenty examples in MD and FEMD, all but three (MD-529, 530, 531) are from the so-called "early" levels. More than half the inscriptions terminate in the sign pair or its orthographic variants such as , but the beginnings of the inscriptions are all different. This pair is also very common on seals from both Moenjo-Daro and Harappa. Variants of the terminal group are seen on only two ivory rods from Moenjo-Daro, both from the lower levels of DK area, G section; FEMD, Pl. CIII, 18 (published in reverse), and FEMD, Pl. CX, 44 ; and on a single tiny steatite amulet from the early levels at Harappa (12575) . The fish sign, in this particular form, is seen in only two other inscriptions at Moenjo-Daro, both from upper levels (MD-370 and 415).








Crudely scratched into a body sherd of a large storage jar, the signs are from 7.5 to 9.0 cms. high. It is not known whether the original inscription was longer than three signs. Moenjo-Daro has two seals with this




²¹ Har., Pl. LXXXVIII, 105, seal A-336.

²² Ibid., Pl. LXXXVI, 37, seal 5253.

identical inscription: one a square, unicorn seal (FEMD-144) and one a rectangular, script-only seal (FEMD-308), both from the upper levels of DK area, G section. Marshall's list gives only five inscriptions containing the sign  and none of them correspond to UPM-1426. Vats' Harappa has four inscriptions in which  occurs and each time in the combination   . In two of these inscriptions, this group is in terminal position and in the other two, it is followed by .



This inscription, crudely scratched into the rim of a jar, may not be complete, although the traces of another sign to the right is so far removed that it may be the end of another inscription. It seems reasonably certain that the first two signs are a crude version of the pair   in inscription 334 in Marshall's list. The complete inscription on this square seal with a representation of a humped bull (*Bos indicus*)    would then provide the closest parallel to our UPM-1427.

The sign  is rare at Moenjo-Daro, occurring only three other times in Marshall's list, and four times in FEMD. In none of these inscriptions is it associated with the other signs in the UPM-1427 inscription. At Harappa there is only one example of  ²³ which is of interest because it is accompanied only by an initial  which may be an orthographic variant of the initial sign in MD-334.



Pointed-base goblets (Marshall's type B), characteristic of the latest levels at Indus sites (e.g. Harappa Pl. CII, 21, 23, 24) are often stamped in this manner. Parallels to the inscription can be found only at Moenjo-Daro. It is found exactly on the square, unicorn seal, FEMD-582 from the lower levels of DK area, G section. The last two signs are seen alone on the square unicorn seal MD-236,g.



Pointed-base goblets sometimes have stamped impressions in their lower bodies near the base. Often these stamps appear to be numerical or quantitative in nature, such as the one presented here. MD-558 is a close parallel and MD-560 a somewhat less close one. See above under UPM-523 for examples of such inscriptions on other objects.



Both examples have essentially the same two signs molded into the base of a large storage jar.

There are no exact parallels to this sign group.

²³ Ibid., Pl. C, 665, object 11449 — a tiny "sealing" of yellow faience.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Attempts at deciphering — or at least making detailed analyses of — the Indus script are proliferating. I have forty-two references in my files to decipherments and analyses that have appeared since the first publication of an Indus seal a century ago by Alexander Cunningham. Of these forty-two references, sixteen are to individual scholars or teams of scholars who are currently preoccupied with the script and who have published or presented their results to scholarly gatherings within the past ten years.

Perhaps the most striking fact that leaves one unconvinced by even these most recent attempts is that the most basic question of all — that of the linguistic affinities of the Harappan language — is still not resolved. The current debates tend to center around proving either that it was related to Indo-European or to Dravidian. But there is one apparently major "decipherment" in press that claims to prove a close linguistic relationship between Harappan and Sumerian.²⁴

It is the current efforts of two European teams using computers that have received the most critical scientific attention. Beginning in the early 1960's teams of Finnish and Soviet scholars, working independently of each other, began the first computer analyses of the Indus script.²⁵ Both teams arrived at the same basic conclusion — namely, that the Indus language is closest to what they consider to be "proto-Dravidian." Without first presenting to other scholars the raw data to support this basic conclusion, both teams embarked upon elaborate programs of "translation" through a procedure of first "identifying" the individual Indus signs and then assigning them linguistic values known for similar objects and concepts in Dravidian.

Professor T. Burrow, co-author with Professor M.B. Emeneau of the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, in a review of the Finn's First Preliminary Report,²⁶ concentrated on their use of the Dravidian material. He concluded:

"there are far too many uncertainties involved to accept the deductions proposed. Far too many items have to be excluded as being certainly not ancient, and when not impossible other reconstructions remain uncertain. It does not appear, on the evidence before us, that the claim to have deciphered the Indus script can be accepted."²⁷

²⁴ By J.V. Kinnier Wilson to be published by Oxford University Press.

²⁵ A. Parpola, S. Koskeniemi, S. Parpola, and P. Aalto, *Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilization* (SIAS, Special Publication, 1) Copenhagen, 1969; *Progress in the Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Indus Script* (SIAS, Special Publications, 2) Copenhagen, 1969; *Further Progress in the Indus Script Decipherment* (SIAS, Special Publications, 3) Copenhagen, 1970. Yu. V. Knorozov, et al, *Predvaritel'noe SOIPIT. Moskva: Inst. Etno. AN SSR, 1965; Proto-Indica: 1968. Brief report on the investigation of the Proto-Indian texts. Moscow: Inst. Etno. AN SSR, 1968; Proto-Indica: 1970. SOIPIT. Moskva: Inst. Etno. AN SSR, 1970; Proto-Indica: 1972. SOIPIT. 2 volumes. Moskva: Inst. Etno. AN SSR, 1972. Yu. V. Knorozov, "The Formal Analysis of the Proto-Indian Texts," JTS 2/1 (1970). N.V. Gurov, "Towards the Linguistic Interpretation of the Proto-Indian Texts," JTS 2/1 (1970). B.Ya. Volchok, "Towards an Interpretation of the Proto-Indian Pictures" JTS 2/1 (1970). G.V. Alekseev, Yu.V. Knorozov, A.M. Kondratov and B.Ya. Volchok, *Soviet Studies on Harappan Script* (Translated by Hem Chandra Pande) Occasional Paper No. 6. Field Research Project, Coconut Grove, Florida, 1969.*

²⁶ *Antiquity* 43 (1969), 274-278.

²⁷ Ibid., 278.

The most detailed reviews of both the Finnish and Soviet "decipherments" have been published jointly by Arlene Zide and Kamil Zvelebil of the University of Chicago.²⁸ With regard to the Third Preliminary Report of the Finns, which purports to be the *final* proof of the correction of the decipherment, they state that "the *first* proofs are yet to be produced" and that "This work is greatly in danger of being lumped together with the many unsubstantiated (and unsubstantiable) so-called decipherments of the past."²⁹

As for the Soviet work, Zide and Zvelebil point out a basic problem that has characterized the majority of decipherment attempts — namely, the unawareness of the distinction between script and language. "Variables and semi-variables might have been employed to express something other than grammatical features."³⁰

Concerning the basic question of the family affiliation of the Indus language, Zide and Zvelebil say:

"If one grants that the Soviet group's conclusions about the typological characterization of the script are valid, then one can agree that the Dravidian identification is a possibility. That it is the sole possibility, however, is not the case. From the point of view of strict comparative linguistic method, there is not the slightest proof of any genetic relationship between Dravidian and the 'Proto-Indian' language."³¹

They conclude their reviews of the Finnish and Soviet works:

"In assessing the value of both attempts, one must make a clear distinction between that part of the material which deals with the typological characters of the script and language, based on verifiable mathematical and statistical procedures, and the remainder which consists of mere unverifiable speculations. The Indus script may perhaps be deciphered successfully, but certainly not by employing unsystematic and uncritical procedures in handling both graphotactic and historical data, such as have been exhibited in the publications under review. We find both the Soviet and the Finnish attempts to be unconvincing."³²

Such negative reviews, coming from established experts in the Dravidian field, must certainly be considered of equal — if not greater — weight than the claims of so-called decipherers.

In addition, it should be stressed that all the decipherment attempts — admittedly of necessity — have been done by comparing the typology of the individual signs and inscriptions with written records of other *known* languages. Little has been said of the possibility that the Indus script representing a truly dead language with no known affinities. A comparison can be made with a dead language like Sumerian. How far advanced would the decipherment of Sumerian be today if it had had originally to rely on the comparative methods being used on the Indus script?

A totally different line of inquiry is suggested by recent studies of American Indian scripts, especially one invented by the Western Apache shaman Silas John.³³ Invented as recently as 1904, this form of graphic communication is of importance to anyone dealing with the decipherment of early scripts. Its analysis demonstrates that this script functions outside the strict bounds of systems described by most linguists with a Western ethnocentric bias. The Silas John inscriptions contain "phonetic" signs which allow the inscriptions to be classified as true writing. These "phonetic" signs denote linguistic expressions that can consist of either words, phrases, or even one or more sentences. But certain symbols are "kinesic" rather than "phonetic" in function. They call for "the performance of specific types of nonverbal behaviour."³⁴ Thus there are symbols in the

²⁸ IJ, 12/2 (1970), 126-134; Language 46/4 (1970), 952-968.

²⁹ Language 46/4 (1970), 963.

³⁰ Ibid., 956.

³¹ Ibid., 958.

³² Ibid., 967.

³³ Science 180 (8 June, 1973), 1013-1022.

³⁴ Ibid., 1019.

script that "tell what to say" and others that "tell what to do." It is also of interest that the Silas John script was designed by him, alone, "to communicate information relevant to the performance of ritual, *not* to write the entire spoken language of the Western Apache."³⁵

I am not proposing that any direct analogy be made with the Indus script, but one line of inquiry does suggest itself. As far as we can determine the function of the Indus inscriptions, they are all related to object that could have been utilized in commercial or economic activities. It may be that this is only an accident of survival in the archaeological record, but is it possible that the Indus script was designed only for such purposes and that not historical or literary documents ever existed? I am not willing to concede to such a possibility, but it must be noted that the traditional Western methods of analyzing scripts do not include all the possibilities.

The maximum that one could hope for would be the discovery of a South Asian "rosetta stone." If, indeed, as some of the evidence suggests, maritime commercial activities were being carried on between the Indus peoples and the Near East, it is not unreasonable to assume the existence of Mesopotamian economic documents at trading centers along the Pakistan coast. The ultimate hope is that some such documents would be bilinguals. This is one of the possibilities that sparked Professor Kramer's interest in the Indus civilization some fifteen years ago, and is admittedly one of the motivating forces behind my continuing interest in excavating the coastal sites in Pakistan.

In spite of the high expectations we have, there is still a major problem that must be kept in mind. Even given the chance discovery of a bilingual document and the incontrovertible identification of the language represented by the Indus script, we still lack the archives and libraries at Indus sites that could provide the historical, cultural and economic documents so desperately needed if we are ever to gain any objective insight into the hearts and minds of the founders of South Asia's earliest civilization. Such discoveries can only come from the continuation of the painstakingly slow process of archaeological research nourished by faith in the possibility that such archives are, indeed, there to be discovered.

³⁵ Ibid., 1014.

Existe-t-il un "Poème de la Création" Sumérien?

J. van Dijk, Rome

Dans son livre "Sumerian Mythology" l'auteur auquel ces lignes sont dédiées a dû constater le fait que les Sumériens n'ont pas possédé de "Poème de la Création" comme les Babyloniens ont eu leur *Enūma eliš*¹. Quelle que puisse être la forme littéraire de ce poème, ou encore sa fonction rituelle: qu'il soit une "Exaltation de Marduk" ou un hiéroslogos de la fête du Nouvel an, ce poème didactique contient une cosmogonie systématique. Sous une forme un peu diverse nous retrouvons cette cosmogonie chez Béroset² qui y a ajouté des détails qui concernent les origines avant la séparation du Ciel de la Terre³. Béroset nous a transmis la cosmogonie des "Babyloniens" comme le ferait un scientifique, comme l'a fait Hésiode qui nous a laissé son célèbre "traité" sur la cosmogonie des "Grecs". Nous mettons ces gentilices entre guillemets ne voulant pas attribuer ni aux Babyloniens ni aux Grecs le droit de paternité de ces cosmogonies. Les ressemblances entre la théogonie d'Hésiode et celle du poème de Kumarbi ne sont que trop connues⁴. Le poème de Kumarbi à son tour se rattache au panthéon babylonien. Ainsi il n'est guère permis de parler d'une théogonie ou d'une cosmogonie Grecque, Hettite, Babylonienne ou encore Hourrite comme des mythologèmes séparés, autochtones, propres à chaque ethnie.

Il est aussi bien connu que la cosmogonie de l'*Enūma eliš*, bien qu'elle représente celle des théologiens d'Eridu, a emprunté plusieurs motifs ailleurs. Dernièrement, les listes multilingues provenant d'Ugarit⁵ ont compliqué la situation. Pour comprendre ce que le théologien d'Ugarit a fait et, inversement, ce que le mythographe de l'*Enūma eliš* faisait en substituant au début du poème de la Création Ti'āmat à une déesse inconnue (probablement à Nammu) il est utile de répéter schématiquement les deux systèmes cosmogoniques les mieux connus de la Mésopotamie⁶. Pour le théologien d'Ugarit, le Dieu-Ciel, An, est identique à Anum (*ša-mu-ma*), c'est à dire à Ouranos. Antum, le féminin que les théologiens ont formé d'Anum est identique à ki = la "Terre-Mère". Or, il identifie ensuite Antum à Ti'āmat, que nous retrouvons comme épouse d'Abzu dans *Enūma eliš*. Cette identification est très importante parce qu'elle prouve que le système cosmogonique d'Eridu n'était pas accepté par les théologiens d'Ugarit. Schématiquement cette cosmogonie d'Eridu se présente ainsi:

¹ S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (1944), pp. 20 ss. "Création" dans ce contexte est une terminologie inexacte. Ni les Sumériens, ni les Babyloniens n'ont connu une "*creatio ex nihilo*", mais une "évolution créatrice".

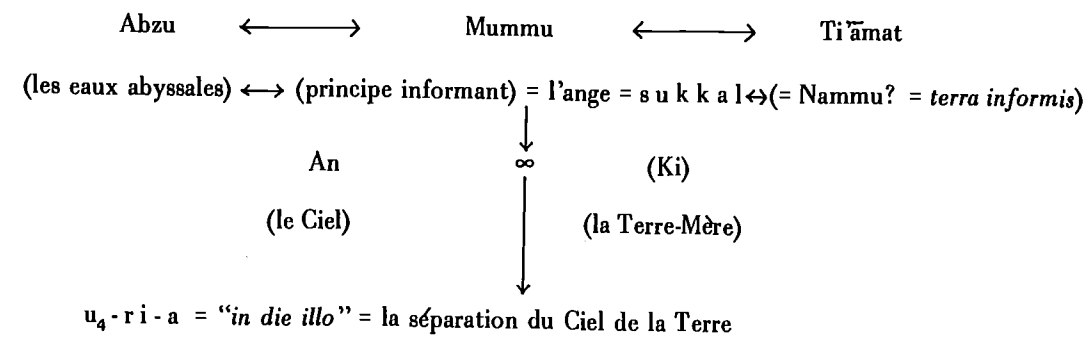
² Cf. P. Schnabel, *Berosos u. die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig — Berlin, 1923), pp. 254 ss. et passim; A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 77 ss.

³ A savoir l'existence d'êtres androgynes, des "Mischwesen" qu'on rencontre si souvent dans la glyptique Mésopotamienne etc.

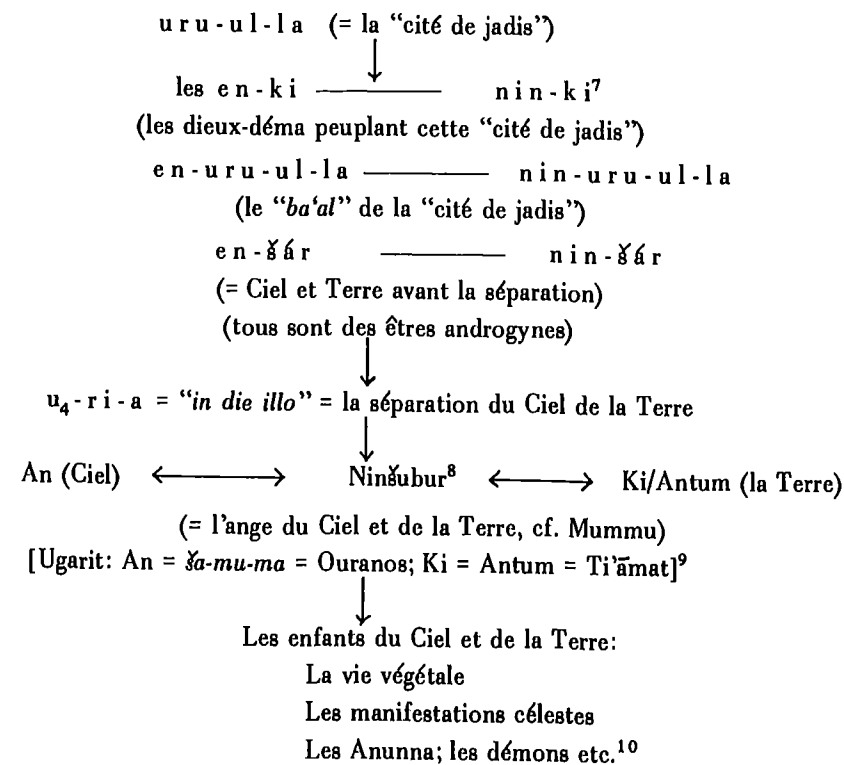
⁴ Cf. la littérature chez H.G. Güterbock, JCS 5 (1951), 135-161; JCS 6 (1952), 8-42 et A. Goetze, ANET, pp. 120 ss. E. Laroche, *Cat. des Textes Hittites* (Paris, 1971), pp. 60, 345.

⁵ Cf. J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5 (1968), 246: 3" ss.; ib., p. 54; E. Laroche, ib., pp. 518 ss.

⁶ Cf. *Acta Or* 28/1 (1964), 1 ss., où on trouve aussi les références aux travaux de S.N. Kramer et de Th. Jacobsen. Récemment G. Pettinato, *Das altorientalische Menschenbild* (= Abh. Heidelb. Ak. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 1971, 1), a commenté aussi ces cosmogonies mésopotamiennes.



La cosmogonie qui commence avec un univers embryonnaire suit le schéma suivant:



⁷ A. Falkenstein, AS 16 (1965), 138 rem. 192 et S.N. Kramer, JAOS 88 (1968), 111 rem. 13, ont attiré l'attention sur le parallélisme des e n - k i - n i n - k i et des i - g i - g i. Est-ce que ce parallélisme nous procure finalement l'étymologie de: i g i g i? L'assimilation in (= e n, cf. Sumer 11 (1955), Pl XVI in - si = é n s i) - k i < i - k i; (n) i n - k i < i - k i; avant le "soundshift" cela a dû être: i - g i - i - g i (-u) < i g i g i. A première vue cette étymologie semble être hasardeuse. Une forte objection semble être le fait que les i g i g i sont des divinités célestes dans la littérature récente, tandis que les e n - k i - n i n - k i résident aux enfers. Un certain nombre d'eux en sont les portiers. Cependant, l'étymologie me semble probable.

⁸ Cf. J. Nougayrol, RA 41 (1947), 30, AO 17626: 3, qui semble identifier Mammu, l'ange d'Abzu et de Ti'āmat, à Ninšubur, l'ange du Ciel et de la Terre. Le triple principe de la cosmogonie d'Eridu se trouve au commencement, tandis que dans celle de Nippour il se trouve au moment de la séparation du Ciel de la Terre.

⁹ Cf. plus haut rem. 5.

¹⁰ La cosmogonie de Nippour résume les origines de la vie végétale et humaine dans ces deux expressions a n - t a è < > k i i n - d a r "descendre du ciel" < > "perforer (survir de) la terre".

Il semble bien que le théologien d'Ugarit ne veut pas reconnaître le système d'Eridu et qu'il ramène Ti'āmat dans le système cosmique de Nippour. L'épouse du Ciel est naturellement la Terre-Mère = Ki = Antum = Uraš = n i n - i - l i (ne pas confondre avec Bēliti!) = Nammu = Ti'āmat. L'équation de la liste d'Ugarit met encore plus en évidence le fait que la liste TCL 15,10 veut incorporer un trait de la théologie d'Eridu dans le système de la "cité de jadis", et il devient de plus en probable que Ti'āmat a remplacé Nammu qui est passée sous silence dans *Enūma eliš*¹¹.

Les éléments des deux systèmes cosmogoniques que les Sumériens ont dû connaître proviennent de la tradition babylonienne, imbuée de la théologie d'Eridu et hostile à celle de Nippour, et d'un grand nombre d'allusions dispersées dans la littérature sumérienne. On n'a pas retrouvé jusqu'ici de composition qui traite *ex professo* de la cosmogonie sumérienne. Nous faisons une exception pour la cosmogonie "chaldéenne"¹² qui est assez systématique et qui commence avant la séparation du Ciel de la Terre. Mais le texte n'est pas une cosmogonie proprement dite: elle est l'introduction étiologique d'un rituel de "purification de la bouche" pour une ville. L'étiologie concerne la fondation des temples et des villes. Une théogonie systématique se trouve au commencement de la liste des dieux, TCL 15,10 et de la liste An = anum¹³. Mais ces théogonies ne peuvent être interprétées qu'à l'aide de la littérature. La plupart des compositions didactiques auxquelles on emprunte les allusions aux systèmes cosmogoniques sumériens commencent leurs introductions étiologiques au moment de la séparation du Ciel de la Terre: u₄-ri-a "in die illo", ou après. Ce qui est tout à fait logique. Dans la tenson: la dispute entre l'arbre et le roseau, par exemple, il serait tout à fait superflu de commencer "ab ovo" par un récit de l'origine de l'univers, du soleil, de la lune etc. Il s'agit de la végétation, de la vie, et l'étiologie doit commencer par l'origine de cette vie: la fertilisation de la terre par les premières pluies. Les textes trouvés après la publication de la "Sumerian Mythology", de l'article de Th. Jacobsen dans JNES 5 et d'Acta Or 28/1 confirment cette opinion; de même le poème d'Atrahasis¹⁴, ainsi que le mythe de Ninazu et de Ninmada dont le fragment retrouvé raconte la descente du ciel de l'orge et le vol de cette orge à la montagne à laquelle Enlil l'avait donnée¹⁵. UET 6,28 qui commence par u₄-ri-a concerne le voyage d'Ašimbabbar à Nippour le jour du Nouvel an¹⁶. UET 6,118, une composition en l'honneur de Nippour: u r u k i m e - l á m - z u a n - k i - a d u l x "Cité, ta splendeur couvre Ciel et Terre..." commence aussi l'étiologie après la naissance des dieux¹⁷ et par les travaux des Anunna que nous connaissons par Atrahasis et ailleurs. L u g a l - e VIII 2 s. se lisent: u₄-bi-a a-silim ki-ta gin a-gàr-ra nu-u-m-dé//a-šed₇ du₈-du₈-du₈-ù u₄ zal-

¹¹ Nammu, la mère des dieux, comme a g r i g - é - k u r - r a "administratrice de l'Ekur" a été identifiée ultérieurement à d n i n - i m m a_x (SIG₇) qui est une déesse de la végétation comme Nisaba (elle aussi: a g r i g - é - k u r - r a), Ninlil, Ninbaršegunu, Sud_x, Baba etc. Cf. l'hymne de Nin-imma_x dans ISET 1, p. 74 Nj/4233. Le syncrétisme s'est probablement effectué en raison de la ressemblance ou de la confusion: é - k u r < > e n g u r. Si d n i n - i m m a_x était réellement Nammu, cette dernière aurait perdu tout son prestige à Nippour. Un semblant d'argument en faveur de cette hypothèse est la ressemblance des noms de Ninimma et de Nammu. Cf. l'écriture syllabique du nom d'Urnammu: Sumer 11 (1955), Pl XVI 4: i l - n a - a m - n a - a m - m i; TCL 15, 38: 2 (Cf. Å. Sjöberg, Or Suec 10 [1961], 7): u r - a n - n a - n a - m a - k e.

¹² Cf. CT 13, 35 ss. A. Heidel, The Bab. Genesis², pp. 61 ss. Cf. plus bas rem. 20.

¹³ Cf. Acta Or 28/1 (1964), 12 ss.

¹⁴ Ed. W.G. Lambert and C.R. Millard (Oxford, 1969); cf. aussi G. Pettinato, supra rem. 6.

¹⁵ TMH NF 3, 5.

¹⁶ Cf. ib. 9-10: e n d a š - í m - b a b b a r é - k u r - š è d u - d è "le 'dominus' Ašimbabbar allant à l'Ekur". Sur le sens de ce voyage, cf. JCS 19 (1965), 19 ss.

¹⁷ Cf. l.c. IV 6 ss. et ib. III 18-25: d n u - n a m - n i r n í n d a - m e r u - a a m a d n i n - l í l e g i - g a l - k i - ù r - r a n i n - m e ù - t u - d a e - n e - e - n e - g i m k a l a m - m a d i n g i r a - b a m u - u n - t i "Nunamir que notre? Taureau (= le Ciel) a engendré, Ninlil, grande Dame du Ki'ur que notre Reine (= la Terre) a mise au monde: quel dieu dans le pays a jamais été comme l'un ou comme l'autre?". (Pour ce - m e, cf. pourtant a n - n a m e - r i - a . . . k i - a m e - r i - a, cité dans AS 16, p. 134, rem. 98). m e - r u - a peut contenir aussi le préf. l. pers. plur.

le-da-gim kur-ra é-ri-a ba-ni-ib-íl-íl-a¹⁸ "ce jour-là l'eau salubre sortant de la terre ne montait pas sur les champs. Puisque la glace qui couvrait partout (la terre) au moment qu'elle commençait à fondre portait la destruction dans le 'k u r'...". Cette remarque presque historique est suivie du récit des dieux-travailleurs. La même étymologie, l'invention de l'agriculture domestiquée, se retrouve dans le beau texte publié par E. Sollberger dans JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 280 ss. avec cette différence que le récit ne commence pas par "le jour où la glace commençait à fondre...", mais par la remarque que cette domestication et cette irrigation ont pris place: [e g i r a - m] á - r u b a - ù r - r a - t a "après que le déluge eut balayé (tout)..."¹⁹

Les récits étiologiques contenus dans les introductions des compositions didactiques commencent donc tous par ou après la séparation du Ciel de la Terre. Les introductions mythologiques des rituels et des incantations peuvent commencer par une vraie cosmogonie: ainsi CT 13, 35 ss.²⁰, rituel pour la fondation du temple. Puisque le temple représente sacramentellement l'univers et ses manifestations et par conséquent la cosmogonie, on peut espérer trouver des introductions cosmogoniques dans ces rituels et ces incantations. Quand on croit avoir trouvé quelques lignes d'une cosmogonie, il faut poser la question: ces lignes, appartiennent-elles à une incantation ou à un "poème de la création"? Nous possédons quelques lignes d'une "cosmogonie" dans le fragment AO 4153 = NFT 180²¹ que nous avons essayé de traduire dans Acta Orientalia 28 (1964), 39 ss.²² En préparant à Yale l'édition des incantations non-canoniques de la collection, nous avons trouvé parmi les tablettes que le Prof. W.W. Hallo avait mises à notre disposition une petite tablette, NBC 11108, écrite dans le ductus d'Ur III et ayant la forme de ces petites incantations. On est vite arrivé à cette constatation que cette tablette contenait une douzaine de lignes d'une cosmogonie sumérienne. Comme nous le verrons, cette cosmogonie appartient au "motif cosmique" et non à la théologie d'Eridu. Rien d'étonnant, puisque la tablette provient des fouilles de Nippour. Cette cosmogonie précède u₄ - r i - a "in illo die", le moment de la séparation du Ciel de la Terre. La seule question qui reste est la suivante: ces lignes appartiennent-elles à l'introduction mythologique d'une incantation ou à une vraie cosmogonie? Elles contiennent plusieurs motifs mythologiques qui ne conviennent guère à une incantation. Un argument assez fort ensuite contre cette hypothèse est le fait que nous ne connaissons aucune incantation non-canonique répartie sur plusieurs tablettes. L'analyse de texte nous inclinera à croire plutôt que le fragment appartient à un hiérosologos, à une vraie cosmogonie. Le Prof. W.W. Hallo nous a permis de publier le texte et de l'étudier dans ce *donum natalicium*. Nous publions ici la photographie (grandeur de l'original) et la copie faite sur la photographie pour en aider la lecture qui n'est pas facile²³. La tablette est très mutilée. Les restitutions ont été faites parfois pour éclairer le sens général mais elles n'ont pas la prétention de restituer la lettre — Nous transcrivons NBC 11108 (Pl. VIII*):

1 ²⁴ an en-né an mu-za[lag]²⁵ ki mu-gi₆ kur-šè igi nu[?]-g[ál]²⁶

¹⁸ Il n'y a pas de lacune avant u₄ - b i - a; le passage a été traduit par G. Pettinato, Das altor. Menschenbild, pp. 91 ss.

¹⁹ Faut-il conclure de cette coïncidence que le déluge est une réminiscence de la dernière époque glaciaire? La tablette 8 de L u g a l - e a une tournure stylistique qui s'approche d'un récit historique. Des objections qui s'appuyent sur la paléontologie ne valent pas, parce que le récit du déluge ne vient pas nécessairement de la Mésopotamie.

²⁰ Cf. supra, rem. 12; ensuite AfO 20 (1963), 82; Fr. Thureau-Dangin, Racc (1921), p. 46:24 ss.; R. Borger, ZA 61 (1971), 72 ss.

²¹ Cf. E. Sollberger, Corpus 57; Ukg 15.

²² Corriger là, 40 II 3: u₄ - b a e n - k i n u n - k i n u - s i₁₂. Cette correction m'a été suggérée tout de suite par J. Krecher et elle s'est confirmée ensuite.

²³ L'original a été couvert d'un vernis. Ce procédé que le Musée de Bagdad a appliqué à beaucoup de tablettes les rend parfois indéchiffrables. Nous saisissons l'occasion pour remercier le Prof. Hallo et M. l'abbé M.-J. Seux qui a voulu lire le ms. J'ai pu profiter de sa critique toujours judicieuse.

²⁴ Toute la l. a été écrite sur une ligne effacée.

²⁵ Les deux premiers signes sont: ANxEN sur des signes effacés; m u - k [ù] aus lieu de m u - z a [l a g] n'est pas exclu.

²⁶ Incertain; n u - sur m u - effacé?

bùru²⁷ a nu-bal nì nu-gar ki-dagal(a) [a]bsin²⁸ nu-ak

[i]šib-ma_h-den-líl-lá nu-ù-gál šu-lu_h-kù-ge šu nu-ù-[m]a-du,
[nu-gi]g^{??}-an-na-ke₄ šu nu-ù-[ta]g [m]i^{??} [n]u[?]-di

5 [an-k]i téš-bi-a mu-dib

[nam-dam-š]è [n]u-ù-t[u₁₂-t]u₁₂

it[i n]u-[z]al gi₆ am-mu-lá

an-né da-ga-an-na giri_x(KA)-zal mu-ni-ib-kur_x(GIŠ-tenú)

ki du ú-šim-ma ní nu-mu-gíd-e

10 me^d-en-líl-lá-ke₄ kur-kur-ra š[u n]u-ù-du₇

[k]ù[?] i[n-ni]n^{??}-é-an-na-ke₄ n[idba^{??} š]u n[u-mu-š]i-te[?] ²⁹

[dingir-ga]l a-nun(a)-[ke₄-n]e nu-ù-um-di-di

dingir-an-na dingir-k[i]-a nu-ù-m[a]-su₈-su₈-ge-éš

Traduction:

1 "An, (étant) Bēl, faisait resplen[dir] le ciel, la Terre était dans l'obscurité³⁰, le monde infernal était [invi]sible;

les eaux ne coulaient pas par le trou (dans la terre), rien n'était produit, sur la vaste terre le sillon n'était pas fait.

Le pontife suprême d'Enlil n'existait pas, les rites de purification n'étaient pas accomplis, l'h[érodol]e^{??} du Ciel n'était pas ornée, ne proclamait pas [les louanges^{??}].

5 [Ciel (et) Te]rre étaient liés l'un à l'autre (faisant) une unité, ils ne s'étaient pas pris en [mariage].

La lune ne lu[isait] pas, l'obscurité s'étendait; le Ciel montra sa face resplendissante dans le Dagan, là où il allait, il ne pouvait pas s'étendre dans les prés.

10 L'empire d'Enlil sur les pays n'était pas encore constitué, la p[ure] Dam[us]^{??} de l'E'anna [ne recevait pas encore [d'offrandes]^{??}].

Les gr[ands dieux], les Anunna, ne s'étaient pas mis en mouvement, les dieux du ciel, les dieux de la te[rre] n'étaient pas encore là."

La lecture attentive de ce petit texte nous révèle un mythologème que nous connaissons par ailleurs. Nous traduisons: a n e n - n é "An, le En", par "An étant Bēl, ba'al" et: m e - d e n - l í l - l á par "l'empire d'Enlil". Ainsi, tout à coup, apparaît le mythologème de la succession: dans la théologie de Sumer, ce n'est pas An mais Enlil qui est le "ba'al"; beaucoup plus tard Marduk a été quelquefois appelé Bēl, ba'al, mais c'est en usurpant cet empire. Le mythologème est pourtant bien connu par le mythe de Kumarbi³¹ et par la Théogonie d'Hésiode. Le ba'al, Bēl, de Sumer et d'Accad était Enlil. Ainsi illilūtu et bēlūtu deviennent quasi synonymes³². Être l'Enlil d'une ville signifiait en être le ba'al³³. Enlil était le ba'al de Sumer, des pays, de l'Univers.

²⁷ [k u] r n'est pas exclu.

²⁸ Traces; á est aussi possible.

²⁹ Le dernier signe ne semble pas être: KIB qu'on pourrait lire: h u l_x pour h ú l = réš. Il n'y a qu'une verticale à la fin du signe.

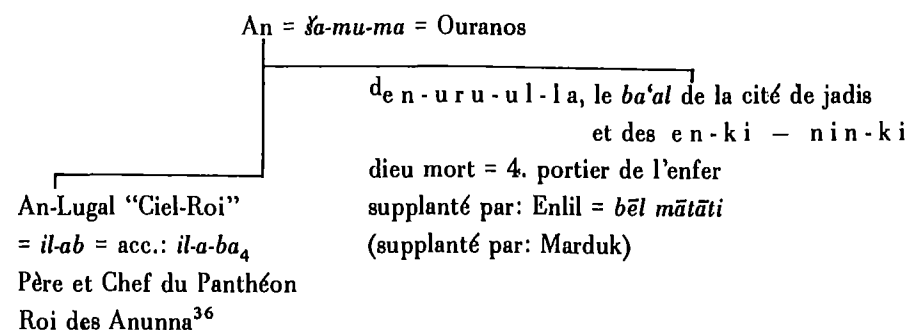
³⁰ gi₆ comme verbe ne m'était pas connu.

³¹ Cf. plus haut la rem. 4.

³² Cf. MIO 12 (1966), 59-63 et ib., 74.

On ne peut pas éliminer comme une chose sans importance le fait que le dieu du Ciel, An, est mentionné comme le *ba'al* et le fait qu'Enlil n'exerce pas encore son empire (m e). Dans la théologie sumérienne An est *lugal* "roi" ou encore un "dieu mort". AO 4153, NFT 180 II 1, met l'accent sur la *bēlūtu*, la "dominatio", d'An: *a n e n - n a m š u l - l e - é š a l - g u b* "An, étant *ba'al*, se dressa en jeune héros"³⁴ *d e n - u r u - u l - l a* "*ba'al* de la cité de jadis" est un épithète d'An dans TCL 15 10, 38.

Il y a donc eu un moment où An a cessé d'être *ba'al* et où Enlil l'est devenu. Il n'est pas difficile de deviner quel a été ce moment: celui de la séparation du Ciel de la Terre. An a été le "dominus" de l'univers embryonnaire: *d e n - u r u - u l - l a*. Plus tard il est devenu *a n - l u g a l* "Ciel-Roi", le chef du Panthéon; *d e n - u r u - u l - l a*, le "dominus de la cité de jadis" est devenu un dieu infernal³⁵. Il va de soi que cet événement est entouré d'un cortège de mythes dont nous avons déjà mentionné un: le mythe de Kumarbi avec ses résonances dans la théogonie d'Hésiode. Si nous présentons schématiquement les faits mythologiques que nous venons de mentionner, nous verrons d'où peuvent venir plusieurs mythogèmes en apparence inconciliables avec la théogonie et la théologie sumériennes:



Il semble que la séparation du Ciel de la Terre sépare aussi la personne du dieu-Ciel. Cela me semble expliquer la possibilité que le dieu An puisse exister comme chef du Panthéon et qu'en même temps nous possédions de fortes allusions à sa mise à mort³⁷: il s'agit de deux manifestations d'un même dieu dont l'un, *a n - l u g a l*, est la réalité qui tombe sous la perception des sens; l'autre, *d e n - u r u - u l - l a*, est un "théologoumenon", un "non-existant" et un produit de la spéculation philosophique, si l'on préfère: mythologique, parce que ce monde embryonnaire, c'est un produit de l'esprit humain: il n'a pas existé de fait, pas moins et pas plus que les idées préexistantes de Platon³⁸.

L'antithèse entre: *a n - e n - n é . . .* "An, étant *ba'al* . . ." et: *m e - d e n - l í l - l á . . .* "l'empire d'Enlil n'était pas encore constitué" n'est donc pas de la rhétorique, c'est un dogme fondamental de la pensée

³³ MIO l.c. 62 rem. 10.

³⁴ Cf. Acta Or 28/1 (1964), I: 40; *n a m - e n - n a - k i š - a n - n a* se trouve dans CT 16, 19: 62: *a n - d a . . . m u - u n - n e - š i - i n - h a l - h a l - l a* "il (Enlil) leur (Šin, Šamaš, Ištar) attribua la domination sur tout le ciel avec An . . ."; *l u g a l e n n u m u n - i - i* dans CT 36, 31: 6 (+ dupl.) fait alterner *e n* avec *l u g a l* pour des raisons stylistiques. Sinon, An est toujours *l u g a l* "roi".

³⁵ Plus précisément, le portier de la quatrième porte, cf. O.R. Gurney, AnSt 10 (1960), 116: 44' et la rem. 38 ib.

³⁶ Je ne vois pas pourquoi ces Anunna, fils d'*A n - l u g a l*, ont été condamnés à l'Enfer, et moins encore pourquoi les *Igigal* se trouvent dans les textes plus récents au ciel. Les derniers, s'ils sont les *e n k i - n i n k i*, devraient résider aux enfers, ce sont eux qui ont péché. Les Anunna, y sont-ils pour la même raison que Ningizzida?

³⁷ Cf. le commentaire publié par moi dans Sumer 13 (1957) 117 = IM 3252 + LKA 71; KAR 307 (Cf. R. Borger, Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur 1, p. 102); E. Ebeling, TuL, pp. 28 ss.; J. Nougayrol, RA 41 (1947), 30, rem. 5: *ilāni/denlil kišitti*, parmi eux: Anum.

³⁸ Il n'est pas besoin d'avertir le lecteur qu'il ne faut pas faire intervenir ici nos sciences physiques.

mythologique qui nous prouve que les Sumériens ont connu les données du mythe de Kumarbi et que les "spéculations ésotériques" des commentaires tardifs sur la mise à mort du dieu du Ciel que nous venons de citer ne contredisent pas la théologie sumérienne mais qu'elles y sont sans doute ancrées.

Dans cet univers où An était le "*ba'al*", les "eaux ne coulaient pas par le *b à r u*"; la tablette est mutilée, on pourrait lire aussi: *[k u] r*. Je préfère *b à r u* parce qu'en toute hypothèse il faudrait un cas directif après *k u r*: -e ou -ta; pour *b à r u* cf. Enki et Ninmah 15': *e n g u r b à r u a - s u r - r a* "l'Engur, le trou où s'écoule l'eau"³⁹; AO 4153, NFT 180 I 5: . . . *k i x b à r u a š è - m a - s i* "un trou dans la terre irriguait . . ."; Å. Sjöberg, Or Suec 19-20 (1970-71), 142, 25'-26': *b à r - r a u - z a l a g š a - m u - n e - r i - i b - è* "(dès que tu y as mis le pied . . .) tu fais monter pour eux (les princes des enfers) la lumière dans le 'trou'"; Cf. ib. p. 159. Ce sont les jumeaux Meslamta'ea et Lugalgirra (Pollux et Castor) qui entrent dans ce "*b à r u*" navigant sur les ondes du fleuve qui sort des enfers ou qui y entre. Puisque ces eaux ne coulent pas encore, l'univers décrit dans notre texte est celui d'avant l'existence de "l'agriculture embryonnaire". Il n'est donc pas impossible que le texte puisse appartenir à la même composition que celle à laquelle appartient AO 4153 cité plus haut qui décrit ce monde après cette irrigation mythologique⁴⁰.

Le texte qui provient de Nippour parle d'un *i š i b - m a h - d e n - l í l - l á* que j'ai rendu un peu trop librement par "pontife suprême"; cf. J. Renger, ZA 59 (1969), 125 rem. 637; le dieu Enlil s'est approprié les fonctions d'Enki et même parfois la nature de ce dieu⁴¹.

A la l. 4 on peut suppléer: *m u l - a n - n a*; GAL.UŠUJM-*a n - n a*; *a n - š á r - a n - n a*; *p a - š e l - a n - n a*; *h é - g á l - a n - n a*; *g u d] u - a n - n a* etc.; nous suppléons le nom d'une fonction: *n u - g i] g - a n - n a* qui ne semble pas être le "sujet" de *š u - t a g*, mais l'objet; *m] í - d i*. (faible) est pourtant transitif en supposant que le signe mutilé est: MUNUS⁴².

t é š - b i - a m u - d i b (l. 5) = *i š t ē n i š i k k a m ũ* "étaient liés ensemble". La restitution *[a n - k i]* semble être certaine; c'est la première fois à ma connaissance que ce dogme de la cosmogonie sumérienne est formulé de cette manière bien que le mythogème ait été reconnu depuis longtemps.

La l. 6 finit par -š è *[n] u - ù - t [u₁₂ - t] u₁₂* de sorte que la restitution *[n a m - d a m - š è]* semble être assez probable. Les nocces cosmiques entre Ciel et Terre⁴³ n'avaient pas encore eu lieu. Il s'ensuit que les êtres qui ont vécu avant ces nocces cosmiques, les *e n - k i - n i n - k i*, ont dû être androgynes, le mythogème si bien connu de Bérose et du Symposium de Platon.

Mais comment concevoir ce "Ciel" qui dans le "*d a - g a - a n*" montre (*k u r_x = abālu; našū* "porter", "soulever") sa "joie", *g i r i x - z a l*? W. von Soden, AHW, traduit *dakkannu* par "Türöffnung"; A. Falkenstein, Bag.M 3, 31 distingue ce *dakkannu* de *d a - g a - a n = kullatu*; dans NG 3, 95 il accepte le sens "Schlafkammer" pour *takkannu* parce que les époux y couchaient. Mais ce sens ne convient pas au contexte. Il s'agit plutôt d'un topos cosmique: *d a g - a n* signifierait "demeure céleste". Il faut peut-être comparer à VS 17, 33, 17 *d a g - a g r u n a - k a* (= É.NUN-*tenû-k a*)⁴⁴ "demeure souterraine (c.à.d. dans la terre fertile, trempée d'eau)"

³⁹ Acta Or 28/1 (1964), 25: 15.

⁴⁰ Cf. Genèse 2:4 ss.; Acta Or 28/1 (1964), 42 ss.

⁴¹ Cf. Gud Cyl A I 5-9: *š à - d e n - l í l - l á* (= la virilité) est la montée du Tigre. C'est un emprunt à la théologie d'Eridu; le Tigre est le *š à - d e n - k i - k a* et rien d'autre. Le fait qu'Enlil, le *k u r - g a l* "la grande montagne" (cf. la fonction mythologique du Mons Casius, de l'Olympe, la litt. chez J. Nougayrol, Ugaritica 5, pp. 50 s.), s'est identifié si facilement à une espèce de dieu-tempête et si avidement au dieu Enki donne à penser.

⁴² Remarquer la "*consecutio praeifixorum*": les ll. 1-2: *m u - / n u - + Verbe*; l. 3: *n u - ù - g á l*; *n u - ù - m a - d u₇ = n u - ũ - Verbe*; *n u - ũ - b - a - Verbe*. Mais pourquoi à la l. 2: *n u - b a l*, *n u - g a r*, *n u - a k*?

⁴³ Cf. Acta Or 28/1 (1964), 34.

⁴⁴ Cf. maintenant R. Caplice, Or NS 42 (1973), 302. Ce n'est pas le lieu ici de discuter NUN-*tenû* = *a g a r - g a r a* et ses attaches avec *a g a r i n* [cf. A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30 (1966), 119, rem. 3].

qui a la variante: *dag-é-an-na*. Cette variante n'est pas tellement inexplicable [B. Alster, Or 41 (1972), 353] si l'on compare à TCL 15 10, 450 s.: *du gal-agruna*; *du gal-ki-gu-la* où *agruna* alterne avec *ki-gu-la*; mais dans CT 25, 39, 1-2: *du gal-agruna* est suivi de: *du gal-é-an-na* qui sont deux divinités infernales. *dag-an-na* peut-il être le même que *dag-é-an-na/agruna*? Rien d'étonnant que *é-an-na* soit devenu un nom de l'Enfer. An = *de-n-u-r-u-l-la* en est un portier. La dichotomie de la personne du Dieu-Ciel se projetterait sur sa demeure céleste et infernale qui, à leur tour, seraient actualisées dans le temple de l'E'anna.

A noter l'accumulation (*consecutio praeavorum*) des préfixes: *nu-zal...* à *m-mu-lá...* *mu-ni-i-b-kur_x*; à *m-mu-LÁ* [il serait possible de lire à *m-mu-lu_x*, cf. *an-ta è-a-ra l. 122-124: an-šè lál<>an-šè lu* (*lu* = *lál*, alternance vocalique) SKIZ, p. 132] doit être ajouté au dossier des accumulations des préfixes: *ĩ + mu + Verbe*.

Il n'est guère possible d'expliquer *ki-du* (l. 9) comme une écriture syllabique de *ki-du₁₀*; d'abord, parce que le cas directionnel (l'-e "ergatif") manquerait; ensuite, parce que le phonème /d/ de *du₁₀* est un autre phonème que celui de *du* = *alāku* dont nous savons que c'est /dr/ (cf. ES = *ga/ir*, tandis que *du₁₀* ES = *ze b*). *ki-du* semble donc ne pas être une écriture syllabique de *ki-du₁₀* "la douce terre" mais l'expression semble devoir se traduire par: *ašar illaku* "là, où il allait"; cela plutôt que: "allant sur la terre". Pour *ní-gíd* "s'étendre" cf. C. Wilcke, Das Lugalbanda-epos, p. 149 ad 44 = "s'étirer". Donc il n'y avait pas de végétation.

La l. 11 est trop incertaine pour être commentée. *di-di*, l. 12, égale *dālu* "se mettre en mouvement". Pour *dingir-an-na* "les dieux du Ciel" et *dingir-ki-a* "les dieux de la terre", cf. A. Falkenstein, SGL 1, p. 30 ad 7; A. Falkenstein — B. Kienast, "Die Anunna," AS 16 (1965), 127-158, dont je ne veux pas discuter ici les conclusions⁴⁵. La tablette 1 d'Atrahasis me semble légitimer une autre interprétation et le fait que les Anunna sont les enfants du Ciel, de même que les déesses de la végétation, n'est pas le résultat d'une aporie des théologiens sumériens. Si cela était le cas, il n'y aurait pas de pensée sumérienne. Dans le Panthéon ils prennent une place qu'on peut comparer à celle des Titans dans le Panthéon grec. Si on enlevait ces Titans à la cosmogonie grecque d'Hésiode — en faisant d'eux p.e. d'insipides *numina* Illyriens — toute la cosmogonie grecque s'écroulerait.

Le fragment finit ici. Ces quelques lignes appartiennent évidemment à une composition plus grande, dont elles ne sont pas le commencement. C'est une cosmogonie dont il n'est pas facile de déterminer la fonction littéraire ou rituelle. Nous avons déjà donné les arguments *pro* et *contra*. La composition a dû commencer par la description de la naissance d'An, du Ciel. Notre fragment donne la description de cet univers sous la domination d'An; la séparation du Ciel de la Terre a dû suivre; la "création" des *luminaria magna*; et, puisque le texte met tellement l'accent sur le fait que l'empire (*me*) d'Enlil n'existait pas encore, mais que le Ciel était Bēl = *ba'al*, le texte a dû continuer par la description de la destitution d'An et probablement par celle de son emprisonnement ou même de sa mort, pour aboutir au remplacement d'An-*ba'al* par Enlil-*ba'al*. Et c'est là justement le motif du mythe de Kumarbi et de la Théogonie d'Hésiode. Il reste une remarque à faire: tous les concepts de ce récit (excepté *me*) sont des anthropomorphismes⁴⁶. Et pourtant, le récit a une tournure beaucoup plus rationnelle que les mythes Ugaritiques, Hittites ou Grecs. Est-ce que l'évolution de la mythologie, car il n'y a pas lieu de ne pas attribuer une souche commune à ce complexe cosmogonique, a conduit à un certain embellissement mythopoétique plutôt qu'à l'interprétation rationalisée des mythologèmes?

⁴⁵ Cf. RIA 3, pp. 536 s.

⁴⁶ A. Christensen, Les types du premier homme (Stockholm, 1917), pp. 41 s. a pu écrire: "la tendance à personifier des notions abstraites semble se développer au temps de la réforme de Zoroastre..." (!). Cette personification nous semble être un constitutif de la pensée mythologique (cf. les *en-ki — nin-ki; en-ul — nin-ul* etc.) et remonter aux temps préhistoriques.

Il faut aussi remarquer que le concept: Bēl = *ba'al* n'appartient pas exclusivement à l'idéologie sémitique. Les dieux (et les déesses!) cités sont les En = *bēlū* "domini" de leur cité: *en-dnin-gír-su* "*ba'al* Ningirsu". *illilūtu* et *bēlūtu* sont presque identiques. Enlil devient Bēl, et lui, il est le Bēl de l'univers. Le concept est très important pour l'étude des religions de l'Antiquité. Si jamais une évolution du concept du divin a pu conduire à la transcendance et au monothéisme (cela plutôt au "hénouthéisme"), cette évolution se serait faite et aurait dû se faire à travers l'évolution du concept de *ba'al*. Pourtant, rien, pas même le polythéisme, ne s'est heurté plus à l'aversion et au mépris des prophètes monothéistes de l'AT que justement le concept de Bēl et de *ba'al*. Et cela malgré le fait qu'Enlil, Bēl, comme appellatif, signifie presque Dieu (unique)⁴⁷ à qui toutes les "*potestates*" doivent obéir, comme chez les Plotiniens où tout le cortège des dieux et des démons inférieurs est devenu une émanation qui retourne à son principe unique. Pourquoi la chrétienté a-t-elle pris en aversion Arius d'Alexandrie? Du concept de Bēl au dieu unique, transcendantal, il n'y avait qu'un pas à faire. Pourquoi Plotin l'a-t-il fait et pourquoi les prophètes s'y sont-ils opposés farouchement? Cette question semble avoir échappé à la vigilante attention des théologiens et des historiens de la religion de l'Antiquité⁴⁸.

Comme la théologie d'Eridu, la théogonie de Nippour a donc aussi connu une "succession", celle que nous connaissons par le mythe de Kumarbi: le concept de Bēl y joue un rôle prééminent. Cette théogonie a-t-elle eu la forme littéraire d'un hiéroslogos transmis par écrit? L'existence des deux fragments AO 4153, NFT 180, YBC 11108 et peut-être du fragment Jestin, Šuruppak 1, 67, m'invite à répondre à cette question par l'affirmative.

⁴⁷ Cf. MIO 12 (1966), 62 avec la rem. 10. ELA 145 s.: *an-ki-nigin-na un-sag-sì-ga de-n-líl-ra e-me-aš-a h é-en-na-a-b-du₁₁* "... parlait à Enlil dans une langue"; Enlil semble signifier "Dieu" dans ce passage.

⁴⁸ La litt. sur Ba'al chez J.P. Lettinga dans: A Basic Bibliography for the Study of the Semitic Languages (ed. J.P. Hoppers, Leiden 1973) 1, p. 12; P.J. van Zijl, AOAT 10 (Köln — Neukirchen, 1972).

AN.KA.DI, le dieu suprême de Dēr

G. Dossin, Wandre

La nature, l'origine et la formation des groupes de signes cunéiformes que l'on désigne communément de logogrammes posent à l'assyriologue, et particulièrement au sumérologue, un problème auquel n'a pas encore été accordée toute l'attention qu'il mérite. A la vérité, il est aussi complexe qu'embarrassant. Les appellations diverses: idéogramme, allogramme, cunéogramme, cryptogramme, sumérogramme qui ont été proposées pour désigner ces ensembles de signes cunéiformes trahissent l'ignorance à laquelle nous sommes réduits pour la signaler; nous nous bornons à les transcrire par des caractères d'imprimerie majuscules. Mais notre ignorance serait plus marquée encore, si les scribes anciens ne nous avaient pas apporté l'aide de gloses dont ils ont accompagné ces sumérogrammes. Sans elles, ceux-ci risqueraient de demeurer le plus souvent lettre morte. On sait que le sumérien et l'écriture cunéiforme qui servait à les transcrire, possédaient des virtualités graphiques et phonétiques très riches, qui permettaient aux scribes érudits de réaliser des combinaisons aussi recherchées qu'ésotériques. D'autre part, le sumerien possédait différents dialectes dont deux d'entre eux seulement, l'*'e m e k u* et l'*'e m e s a l*, nous sont les mieux connus, tandis que les autres nous restent pratiquement impenetrables¹.

Les scribes anciens qui connaissaient mieux que nous les multiples possibilités que leur offraient tous ces dialectes y ont eu recours pour "forger" leurs sumérogrammes. Parmi les procédés ésotériques dont ils ont usé, il en est deux qui me paraissent avoir eu leur faveur: l'un, la lecture rétrograde, l'autre, l'emploi de valeurs syllabiques rares, ésotériques. Le recours à ces deux procédés apparaît précisément dans la formation du trinôme AN.KA.DI., qui désigne le grand dieu de la ville de Dēr. Si l'on considère le premier signe AN comme déterminatif divin, les deux signes suivants KA.DI. supportent une lecture rétrograde DI.KA. où le signe KA est à lire RU ou URU, valeur que l'on peut retrouver dans quelques sumérogrammes dont nous donnerons plus loin quelques exemples. On obtient de la sorte pour la lecture inversée de KA.DI: DI.(U)RU, qui rappelle précisément le nom de la ville de *Diru*, *Dēr*. Le sumérogramme ainsi obtenu montre que (AN.)KA.DI a été tiré du nom même de la ville de Dēr. Ce n'est pas là un procédé exceptionnel: l'on sait combien le nom du dieu patron de la ville est étroitement associé au nom de la ville. Le nom divin Aššur n'est pas à séparer de celui de la capitale Aššur: le dieu s'identifie à la cité en la protégeant. Cette identification n'est pas moins nette dans le nom de la ville de Nippur (Nibru) qui s'écrit à l'aide du nom même d'Enlil: EN.LÍL.KI. Le grand dieu patron de la ville de Mari, Itūr-Mer, doit son nom à celui de MA.RI.KI. Le scribe, contre notre attente, a considéré le postdéterminatif des noms de lieu: KI comme pouvant être prononcé, l'a assimilé à GI, dont la valeur accadienne courante est *lāru* "tourner, retourner, revenir"², fait en même temps appel à la lecture rétrograde, ce qui lui permet de

¹ Sur ces différents dialectes, voir les observations de B. Landsberger, AfO Beiheft 1 (Berlin 1933), p. 177.

² Deimel, ŠL, 85:81; Fr. Delitzsch, Sum. Glossar, p. 98, s.v. g e I, c.

traduire par l'accadien Itûr-Mer le trinôme MA.RI.KI qu'il considère comme un groupe dont les trois éléments sont inséparables. On trouvera encore un autre exemple très significatif dans l'association de la déesse Nin-geštin-na, la grande déesse protectrice de la ville de Karāna (Tell Rimma)³. Or le sumérien *geštin* a précisément pour équivalent accadien *Karānu*. La déesse doit son nom à celui de la ville qu'elle doit protéger. Le théologien ancien, le fait mérite d'être souligné comme pour Itûr-Mer de Mari, a eu recours au sumérien pour former les deux noms divins. Pour la formation du dieu de Mari, le trinôme MA.RI.KI a été considéré comme sumérien; pour celle de la déesse de Karāna, le scribe a eu recours au sumérien, en traduisant *Karāna/karānu* par le correspondant sumérien *geštin*. Dans la même optique, on ne sera point surpris de constater que le dieu suprême d'Uruk, *Anu* porte un nom qui a été tiré du nom sumérien de la ville: *Unu(k)*. Ce ne peut-être là le fait du hasard. Une dernière application de cette conception du nom divin tiré du nom de la ville nous est présentée par le nom de ville BÂD.TIBIRA. Il est bien connu que Dumuzi en est le dieu-patron⁴. C'est par une spéculation graphique subtile mais facile que le scribe a obtenu cette identité. Il lui a suffi de songer à la valeur accadienne *dūru* "enceinte", d'en extraire la valeur syllabique DUR, TUR, qui lui a suggéré le mot sumérien *du mu* "fils". Il ne lui restait plus qu'à assimiler TIBIRA à ZI de Dumu.zi, ce qui nous livre une équivalence sumérienne nouvelle *tibira = zi* "métallurgiste"⁵. Dans ce dernier exemple, on voit intervenir le sumérien dans le groupe du "logogramme", auquel il serait préférable de substituer le terme de "sumérogramme".

Il a été suggéré ci-dessus que le trinôme divin AN.KA.DI. devait être lu inversé DI.RU(KA) avec une valeur syllabique *(u)ru* de KA. Il me reste à montrer que ce signe KA pouvait avoir une valeur syllabique rare, ésotérique *(u)ru*. La confusion entre les deux signes KA "bouche" et (U)RU "ville" proviendrait peut-être de leur ressemblance paléographique⁶.

- 1) Si l'on considère le sumérogramme KA × GU.UN de l'accadien *dāmu* "sang, progéniture", on constate que la glose sumérienne qui en est donnée est *gu - ru - u n*, d'où il ressort que dans le sumérogramme KA × GU.UN, le signe KA doit avoir une valeur *ru* ou *uru*, d'où la glose GU. (U)RU.UN⁷.
- 2) Le verbe accadien *gašāšu* "couper, déchirer" traduit un sumérogramme KA.KA × GU⁸, qui a pour glose *zu - gu - ru m*. KA est glosé normalement *zu*, mais dans le binôme KA × GU, il faut lire KA = *uru* ou *ru* pour retrouver la justification de la glose *zu - gu - ru m*.
- 3) Le sumérogramme AN.KA.BIL appartient au dieu Bilgi "feu". Si on le lit inversé en donnant à BIL sa valeur syllabique⁹ GIR₁₀¹⁰ et à KA celle de *ru*, on obtient le mot accadien *gir₁₀-ru* "feu". A noter que le signe GIR₁₀ a pour équivalents accadiens des mots qui expriment l'échauffement comme *libbātu* "colère" et *ummu* "chaleur"¹¹.

³ St. Page [Dalley], CRRA 17 (1969), 182 (in fine) observe: "Thus it is possible that Geštin-anna, closely associated with Adad, is the chief goddess at Rimah." Sa conclusion me paraît une certitude. Pour l'équivalence *geštin* = *karānu*, cf. le CAD, s.v. *karānu*, p. 202 b.

⁴ Pour Dumu-zi, le pasteur divin de Bad-tibira, voir Th. Jacobsen, AS 11, p. 72 et note 22.

⁵ Le mot sumérien *zi* "métallurgiste" ne paraît pas être différent de *si* = *nappāhu* "forgeron" (Deimel, ŠL, 368, 11) et de *si₁₉* (= KA × UD; cf. E. Sollberger, ZA 54 [1961], 8, 17a).

⁶ Le sumérogramme KA × ŠI = *šagapuru* est une variante de URU × ŠI; cf. MSL 3, p. 119, note à la ligne 265 a.

⁷ Le CAD s.v. *dāmu* p. 75 b donne au signe KA × GU la valeur *gur_x*. Cette valeur provient de la lecture *gu-uru* (KA × GU).

⁸ Cf. CAD, s.v. *gašāšu* B, p. 53 a, qui donne à KA × GU la valeur de *gur₅*. Cette valeur s'appuie sur une lecture de KA = *(u)ru*.

⁹ Cf. Deimel, ŠL, 22*.

¹⁰ Cf. Thureau-Dangin, Homophones s.v.

¹¹ Deimel, ŠL, 172:3 et 6.

- 4) L'une des plus curieuses lectures inversées de sumérogramme est celle de KA.SAR dont l'équivalent accadien est *šarru* "roi"¹². Si l'on retient pour KA la valeur *ru*, KA.SAR lu inversé abotit à la lecture *sar-ru_x*. Si l'on admet cette lecture, il va de soi que le sumérogramme a été refait sur l'accadien *šarru* "roi"¹³.
- 5) Le sumérogramme KA × UŠ.ZU = *rusū* "boue"¹⁴ est une graphie savante artificielle refaite sur le terme accadien *rusū*, décomposé en *ru(KA)-us(UŠ)-sū(ZU)*.
- 6) Le sumérogramme KA.GÍR¹⁵ peut se lire inversé avec valeur RU de KA c'est-à-dire GÍR.RU, identique à l'accadien *girru* "chemin" synonyme de *padānu* "chemin, route". L'AHw. s.v. *padānu* lit le sumérogramme *gū/kun-gīr-ra* d'après MSL 5, pp. 71:275; 81:15. La lecture rétrograde proposée ici me paraît plus simple et mieux adaptée.
- 7) Un autre exemple de KA = *(u)ru* dans les sumérogrammes est attesté par l'équation KA × KI = *eršetum*; or, on connaît une équivalence KI.URU = *eršetum*, d'où il ressort que KA × KI est à lire KI.URU¹⁶.
- 8) Le mot accadien *kapru* "village" attendrait un sumérogramme KA.BAR. Or un sumérogramme de *kapru* est URU.BAR¹⁷. On voit nettement ici comment URU a pris la place de KA. Le scribe, en forgeant son sumérogramme, a voulu y introduire la notion de "ville" (URU), d'«agglomération».
- 9) Le nom du canal *Arahtu* a reçu comme graphie sumérienne: *idKA.ĜA.AN DÉ/DU*¹⁸. En donnant au KA initial la valeur URU, le scribe accadien a cherché à produire un sumérogramme destiné à donner au mot accadien un aspect sumérien.
- 10) Parmi les exemples les plus typiques du signe KA = *(u)ru*, il convient de citer le sumérogramme écrit KA × KIB que l'accadien traduit par *qurqurru* "métallurgiste" ou par *tamkaru* "marchand". Le sumérogramme KA × KIB qui présente une double glose *tibira* et *ibira*¹⁹, serait à lire *kib-ru(KA)*. Cette lecture serait d'autant plus intéressante qu'elle permet d'expliquer le phonétisme des deux mots sumériens *tibira/ibira*. Cette double forme qui présente à l'initiale une alternance *t/o* demeure inexplicable. La lecture *kibru* que nous proposons rendrait compte d'une alternance *k/o* dans *kibru/ibira* et, dans le cas de *tibira* expliquerait l'alternance *k/t* de *kibru/tibira*²⁰.

Dans le sumérogramme BÂD.AN.KI du nom de la ville de Dēr, on peut déceler chez le scribe qui l'a construit une double intention savante: l'emploi du signe-mot BÂD = *dūru* "enceinte" cherche à rappeler le rap-

¹² Ibid., 15, 159 = 5R, 30, 16 a.

¹³ A propos de l'étymologie de *šarru*, il y a lieu de se demander si le mot *šarru* n'appartient pas à une racine *šarāru* "briller, flamboyer", que l'on retrouve dans le dérivé *šarurū* "éclat, flamboiement". La suggestive étude de E. Cassin sur "La splendeur divine" a bien montré combien le roi était illuminé par l'éclat de sa splendeur. Les Sumériens paraissent avoir congu le roi avec son terme *lugal* comme celui qui doit sa souveraineté à ses qualités morales et physiques et l'ont désigné comme "l'homme grand, puissant".

¹⁴ Cf. Deimel, ŠL, 17:7, 11, 15. Pour le mot *rusū*, dont il existe une forme *ruḫū*, voir von Soden, AHw., s.v. et pour le sens de "boue", voir ARMT 15, s.v. *rusū*. Le mot paraît désigner à la fois "saleté, crachat, sortilège". Il s'agirait là d'un simple procès sémantique.

¹⁵ Deimel, ŠL, 15:300.

¹⁶ Cf. CAD, s.v. *er-še-tum* = KA × KI à comparer à KI.ÛR.RA. Le binôme KA.KI est à lire URU_x.KI.

¹⁷ Pour la graphie URU.BAR.RA = *kapru* "village", voir le CAD, s.v., p. 189 b.

¹⁸ Pour ce nom canal, voir AHw, s.v.

¹⁹ Pour ce double mot, voir Delitzsch, Sum. Glossar, s.v. *ibira*, p. 18 = Deimel, ŠL, 23:1 et 560:6.

²⁰ Le sumérogramme KA × KIB à lire *kib-ru_x* paraît avoir quelque rapport avec la lecture inversée de UD.KIB. NUN.KI : *nun*. KIBBIR. (Sippar).

port sémantique étroit qui unit le nom de la ville Dēr au terme accadien *dūru*, tandis que le sumérien *dir*, proche, lui aussi, du nom de la ville, veut rappeler qu'il est une des appellations du dieu suprême, *Anu* (AN)²¹.

Si la lecture *Diru* paraît bien être la lecture première du sumérogramme AN.KA.DI, elle n'est pas la seule. Les scribes se sont appliqués à en former d'autres. Ceux-ci ont été réunis et soumis à une rigoureuse critique par W.G. Lambert, "The reading of the Name ^dKA.DI" dans ZA 59 (1969), 100-103. Il résulte de son enquête que *Sat(a)ran*, *Ištarān* (ou *Iltaran*) représentaient la prononciation de ^dKA.DI. A propos d'*Ištarān*, qui est la lecture généralement suivie, on peut se demander si *Ištaran*, n'est pas une forme composée à analyser en *Iš(a)taran*, analyse qui permettrait de retrouver la forme simple *šataran*, *satram*. E. Sollberger s'était demandé autrefois (ZA 54 [1961], 8), si le signe KA dans AN.KA.DI n'avait pas une valeur syllabique *tara_x*, valeur qui aurait autorisé pour AN.KA.DI une lecture *šá(DI)-tara(KA_x)-an*. Cette ingénieuse conjecture, si elle pouvait être confirmée par d'autres témoignages de textes présargoniques²², apporterait la solution de lecture au sumérogramme AN.KA.DI. Les scribes ont beaucoup spéculé sur ce trinôme. C'est ainsi que d'après PBS 10/2, 13: rev. 11 (pl. 38) il apparaît sous la graphie *e-zé-ra* au lieu de AN.KA.DI dans le texte parallèle VS 2, 8 IV: 13. Cette énigmatique graphie semble bien un décalque du sumérogramme où AN serait rendu par *e* et KA.DI par *ši-ra/zé-ra*, épithète sumérisée de l'accadien *šēru* "suprême, auguste". Elle obligerait à se demander si le signe AN ne posséderait pas une valeur rare et ésotérique *e*²³. AN.KA.DI serait à comprendre dans cette graphie *e-ši(zé)-ra* "le dieu suprême", transposition qui correspondrait parfaitement à la nature du "grand" dieu de Dēr.

On relève encore parmi les spéculations graphiques d'*Ištaran*/AN.KA.DI, celle de [AN?]KA.AN.NI.SI²⁴, dont la composition demeure inexpiquée. Le CAD, s.v. *ištaru*, p. 274, 4, se demande si *ištaran* ne serait pas le nom d'une déesse, mot-à-mot "les deux déesses". Mais [AN?]KA.AN.NI.SI demeure mystérieux, à moins que l'on ne consente à décomposer KA.AN.NI.SI en NISK_{gi}(i) et en KA.AN qui pourrait être lu inversé *tara(-KA)AN*. La suggestion de E. Sollberger²⁵ qui aurait donné la valeur syllabique *tara* à KA trouverait ainsi un appui. Quoi qu'il en soit, la signification du nom divin *Ištaran* nous demeure impénétrable dans l'état actuel de notre connaissance²⁶.

Veuille l'éminent savant qui, au long d'un demi-siècle, a oeuvré pour nous révéler mythologie et religion sumériennes, accueillir les observations ci-dessus présentées en témoignage d'amicale estime et de vive admiration!

²¹ Une des lectures du signe AN est *dir* "énorme, gigantesque". On pourrait aussi considérer ce mot comme une contraction de *dingir*.

²² Voir ci-dessous, p. 136.

²³ Je reviendrai ailleurs sur la valeur *e/i* de AN. Notons, en attendant, qu'il existe une forme abrégée *Šatru* de *Ištar*; cf. Kn. Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, s.v.

²⁴ La restitution AN du premier signe est personnelle.

²⁵ Voir ci-dessus.

²⁶ Le nom de la divinité *Ištaran* a donné lieu de multiples notes; voir notamment Å. Sjöberg, ZA 54 (1961), 54, n. 1, qui mentionne le nom propre sargonique EN-um-ša-ta-ra-an, avec l'aphérèse de l'i initial; voir aussi J.J.M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore et Londres, 1972), p. 40 et p. 57.

Die Hendersanga-Hymne

D.O. Edzard und Cl. Wilcke, München

Mit der Bearbeitung der Hendersanga-Hymne zu Ehren Samuel Noah Kramers wird, was einen der beiden Autoren betrifft, eine mehr als zehn Jahre alte Dankesschuld eingelöst. D.O. Edzard erhielt im Frühjahr 1962 bei einem kurzen Aufenthalt in Philadelphia vom Jubilar die Texte N 4181 (= B), UM 29-15-219 (= C), N 1360 (= D) und CBS 9862 (= Teil von F) zur Verfügung gestellt, und er versprach baldige Publikation. Zugleich hatte er Gelegenheit, CBS 4574 (= E₂) zu kollationieren. Im August 1962 machte ihm M. Civil freundlicherweise das mit CBS 9862 zu joinende Fragment CBS 2185 zugänglich.

Cl. Wilcke hat 1969 die Texte TMH NF 3 Nr. 22 + NF 4 Nr. 64 (= A) und NF 3 Nr. 23 (= E₁) kollationiert. Auf ihn geht auch die Vermutung zurück, daß E₁ und E₂ einen — 'transatlantischen' — join bilden.

Das lange Zögern mit der Veröffentlichung hat einen einfachen Grund. Es ist der Überlieferungszustand des Textes. Von den ca. 270 Zeilen sind bisher nur knapp über 200 ganz oder fragmentarisch erhalten, und nur bei ca. 155 Zeilen, d.h. knapp 60% des Textes, läßt sich die Übersetzung einer gesamten Zeile rechtefertigen. Da die Hymne kaum Wiederholungen hat, ist der Textablauf nur selten voraussagbar.

Die Bearbeitung ist Gemeinschaftsarbeit beider Verfasser. Sie kann wegen des eben geschilderten Textzustandes nur vorläufig genannt werden. Der Kommentar ist sehr kurz gefaßt und beschränkt sich im Wesentlichen auf den Aufbau des Textes. Das Glossar soll den Wortschatz erschließen. Nicht als Platzvergeudung möge aufgefaßt werden, daß sämtliche für jede Zeile verfügbaren Texte voll ausgeschrieben sind, so daß bei den meisten Zeilen zwei oder drei Versionen untereinander stehen. Wir sparen so den Variantenapparat, jene crux sumerischer Texteditionen, und können auf den — im Frühstadium einer Philologie immer mißlichen — Komposit-Text verzichten¹. Gesonderte Übersetzungen finden sich indes nur bei stärkeren Textabweichungen (Z. 237 ff.).

¹ Vgl. zuletzt D.O. Edzard, Or. 43 (1974), 105-107.

I	II
[1-3]	[66-67]
A 4-17	C 68-70
	A 71-105 C 71-105
B 18-40 A 18-40	
(Ende A I)	(Ende A II, C)
B 41-56	[106-130]
(Ende B)	
[57-65]	

IV	III
D 196-202	[131-156]
[?]	
E 203'-224'	
	A 157-190
A 225'-261' E 225'-261' F 225'-261'	
(Ende E)	
A 262'-271' F 262'-271'	A 191-195 D 191-195
(Ende A IV, F)	(Ende A III)

Ḫendursanga-Hymne, Text A: Rekonstruktionsskizze.

Die Textzeugen und die Rekonstruktion des Gesamttextes

- A
- TMH NF 3 Nr. 22 + NF 4 Nr. 64 (join in Z. 174. 182); Kollation C. Wilcke. Vierkolumnentafel mit dem Gesamttext. I = 4-40; II = 71-105; III = 157-195; IV = 225'-271'.
- B
- N 4181, Kopie Seite 174. Einkolumnige Tafel mit Textausschnitt. Höhe: 83 mm; Breite: 55 mm; maximale Dicke: 29 mm; ca. untere 11/20 der Tafel.
Vs. = 18-35; Rs. = 36-56.
- C
- UM 29-15-219, Kopie Seite 175. Tafeltyp wie B. Höhe: 98 mm; Breite: 70 mm; maximale Dicke: 34 mm.
Vs. = 68-84; Rs. = 87-105.
- D
- N 1360, Kopie Seite 174. Tafeltyp wohl wie B, nur Vs. erhalten. Höhe: 55 mm; Breite: 52 mm.
- E₁ + E₂
- TMH NF 3 Nr. 23 + CBS 4574 (= PBS 12 Nr. 21); Kollation C. Wilcke (E₁) und D.O. Edzard (E₂). Tafeltyp wie B (join in Z. 213' und 251').
Vs. = 203'-230'; Rs. = 232'-261'.
- F
- CBS 9862 + 2185, Kopien (D.O. Edzard, M. Civil) Seite 176. Tafeltyp wie B. Höhe: 137 mm; Breite: 72 mm; maximale Dicke: 28 mm.
Vs. = 225'-248'; Rs. 250'-271'.
- (G)
- (ISET 1, S. 187 Ni. 9538. Fragment von [mindestens] vierkolumniger Tafel. Kol. I' etwa hinter Z. 105?? Zugehörigkeit sehr fraglich; hier nicht berücksichtigt.)

Die Rekonstruktion geht von Text A aus. Die Enden von Kol. III und IV erreichen jeweils den Rand. Die auf der Vs. 'gegenüber' liegenden Anfänge von Kol. I und II sind nicht erhalten; doch dürften höchstens 3-5 Zeilen fehlen. Für höchstens 3 fehlende Anfangszeilen spricht Text B, dessen obere fehlende Tafelhälfte ca. 9/20 ausmacht, so daß vor den erhaltenen Zeilen 18-35 höchstens 1-17, d.h. 17 Zeilen ergänzt werden dürfen. Kol. IV von Text A enthält mindestens 76 Zeilen, nämlich 196-202 (Ende von D Vs.) und 203'-271' (Anfang E₁ + E₂ bis Textende). Nun ist Kol. IV von A enger beschrieben als die übrigen drei Kolumnen. Wir haben daher für Kol. I-III von A nur je 65 Zeilen veranschlagt. Eine endgültige Zeilenzählung ist freilich erst nach Schließung der noch bestehenden Lücken möglich. Die hier beigelegte Skizze soll die vorgenommene Rekonstruktion veranschaulichen.

Die Texte zeigen mitunter Varianten, die auf verschiedene Rezensionen schließen lassen. So stellt Text C (gegenüber A) die Zeilen 75-76 und 88-89 um. Text F läßt Z. 229' aus und hat in Z. 231'-231'a gegenüber A wahrscheinlich die ursprünglichere Version.

Gravierender sind die Abweichungen von Text E: Auf Z. 232' (Rs.1) folgen Z. 244'-248' (/233'); 234'-239' (240' fehlt); 241'-243'; dann 249' ff.

E und F weichen außerdem in Z. 237'; 242'; 247'; 252' (fehlt in A ganz) von Text A ab.

Während die Umstellungen in E gegenüber A (und F) sehr wahrscheinlich sekundär sind (s. Z. 248'/233'), können die von A abweichenden Formulierungen von E und F Z. 237' etc. den ursprünglicheren Text enthalten.

Zum Gott Hendursanga².

Wir begegnen Hendursanga zuerst in der großen Götterliste von Fāra (^dhendur-saḡ SF 1 IX 5), wo er hinter Pabilsag steht (^dPA.SAG.BIL.GIŠ.PAP IX 4), wohl in lautlicher Assoziation. Auch Hendursangas Gemahlin Ninmuga kommt bereits in Fāra vor (^dnin-mug SF 3 I 1'; 5 IV 8; 6 IV 3). Sein Name wird, wie z.B. auch der Name Ninḫursanga, bis ans Ende des III. Jts. ohne den Auslaut anzeigendes -ḡá geschrieben. Das Zeichen PA ist nur selten syllabisch aufgelöst: ḫ a - a n - d u - u r, ḫ é! - e n - d u - u r, e n - d u r³. Über die älteste Aussprache des Namens haben wir ebenso wenig wie über seine Etymologie eine genauere Vorstellung⁴.

Hendursanga gehört zum Götterkreis der Nanše, in deren Bereich er auch Tempel hatte⁵. Aber seine Einordnung in einen Familienstammbaum ist problematisch. Laut Nanše-Hymne Z. 86 (= TMH NF 3, 20:39 und Parallelen) war er [s a ḡ - è n(?) - t] a r - é - ^dn a n ṣ e - k a d u m u ^du t u t u (- u d) - d a "[der sich zuvörderst küm]mert(?) um das Haus der Nanše, der Sohn, den Utu gezeugt hat". Diese einigermaßen unerwartete Aussage hat eine Parallele in der altbabylonischen, leider fragmentarischen Erzählung CT 15,6 VII: Ištar betätigt sich hier als Kinderfrau für ein Brüderchen, das ihrem Bruder geboren wurde. Auf Befragen Enlils, wer denn dieser Bruder sei, antwortet sie (Z. 8'9'): ^di-ša-am ^dnin-líl a-na ḡamaš ú-li-id, uš-ta-ḫi-iz-ma i-na šu-li-im i-zi-ib-šu "Ninlil hat dem Šamaš den Išum geboren; er/sie . . .⁶, und sie ließ ihn auf der Straße zurück"⁷. Dies scheint nicht nur eine Ätiologie zu sein für den mit Hendursanga gleichgesetzten Išum als den Beschützer der Menschen auf den – zumal nächtlichen – Straßen; es enthüllt sich vielmehr ein skandalöser Befund: Enlils Frau Ninlil in einem außerehelichen Verhältnis zum Sonnengott, der genau genommen Sohn des Mondgottes Sin und damit Enkel Enlils und Ninlils war – so zumindest nach der sumerischen Erzählung von Enlil und Ninlil. Sollte es auch mit der Vaterschaft Utus bei Hendursanga eine besondere Bewandnis gehabt haben, so daß wir auch bei ihm mit einer "unordentlichen Geburt" rechnen müssen?

Laut Z. 25 unserer Hymne war Nindara der p a ₄ "ältere Bruder" Hendursangas. Leider sind die Zeilen 25 ff. einstweilen ihrem Sinn nach nicht allzu klar.

Hendursanga wird in Verwaltungsurkunden aus dem präargonischen Girsu öfters als Opferempfänger genannt, aber nie an prominenter Stelle. Meist steht er hinter der Göttin Dumuzi'abzu⁸. Diese Nachbarschaft finden wir bereits in der Königstitulatur Eanatums vom Lagaš, wo auf k i - á ḡ - d d u m u - z i - a b z u - k a "Geliebter der D." teils m u - p à - d a - d ḫ e n d u r - s a ḡ "den H. beim Namen gerufen hat" folgt (Sollberger, Corpus, Ean. 1 Rs. VI 4-5), teils ḡ i ṣ k i m - t i - d ḫ e n d u r - s a ḡ - k a "der das Vertrauen des H. genießt" (Ean. 2 II 10-11; 3 II 13-14).

² S. näher D.O. Edzard, "Hendursanga", in RIA 4/4.

³ ḫ a - a n - d u - u r - s a - ḡ á PBS 10/2, 13:4' (s. Anm. 9). ḫ é! - e n - d u - u r PA CT 35,7:18 || [ḫ] é - e n! - d u r PA YOS 1,53:265 || e n - d u r PA CT 12,22: 38180 I' 5' (Ea I); s. schon A. Poebel, ZA 5 (1929), 143.

⁴ A. Falkenstein, AnOr. 30/1 (1966), 76, vermutete "Stab des (der) Ersten"; aber die Verwendung von PA kann auch auf rein lautlicher Assoziation mit einem sonstigen durch PA dargestellten Wort beruhen.

⁵ VS 1 Nr. 13 = Gudea Steintafel F (aus Surgul = Nina). Wie die altbabylonische Hendursanga-Kapelle in der Wohnstadt von Ur lehrt (L. Woolley, Antiquaries Journal II [1931] pl. XLVII bei S. 368), kann aber durchaus mit weiterer Verbreitung gerechnet werden.

⁶ Deutung von uš-ta-ḫi-iz umstritten; s. Römers (Anm. 7) Kommentar.

⁷ Dazu W. Römer, JAOS 86 (1966), 139 f. mit S. 145 f.

⁸ Z.B. DP 43 III 3; IV 3; 45 IV 1; 198 VII 4; RTC 47 V 4.

Eine nähere Vorstellung können wir uns von unserem Gotte freilich auf Grund der präargonischen Quellen noch nicht machen. Erstmals bei Gudea erscheint das für ihn so typische Epithet "Herold"⁹ (Stat. B VIII 64 n i m g i r - k a l a m - m a "Herold des Landes Sumer"); damit wird er dem Bereich des Rechtswesens insofern zugeordnet, als der "Herold" zusammen mit dem m a ṣ k i m "Gerichtskommissar" unentbehrliche Hilfsinstitution der Gerichtsversammlungen war¹⁰. Hendursanga steht bei Gudea innerhalb einer Fluchformel in der Reihe An, Enlil, . . . , Utu, Hendursanga, Igalima, Šulšagana, Ninmara, Nanše, Dumuzi'abzu, Ningišzida. Wenn er hier von Dumuzi'abzu getrennt ist, so ist die Nennung hinter Utu doch wieder bezeichnend.

Verwaltungstexte der Ur III-Zeit erwähnen Hendursanga verhältnismäßig selten¹¹. Er ist ebenso wenig wie später unter die größeren Götter aufgestiegen. An theophoren Personennamen läßt sich nur u r - ^dḫ e n d u r - s a ḡ (- ḡ á) nachweisen¹². Bei Išum ist die Varietät der Namen dagegen beträchtlich: Awīl-, Iddin-, Nūr-, Puzur-, Šumšu-, Ubār-Išum, Išum-bāni, -abī, -dan, -gāmil, -ibni, -ibnišu, -il, -muballit, -nāšir¹³, was auf große Beliebtheit schließen läßt.

Eigentlich informativ sind für Hendursanga erst die aus der altbabylonischen Zeit überlieferten sumerischen literarischen Texte, außer unserer Hymne vor allem die Nanše-Hymne: Z. 89 ^dḫ e n d u r - s a ḡ - ḡ á - k e ₄ z i - d u ₁₁ - g a m u (- u n) - z u e r í m - d u ₁₁ - g a m u (- u n) - z u "Hendursanga weiß, was Gerechtes, er weiß, was Böses gesprochen wird" (s.a. Z. 88); Z. 207 l u g a l n í g - s i - s á - e k i - á ḡ "der König, der das Gerade liebt" oder Z. 218 l u g a l n í g - á - z i - g a ḫ u l - g i g "der König, der die Gewalttat haßt" und weitere Anspielungen auf die Wahrung des Rechts durch den Gott¹⁴.

Die jüngere Bilinguenliteratur hat verschiedene Züge Hendursangas weitertradiert. Er wird beschworen als der n i m g i r - s i l a - a - s i g - g a / n ā g i r s ū q i ṣ a q u m m i "Herold der stillen Straße" (Utukkū lemnūtu CT 16,15:V 21/22) oder als der n i m g i r - ḡ i g - ù - n a [. . .] / n ā g i r m ū ṣ i [. . .] "Herold der Nacht" (CT 16, 49: 304/305). Noch deutlicher: n i m g i r - g a l m a ṣ k i m - m a ḫ - d i n g i r - r e - n e - k e ₄ s a ḡ - ḡ á - n a (ḫ é - e n) g u b - b a ḡ i g e n - n u n - m u ḫ é - a / n ā g i r u r a b ū r ā b i ṣ u ṣ i r i ṣ a i l i i n a r ē ṣ i - ṣ u l i z z i z - m a i n a m ū ṣ i l ū n ā ṣ i r - ṣ u "(Hendursanga/Išum) der große Herold, der höchste Gerichtskommissar der Götter, stehe ihm zu Häupten und sei des nachts sein (sum. mein) Beschützer" (CT 16, 46: 178/179-180).

Hendursanga ist gewiß schon im III. Jts. mit Išum gleichgesetzt worden. Auf das Verhältnis beider zueinander, ihr Konvergieren sowie auf möglichen Austausch ursprünglich individueller Eigenschaften jeweils des einen von beiden mit dem anderen können wir hier nicht eingehen. Auch Ninmuga soll hier nicht weiter erörtert werden, zumal sie in der Hymne nur einmal (Z. 93) in undeutlichem Zusammenhang vorkommt und nicht einmal klar ist, ob sie dort überhaupt die Rolle der Gemahlin des Gottes spielt. Betont sei aber abschließend, daß Hendursanga ebenso wie Išum zu den hilfreichen, lebenswürdigen Gestalten des mesopotamischen Pantheons zählten. Wir erfahren das bei Išum nicht zuletzt im Erra-Epos, wo er gegenüber dem aggressiven Pestgott das beschwichtigende Element ist, oder, um ein noch späteres Zeugnis zu nennen, in der "Unterweltsvision" des Assyriers, den Nergal auf die Fürsprache Išums hin freiließ.

⁹ Vgl. n i - m i - i r - s a - g a = n i m g i r - s a ḡ - g a PBS 10/2, 13:4' (s. schon Anm. 3), bearb. von E. Bergmann, ZA 56 (1964), 13 ff., wo weitere Literatur; Emesal l i - b i - i r OECT 6,65 f. (4 R 26 Nr. 1) Z. 7; beide Male steht Hendursanga zwischen Unterweltsgöttheiten.

¹⁰ Vgl. A. Falkenstein, NG I, S. 51 (Nr. 97) f.; II, Nr. 185:9 mit Kommentar; D.O. Edzard, Sum. Rechtsurk. III. Jts., Glossar S. 217, wo auch ein n i m g i r - m a ḫ.

¹¹ Vgl. N. Schneider, AnOr. 19 (1939) S. 70 Nr. 525; für Ur UET 3, 267 Rs. II 14; 278:9; 1126 I 4'.

¹² H. Limet, Anthroponymie, S. 574.

¹³ I.J. Gelb, MAD 3,72, wo auch der 'hybride' Name u r - ṣ i - ṣ u m (OIP 14,48 II 7') aus Adab; YOS 8, S. 14; YOS 5,141:20; TCL 1, S. 62; BIN 7 S. 17 links; UET 5, S. 47 links; CT 8,45a:23; Pinches-Peck Nr. 13:1.

¹⁴ Vgl. schon Th. Jacobsen, BASOR 102 (1946), 15.

4. A [. . .] x [. . .] x [. . .]
 5. A [. . .] x x x x [. . .]
 6. A [. . .] igi-ḡál x x [. . .]
 7. A [d]hundur-sa]ḡ-ḡá me-zu mah-àm lú al n[u-um-me]
 8. A [. . .]r[?]-bàd-da na-ri-[r]i
 9. A saḡ-šu-dù-dù-en-[ur]u_x(EN)-e-ne
 10. A enkara(ENXGÁNA-ten_U)-šu-du₈-bára-bára-gé-ne
 11. A utul un-lu-a igi-í[1]-í-i
 12. A níg-na-ri ḡi₆-a en-nu-un x-a-gim sila-daḡal peš-peš-e
 13. A ká[!]-u₄-è-ba ḡál-TAG₄.TAG₄ ḡiḡig-bi sila-ba gub-bu
 14. A d[h]endur-saḡ-ḡá me-zu mah-àm lú al nu-um-me
 15. A [d_{ni}]n-dar lugal-NINA^{ki} ki-níḡ-daḡal-la-ba ŠITA₅.DÙ-bi za-e-me-en
 16. A [d]hendur-sa]ḡ-ḡá(?) giskim-mah d_{nanše} šu-za im-ma-g[ub]
 17. A [in-n]in ama d_{nanše} ša mu-dì-ni-ib-kúš-ù
 18. A [x x] x ḡidri-ḡiḡ-ḡur-ra-bi ki-sikil-la bí-in-mú
 B [x (x) š]ibir[?] ḡidri-ḡiḡ-ḡ[ur-. . .]
 19. A [. . .]-ga íl-la-aš igi [. . .]
 B [x] x-zu sila-si-ga x [. . .]
 20. A [. . .]-si-sá[!] má-gur₈-kù sikil-àm UD.UD-ga-àm
 B [igi(?)]-kù-zu kar-si-sá ḡiḡmá-gur₈ sikil[?] [. . .]
 21. A [. . .] d_{nanše} má-gur₈-kù ša-mu-ra-ab-điri-ga
 B [i]n-nin ama d_{nanše} má-gur₈-kù ša-m[u-. . .]
 22. A [. . .]-d[u₁₀-nun mu-na-du₁₂-àm
 B [š]à-ba nar-du₁₀[?]-nun ša-mu-na-d[u₁₂. . .]
 23. A [. . .]m-u-e-ḡar-ra-zu ḡiḡ zíz gú-gal-la-àm
 B ḡána-zi ki mu-e-ḡar-ra-zu ḡiḡ zíz g[ú-. . .]
 24. A [. . .]m-mi-ḡar-ra-zu e-re-ne ḡiḡasal_x(A.TU.GABA.LIŠ)-a
 B ki níḡ-GA [i]m-mi-in-ḡar-ra-zu e-re-n[e . . .]
 25. A [pa₄-z]u en-AB-kù-ga dar^{mušen}
 B pa₄-zu en-AB-kù-ga x [x]
 26. A [d_{nin}]-dar-a lugal-lagaš^{ki}.ra
 B d_{nin}-dar-a lugal-lagaš^{ki} [-x]
 27. A [. . .]-kù[!]-ge ì mu-na-ab-tùm ga mu-na-ab-[t]ùm
 B ábšilam-kù-ge ì mu-na-ab-tùm ga m[u-. . .]
 28. A it[i zà]-mu u₄-sá-du₁₁-ga-[k]am[?]!
 B iti zà-mu u₄-sá-du₁₁-ga(-[x])
 29. A d[nin]-dar-a é-za níḡ-MÍ-ús-s[á (x)]
 B d_{nin}-dar-a é-za níḡ-MÍ-ús-[sá (x)]

4. [. . . .]
 5. [. . .] . . . [. . .]
 6. [. . .] einsichtig . . [. . .]
 7. [Hendursa]nga, du hast die größten Me, niemand kann sie verlangen.
 8. Der [. . .] auf der Mauerkrone(?) Weisungen erteilt(?),
 9. Der unter den gewaltigen En . . . ,
 10. Der die enkara-Waffe hält unter den Herrschern,
 11. Hirte, der das zahllose Volk übersieht,
 12. . . . , der nachts wie eine . . . Wache die Plätze mit weiten Schritten durchmißt,
 13. Der das Tor, das den Tag heraufkommen läßt, öffnet, die Türflügel auf die Straße setzt,
 14. Hendersanga, du hast die größten Me, niemand kann sie verlangen.
 15. Des [Ni]ndar, Königs von Nina und von der Erde, der weiten, Rechnungsprüfer bist du.
 16. [O Hendersang]a(?), Nanše hat dir ein hoherhabenes Wahrzeichen in die Hand gesteckt,
 17. [Her]rin, die Mutter Nanše, spricht vertraulich mit dir.
 18. [. . . S]tock und Stab für die Grundrisse hat sie an reiner Stelle wachsen lassen.
 19. Zu deinem auf der stillen Straße erhobenen [. . .] . . [. . . t sie] die Augen.
 20. Dein helles [Auge(?)], die gerade Kai(mauer), das (helle) Schiff – alles ist rein, weißglänzend.
 21. Als die Herrin, die Mutter Nanše, dir das helle Boot dahinsegeln ließ,
 22. Sind ihr darin süße, helle . . . erklungen.
 23. Deine wohlbestellten(?) Felder, die du angelegt hast, haben Weizen, Emmer, Bohnen.
 24. Deine Orte, an denen du Vorrat angelegt hast, (stehen) voller Zedern(?) und Pappeln.
 25. Deinem älteren Bruder, dem En des reinen Meeres(?), dem Hahn,
 26. Nindara, dem König von Lagaš,
 27. Bringt die reine Kuh Fett, bringt sie Milch.
 28. Dank ihrer bringt monatlich (und) beim Neujahrsfest am Tage der Opferlieferungen
 29. Nindara in deinem Hause die Hochzeitsgaben

30. A i[n-nin ama] ^dnanše ša-mu-ra-da-ab-ak-e
B in-nin ama ^dnanše ša-mu-[r]a-da-a[b-ak-e]
31. A A.[ENGUR-zu ku₆ k]ù-šál nu-un-dab₅ kun-bi nu-sud-e
B i₇-zu ku₆ kù¹-šál nu-un-dab₅ kun-bi nu-u[m- . . .]
32. A [. . .] x-e níg-ku₅ la-ba-ab-ak-e
B a-šà-zu (Rasur) engar-e níg-ku₅ la-ba-ab-ak-[e]
33. A [. . .]ú-gu₄-e₁₁-da-ke₄ gu₄ la-ba-ra-ab-e₁₁-d[è]
gu₄-zu-ta lú-gu₄-e₁₁-da-ke₄ gu₄ la-ba-[. . .]
34. A [. . .] ú-túl nu-un-ku₄-ku₄ šita₅ nu-dù-e
B udu-zu-a ú-túl nu-un-ku₄-ku₄ šita₅ nu-d[ù-x]
35. A [. . . TA]G.DA-za gi nu-GIL.G[I[?]]
B giš¹GAD¹.TAG.DA-za gi nu-GIL-x
36. A [. . .]-zu níg-ku₅ la-ba-ab-a[k]-e
B giš¹hunin ní[g-sila_x(šID)-š]á-zu¹ níg-ku₅ la-ba-ab-ak-[e]
37. A [. . .] mu-e-ši-ni-šín-x A.NIGÍN mu-na-an-dù-uš
B nita lú-la-ga mu-e-ši-ni-šín-na A.NIGÍN mu-na-an-x-[. . .]
38. A [. . .] x [. . . s]aš šu bí-dù
B sila-si-ga-ba saš šu bí-[x]
39. A [. . .]-ta-en
B ki-a-ne-di-ba LUL-šè im-ta-e-e[n]
40. A [. . . -b]i-me¹-en
B saš-ug₅-ga kur-ra DU.DU-e-da gal₆-lá-gal-bi-[me-en]
41. B d^hendur-saš-šá me-zu mah-àm lú al nu-um-me
42. B dingir-lú-ux(ULÙ)-ke₄ KÚ x da ša-ra-da-D[U]
43. B lú-ux GI.LA.NE ù-bí-in-dab₅ šu-na ù-mu-ni-[. . .]
44. B mu^dhen[dur]-saš-šá-ka um-mi-in-p[à]
45. B [s]ila-si-[ga]-š₆-ù-na-ka si-sá-bi mi-ni-dab₅-[bé]
46. B dub-sar-dub-sar-a-ra-li šè[?] x ba[?] KU[?] ba-su₈-ge[eš]
47. B KA-ba-ta lú u₄-dè DU.DU x [i]m-ta-a[b]-gi-né [(x)]
48. B GUR[?] -eš ùr-bàd-da ki-nú d[u₁₀(?)]-du₁₀-ge-e[n]
49. B [nimg]ir-ra imin-na-ne-ne ša[?] -mu-[d]a-su₈-g[e-eš(?)]
50. B x-BÀD-kalam-ma-ka ma-ra-ši-ni-šín[?]-[. . .]
51. B [k]i[?]-ba UN.TAR ma-ra-ra [. . .]
52. B [x]-hul-šál uru-a [. . .]
53. B [x-e]rím-du šà-šar NE [. . .]
54. B [dál]àd[?]-igi-sa₆ d₁lama [. . .]
55. B [x (x)] x nu-du₇ d₁lam[a[?] . . .]
56. B [x x (x)] x x x [. . .]
(Lücke)

¹⁵ Trennstrich in Text B.

30. Dir, *Herrin*, Mutter Nanše, dar.
31. In deinem Fluß hat der Kanalinspektor keine Fische gefangen, indem . . . nicht . . .
- 32.1 Von deinem Feld erhebt der Bauer keine Abgaben.
33. Aus deinen Rindern läßt der Eintreiber der Rindersteuer(?) kein (einziges) Rind heraustreiben.
34. In deine Schaf(herden) dringt der Hirt nicht ein, veranlaßt keine (staatliche) Abrechnung.
35. In deinem . . . ist Rohr nicht . . .
36. Dein Trog für den Teig entrichtet keine Abgaben.
37. Dem zu dir hingetriebenen räuberischen Mann hat man . . .
38. Auf stiller Straße . . .
39. Auf den Spielplätzen . . . du heraus.
40. Für die toten 'Häupter', die zum 'Berge' gebracht werden, [bist du] der große Polizist.
41. Hendersanga, du hast die größten Me, niemand kann sie verlangen.
42. Der Gott des Menschen . . . mit . . . zu dir.
43. Wenn der Mensch . . . ergriffen, in seine(r) Hand ge[. . .]
44. Und den Namen des Hendersanga angerufen hat,
45. Dann mag er auf der nächtlich stillen Straße sicheren Schrittes dahingehen.
46. Alle(n) Schreiber(n) von Arali . . .
47. . . . wer tagsüber geht, . . .
48. Du läßt . . . auf der Mauerkrone(?) friedlich schlummern(?).
49. [Der Her]olde sieben geh[en] mit dir.
50. Auf den . . . Mauern des Landes (Sumer) gehen [sie] dir herum.
51. . . . dir . . .
52. Widrige [. . .] in der Stadt [. . .]
53. Böse [. . .] Hunger . . . [. . .]
54. [Der Schutz]geist(?) mit freundlichem Gesicht, der Schutzengel [. . .],
55. [Der . . .] nicht . . . , der Schutzen[gel . . .]
56. [. . .] . . . [. . .]

68. C [. . .] a x [. . .]
69. C [. . .] x ù[?] e sila-s[i-ga(?)] . . .]
70. C [x x x x] bi[?] a im-mi-tu₅ [. . .]
71. A [. . .] x
C [x x x g] i[?] kum-ma N[I]M[?] x x na [x (x)]
72. A [. . .] x [x gu] r[?] -ra
C [x x x] x ma nu [x] x x
73. A [x x gub-b] a-ta im-x-DU.DU-dè-eš
C [x] x gub-ba-ta im-ta-[x-D] U[?] -d[è][?] -e[š]
74. A NIN [x (x) n] e en ġi₆ -p[àr-ra b] i[?] [i] n-ġun-e-ne
C e-ne-ne-ne en ġi₆ -<pàr>-ra bí-in-ġun-e-ne
75. A nin-di[ngir x]-a im-[x-x]-dab₅ -bé-ne
C nin-dingir máš-a im-mi-in-dab-bé-ne¹⁶
76. A gudu₄ [ħi-l] i-a im-[mi-i]n-gub-bu-ne
C gudu₄ ħi-li-a bí-in-gub-bu-ne¹⁶
77. A u₄ -ne u₄ -te-en-e [um-m] a-te-a-ta
C u₄ -ne u₄ -te-en-na um-ma-te-a-ta
78. A imin[!] -ba diš ka₅ -a-àm [kun] im-ùr-ùr-re
C imin-ba diš ka₅ -a-àm kun im-ùr-ùr-re
79. A [min-kam-m] a ur-gi₇ -gi[m si] -im-si-im ì-a[k-e]
C min-kam-ma ur-gi₇ -x si-i[m-s] i-im ì-ak-e[!]
80. A eš₅ -kam-ma uga^{mušen} x [. . .] x gug [. . .]
C eš₅ -kam-ma uga^{mušen} . gim[?] za-na gug im-kul-e[!]
81. A limmu-kam-ma te_x(Á)^{mušen} -maĥ l[ú . . .]
C limmu(ŠÁ)^{mušen} -kam-ma te_x^{mušen} -maĥ adda_x(LÚ)^{ku} -a-gim / ka ì-ša-an-ša-ša(Rasur)
82. A iá-kam-ma ur-bar-ra nu-me-a [x] MI e x [. . .]
C iá-kam-ma [ur-ba] r-ra nu-me-a sila₄ ġi₆ -ga ì-šub
83. A àš-kam-ma dⁿⁱⁿ -šar^{mušen} -gim UR[U[?] G] IŠ[?] tuš-a-ba KA[?] mi-n[i- . . .]
C àš-ka[m-ma . . . mu] šen-gim x [x] tuš-a-gim ġù mi-ni-ib-ra
84. A imin-kam-ma kušú^{ku} -àm A₁[M] I im-BU.BU.BU
C [imin-kam-ma . . . i] m-BU.B[U x]
85. A imin-bi-ne dingir-munus nu-me-eš ù nita nu-me-eš
86. A nita-ra ša-mu-un-dù-n[e] munus-ra á mu-un-LÁ-ne
87. A munus-ra ġi^š tukul da-bi(?) mu-ni-ib-ġá-ġá-ne
C munus-r[a . . .]
88. A ir-si-im kalam-ma ba-an-ġá-ġá-ne
C ér-gig kalam-ma [. . . ġ] á-ġá-ne¹⁷
89. A me-dingir-re-e-ne šu im-du₇ -du₇ -ne
C me-dingir-re-e-ne [. . .]¹⁷

¹⁶ Text C: Folge Z. 76 : 75.¹⁷ Text C: Folge Z. 89 : 88.

68. [. . .] . . . [. . .]
69. [. . .] . . . [auf] st[iller] Straße(?) [. . .]
70. [. . .] . . . badet sich [. . .]
71. [. . .] . . . [. . .]
72. [. . .] . . .
73. Aus . . . [. . .] . . . sie herausgekommen(?),
74. Sie (selbst) inthronisieren den En im Gipar,
75. Berufen die Gottesherrin durch die Opferschau,
76. Statten den Gudu mit (seinen) Locken aus.
77. Eines Tages, als es Abend geworden war,
78. (Waren sie da) die Sieben: Der erste von ihnen ist ein Fuchs, der die Rute (über den Boden) fegen läßt,
79. Der Zweite schnüffelt wie ein Hund überall umher,
80. Der Dritte pickt wie eine Krähe Raupen auf,
81. Der Vierte macht sich über alles her wie ein riesiger, leichenfressender Gänsegeier,
82. Der Fünfte ist zwar kein Wolf, und fällt doch ein schwarzes(?) Lamm an,
83. Der Sechste schreit(?), wenn er . . . sitzt(?), wie ein Falke(?),
84. Der Siebente, ein Hai(?), . . . in den Fluten.
85. Diese Sieben sind weder Göttin noch Gott,
86. Sie behindern den Mann und hemmen die Frau,
87. Sie setzen der Frau die Keule an die Seite(?),
88. Gestank(?)/Bittere Tränen verbreiten sie im Lande (Sumer),
89. (Und so) erfüllen sie, was die Götter vorausgesetzt haben.

90. A d_hendur-sa₆-gá me-zu mah-àm lú al nu-um-me
C d_hendur-sa₆-gá me-zu mah-àm lú al nu-um-me
91. A gú-NE ki-k[ù] gá-gá-ra-da
C gú-NE ki-kù gá-gá-ra-da
92. A (Zeile fehlt)
C é-kur-ra d_gibil_x(NE.GI) lú-sikil-la igi-bi-a gá-la-da
93. A nin d_nnin-mug ša-ra-da-[DU]
C nin d_nnin-mug ša-ra-da-DU
94. A ki-in-du-kù-ge gá TAG₄.TAG₄-[da]
C ki-in-du-kù-ge gá TAG₄.TAG₄-[DU]-<da>
95. A d_ama-abzu-é-kur-ra ša-ra-da-DU
C d_dumu-zi-abzu ša-ra-da-DU
96. A [g]ⁱšgag é-kù-ge gá TAG₄.TAG₄-da
C gⁱšgag é-kù-ga gá TAG₄.TAG₄-da
97. A d_nnin-GAR.G[A]R.G[A]R ša-ra-da-DU
C [d_ni]n-GAR-KA-na-ra ša-ra-da-DU
98. A [u]mma^{ki}-a ki-_hur-sa₆ gá-ra-da
C [. . . -s]_a-ge gá[r-r]a-da
99. A [d_n]in[?] -BI-šú-kal-le ša-ra-da-DU
C [. . . -š]_u-kal-le ša-ra-da-DU
100. A [L]AM.KUR.RU^{ki}-e šú rib-ba-da
C [. . .] šú rib-[b]a-da
101. A d_lugal^{!?} -bàn-da ša-ra-[da]-DU
C [. . . -d]a ša-[r]a-da-DU
102. A NINA^{ki} kur a-ta íl-[a]-da
C [. . .]-ta íl-[l]a-da
103. A sukkal AN.NI x [. . .]-DU
C [. . .] x ša-ra-d[a-DU]
104. A x [x] x e[?] [. . .]-da
C [. . .] x x (x) K[. . .]
105. A [. . . -D]U[?]
C [. . .] x x [. . .]

(Lücke)

157. A [. . .] x x x [. . .]
158. A [x x] x x mas-su-bi [. . .]
159. A sa₆-gá-ga ŠITA₅.DÙ-bi z[a-e-me-en]
160. A sa₆-ug₅-ga kur-ra DU.DU-e-bi gal₆-[lá-gal-bi-me-en]
161. A GAL.NIMGIR sila-ùr-ra e-ne-du₁₁-du₁₁ TAR x [. . .]

90. Hendersanga, du hast die größten Me, niemand kann sie verlangen.
91. Daß überall . . . und heilige Plätze errichtet seien,
92. Daß vor dem Ekur Gibil, der Reine, vorhanden sei,
93. Dafür stellt sich die Herrin Ninmuga bei dir ein.
94. Daß reine Obstgärten(?) erschlossen werden,
95. Dafür stellt sich Ama'abzu-Ekura/Dumuzi'abzu bei dir ein.
96. Daß die (Schließ)pflöcke das reine Haus (zum Betreten) freigegeben,
97. Dafür stellt sich Nin-GAR-KA-na-ra bei dir ein.
98. Daß in Umma Freude herrsche,
99. Dafür stellt sich [Ni]n-BI-šukale(?) bei dir ein.
100. Daß Aratta überwunden werde.
101. Dafür stellt sich Lugalbanda(?) bei dir ein.
102. Daß Nina, der Berg, aus dem Wasser aufrage,
103. Dafür stellt sich der Kurier . . . bei dir ein.
104. Daß . . .
105. [Dafür st]ellt [sich . . . bei dir ein].
157. [. . .] . . . [. . .]
158. [. . .] . . . ihr Anführer [. . .]
159. Der für die Schwarzköpfigen abrechnet, [das bist] d[u].
160. Für die 'toten Häupter' [bist du], wenn sie zum 'Berge' gebracht werden, der [große] Pol[izist].
161. Großherold, der auf den Plätzen das Spiel . . . [. . .].

162. A é-MI.MI-ga-ba saḡ x x [. . .]
 163. A ùr-bàd-kalam-ma-ka igi-ri-r[i]
 164. A en dḥendur-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ za-e ši-in-ga-me-en-n[a(-x)]
 165. A d_{en}-ki-ke₄ lú[?] a-a si-ga ḡš bí-in-du₁₁-ga-ta
 166. A dumu-imin-na mu-un-ši-ib-tu-da
 167. A dumu-al-lu₅-imin-na-ne-ne
 168. A an-na ša-ḡar-bi-še im-ta-ab-gi-né
 169. A ki-a UN.TAR-bi-še ša-mu-ra-da-ab-ús-e
 170. A utúl gub-ba-da¹ kaš sur-ra-da
 171. A šeš-gal-imin-ba ša-ra-da-DU
 172. A utúl-gub-ba DUG-kaš-sur-ra-bi níg-ku₅ ša-ra-ab-ak-e
 173. A a-i₇-da-ta a-PÚ-ḡá-t[a]
 174. A KA.ŠEŠ-e a GIBIL-l[á]-ta
 175. A min-kam-ma ús-bi š[a]-ra-da-DU
 176. A a-i₇-da-ta a-PÚ-ḡá-ta
 177. A KA.ŠEŠ-e a GIBIL-lá-ta níg-ku₅ ša-ra-ab-ak-e
 178. A ku₆-TUR.TUR bur UŠ kú-ù-dè
 179. A ku₆-gal-gal a-gàr-re DU.DU-e-da
 180. A eš₅-kam-ma ús-bi ša-ra-da-DU
 181. A ku₆-TUR.TUR bur UŠ kú-ù-dè
 182. A ku₆-gal-gal a-gàr-re DU.DU-e-da níg-k[u₅ ša-r]a-ab-a[k]-e
 183. A i₇-kù-ge a si-s[i-da]
 184. A kun-bi asil_x (ASILAL)-lá-[da]
 185. A limmu-kam-ma ús-bi ša-ra-d[a-DU]
 186. A i₇-kù-ge a si-si-[da]
 187. A kun-bi asila_x (ASILAL)-lá-da níg-ku₅ ša-ra-[ab-ak-e]
 188. A ḡšbunin-níg-sila_x (ŠID)-ḡá [. . .]
 189. A ḡšGAD.TAG.DA ku₆ izi tag-[ga-da]
 190. A iá-kam-ma ús-bi ša-ra-da-[DU]
 191. A ḡšbunin-níg-sila_x (ŠID)-ḡá [. . .]
 D [. . . sil]a_x-ḡá- . . .
 192. A ḡšGAD.TAG.DA ku₆ izi tag-ga-da níg-ku₅ ša-ra-[ab-ak-e]
 D [. . . D]A ku₆ i[zi . . .] / níg-ku₅ ša-[. . .]
 193. A zar-du₈-a-ta še zar-sal-la-[da]
 D [. . .]-x-da še zar-sa[l-la-da]
 194. A še-si¹-ga PA-še NÚ-a-[da]
 D [. . .] PA-x NÚ-a-[da]
 195. A àš-[ka]m-[m]a [ú]s-[b]i ša-[r]a-[d]a-[DU]
 D [. . .]-ma ús-bi ša-ra-da-D[U]

162. Im dunklen Hause . . . [. . .].
 163. Der von den Mauerkronen(?) des Landes (Sumer) herabschaut(?).
 164. O Herr Hēdursanga, weil(?) du auch das warst,
 165. Hat Enki . . . begattet, und danach
 166. Hat er die Sieben-Söhne, die sie ihm geboren hat,
 167. Die Söhne des Krebses, ihrer Sieben,
 168. Herauf(genommen) und bestimmt zur (Stillung) des Hungers des Himmels;
 169. Für das . . . der Erde setzt er sie dir daneben hin(?).
 170. Damit der Topf dastehe, damit Bier gefiltert werde,
 171. Dafür stellt sich der älteste Bruder unter den Sieben bei dir ein.
 172. Den hingestellten Topf und den Krug mit dem gefilterten Bier entrichtet er dir als Abgabe.
 173. Damit aus dem Wasser des Flusses und aus dem Wasser des Wasserlochs
 174. Der bittere Geschmack . . . werde(!),
 175. Stellt sich als Nächster der Zweite bei dir ein.
 176. Sobald aus dem Flußwasser und dem Wasser des Wasserlochs
 177. Der bittere Geschmack . . . ist, entrichtet er dir die Abgabe.
 178. Damit die kleinen Fische . . . fressen,
 179. Damit die großen Fische (bei der Überflutung der Felder) bis auf die Fluren gebracht werden,
 180. Dafür stellt sich als Nächster der Dritte bei dir ein.
 181. Von(!) den kleinen Fischen, die . . . gefressen haben,
 182. Von(!) den großen Fischen, die bis auf die Fluren gebracht wurden, entrichtet er dir die Abgabe.
 183. Damit in den reinen Kanal Wasser eingelass[en werde],
 184. Damit sein Becken freudig sprudele,
 185. Dafür [stellt] sich als Nächster der Vierte bei dir ein.
 186. Von(!) dem reinen Kanal, in den Wasser eingelassen [wurde],
 187. Von(!) seinem Becken, das freudig sprudelt, [entrichtet er] dir die Abgabe.
 188. Damit die Backmulden [. . .],
 189. Damit Fische an . . . geröstet [werden],
 190. Dafür [stellt] sich als Nächster der Fünfte bei dir ein.
 191. Von(!) [. . .] Backmulden,
 192. Von(!) den an . . . gerösteten Fischen [entrichtet er] dir die Abgabe.
 193. Damit aus den Kornhaufen die Gerste (zum Drusch) ausgebreitet werde,
 194. Damit die angehäuften Gerste für den Dreschflegel daliege,
 195. Dafür [stellt] sich als Nächster der Sechste bei dir ein.

196. D [za]r-du₈-a-da še zar-sal-la-da
 197. D še-si-ga PA-še NÚ-a-d[a] / níg-ku₅ ša-ra-a[b-ak-e]
 198. D pú kiri₆ lál ġeštin ġá-[ġá-da]
 199. D ġir-lam-kù-ge saġ-sè-g[a-da]
 200. D [imin-ka]m-ma ús-bi ša-ra-d[a-DU]
 201. D [pú k]iri₆ lál ġeštin ġ[á-ġá-da]
 202. D [ġir-la]m-[k]ù-ge s[aġ sè-ga-da] / [níg-ku₅ ša-ra-ab-ak-e]

(Lücke)

- 203' E₁ [x (x)] šu[?] ub-šu-ukkin-na-k[a . . .]
 204' E₁ [za-e]-me-en ki-gub ù[. . .]
 205' E₁ l[ú]-u_x(ULÙ) dingir-da nu[. . .]
 206' E₁ ù la-ba-gu-ul-e ù la-[ba- . . .]
 207' E₁ ukú(LÁL.DU) nu-um-me (x) bur-šu-ma[!] [. . .]
 208' E₁ en-te-en-na KA MÙŠ.DI la-[ba- . . .]
 209' E₁ é-me-eš bar-su šaġar(KA × GAR) la-ba-ni[. . .]
 210' E₁ sila-a du-a-ni saġ-bi nu-mu-n[i- . . .]
 211' E₁ murub₄-ukkin-na[!]-ka[!] ħul nu-mu-ni[. . .]
 212' E₁ i₇-da u[n-DU]L.DU ku₆ nu[. . .]
 213' E₁ [a]-[š]à-ga [ù-u]m-DU [maš nu- . . .]
 E₂ a-š[à]-g[a . . .]
 214' E₂ [(šà)?] é-gal-lugal-l[a-ka] u[n-ku₄ kaš nu- . . .]
 215' E₂ [ki]n-ġi₄-a kaš₄ ħa-ba-ni-in-du₁₁ [. . .]
 216' E₂ [dingi]r igi mu-un-ši-bar-ra-ni á-ni li-[bí-in-gu-ul-e]
 217' E₂ [ŠU].GAR.[TU]R.LÁ-bi lú-u_x(ULÙ) dingir-d[a[?] . . .]
 218' E₂ [x]-sa₆-ga-ni im-ma-ši-i[n- . . .]
 219' E₂ [lú]-u_x(ULÙ)-bi lul ù-bí-in-du₁₁ ì[. . .]
 220' E₂ [x] zi ù-bí-in-du₁₁ ì[. . .]
 221' E₂ [sila-a] du-a-ni saġ-bi mu-ni-i[n- . . .]
 222' E₂ [mur]ub₄-ukkin-na-ka ħul mu-ni-i[n- . . .]
 223' E₂ [í]d-da un-e₁₁ ku₆ im-ma-n[a[?] . . .]
 224' E₂ [a-š]à-ga ù-um-DU maš im-ma-n[a[?] . . .]
 225' A [. . . i-i]m-n[a₈-na₈]
 E₂ [é-gal-lu]gal-la-ka un-ku₄ kaš i-im-na₈-[na₈]
 F [é-gal-lugal-la]-kam un-ku₄ kaš i-[im-na₈-na₈ / [. . .] ù-mu-un-ġar im-x
 226' A [kin-ġi₄-a kaš₄] ba-ni-in-du₁₁-ga lú ba-da-x[. . .]
 E₂ [kin-ġi₄-a] kaš₄ ba-ni-in-du₁₁-ga lú ba-x[. . .]
 F [kin-ġi₄-a kaš₄ b[a-ni-in-d]u₁₁-ga lú ba-a[n]-da-ħul-le

196. Von(!) der aus den [Ko]rnhaufen ausgebreiteten Gerste,
 197. Von(!) der angehäuften Gerste, die für den Dreschflegel daliegt, [entrichtet er] dir die Abgabe.
 198. [Damit] Obst- und Palmgärten Honig und Wein brin[gen],
 199. [Damit] man die leckeren Kuchen mit geübter Hand vorbereite,
 200. Dafür [stellt sich] als Nächster [der Sieben]te bei dir ein.
 201. [Von(!) dem aus Obst- und P]almgärten er[brachten] Honig und Wein,
 202. [Von(!) den leck]eren [Kuch]en, die man mit geübter Hand [vorbereitet hat, entrichtet dir die Abgabe].

(Lücke)

- 203' [. . . i]m Ubšu'ukkina [. . .]
 204' Wenn [du] selbst [dort] (deinen) Standort [eingenommen hast],
 205' Dann [läßt] denjenigen, der mit dem Gotte nicht [. . .],
 206' (Dieser Gott) weder groß werden noch [. . .],
 207' Sagt nicht "armer Mann", [. . . nicht(?)] "alter Mann",
 208' Im Winter [. . .] nicht kalte . . . ,
 209' Im Sommer [. . .] nackt(?), [. . .] nicht Hunger.
 210' Wenn er auf einer Straße geht, so wird er ihn das Ziel [nicht erreichen lassen].
 211' In der Ratsversammlung [. . . er] nicht Schlimmes.
 212' Geht er zum Fluß hinab, so . . . er] keine Fische.
 213' Geht er aufs Feld, [so . . . er den Ertrag nicht].
 214' [Betritt] er den Palast des Königs, [so wird er dort kein Bier trinken].
 215' Sogar wenn er [als Bo]te gelaufen kommt, [freut sich niemand über ihn].
 216' Sein [Got]t, der ihn angeschaut hat, dessen Arm [wird ihn] nicht [großmachen].
 217' Wenn aber jemand mi[t](?) dem Gotte [. . .],
 218' [Wird] er (= der Gott?) sein gutes [. . .] (da)zu [. . .].
 219' Wenn dieser [Men]sch lügt, [wird er ihn . . .].
 220' [Aber(?)] wenn er die Wahrheit gesprochen hat, [wird er ihn . . .].
 221' Wenn er [auf der Straße] geht, wird er ihn das Ziel[erreichen lassen]
 222' [I]n der Ratsversammlung wird er ihn Schlimmes [. . .].
 223' Geht er zum Fluß hinab, so [. . .] ihm(?) dort Fische.
 224' Geht er aufs [Fe]ld, so [. . .] ihm(?) dort den Ertrag.
 225' Betritt er [den Palast] des [Kön]igs, so wird er Bier trin[ken]; setzt er [. . .], so . . .
 226' Wenn er mit einer Botschaft gelaufen kommt, freut man sich deshalb über ihn.

- 227' A [. . .]-bar-ra-ni á-na bí-in-gu-u[l]-e
 E₂ [. . . -u]n-ši-bar-ra-ni á-na bí-i[b- . . .]
 F dingir igi mu-un-ši-bar-ra-ni á-na bí-in-gu-ul-e
- 228' A [. . .]-RI-a-bi ḡiṣmá la-ba-da-ab-s[u]-su
 E₂ [. . .-R]I-a-bi ḡiṣmá la-ba-an-d[a-su-su]
 F ambar-ra tum₉-u_x(ULÙ)-RI-a-bi ḡiṣmá la-ba-an-da-su-su
- 229' A [i-g]i₍₄₎-[i]n[?]-[z]u[?] ḡiṣgigir-ra ba-da-an-til-e
 E₂ [. . . g]igir-ra ba-an-da-til-[x]
 F (Zeile fehlt)
- 230' A [a-a]b-ba ki-níg-daḡal-la-ba ku₄-kur-idim um-tag-ge
 E₂ [. . .] x x x x [. . .]
 F a-ab-ba ki-níg-daḡal-la-ba ku₄-[x x] mu-un-tag-ge
- 231' A ì-ne-šè lú lú-ra a-na an-na-an-du₁₁
 F ì-ne-šè d_{utu} [u₄]-ne-a
- 231a' A [l]ú-u_x(ULÙ)-lú lú-ra AŠ a-na an-na-an-[d]aḡ
 F (Zeile fehlt)
- 232' A u₄ um-zal d_{utu} um-ta-è
 E₂ [. . .]-ta-è
 F u₄ um-zal d_{utu} [x]-ta-è
- 233' A d_{utu} ki-ḡiṣ-rín-na-ka mu-un-DU
 E₂ (mit Z. 248 zusammengefallen; s. dort)
 F d_{utu} ki-ḡiṣ-rín-na-ka x x (Rasur) bí-DU
- 234' A tukumbi lú gu₄ in-sa₁₀-sa₁₀
 E₂ [tu]kumbi lú gu₄ in-sa₁₀-s[a₁₀]
 F tukumbi lú-u_x(ULÙ) gu₄ in-šám-šám
- 235' A d_{utu} d_{hendur}-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ èn mu-na-tar-re
 E₂ [. . . d]hendur-saḡ-ḡá-ra èn mu-na-tar-r[e]
 F d_{utu} d_{hendur}-saḡ-ḡá-ra èn mu-na-tar-re
- 236' A [lú] gu₄ sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dè igi-ḡál-la-ni nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 E₂ [lú g]u₄ sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dè igi-ḡál-la-ni nu-m[u- . . .]
 F [lú] gu₄ šám-šám igi-ḡál-la-ni nam-mu-na-ab-bé
- 237' A [d]hendur-saḡ-ḡá-ra mu-na-ab-bé
 E₂ [tuk]umbi d_{hendur}-saḡ-ḡá x [. . .] / [gu₄] sa₁₀-sa₁₀ mu-na-ab-b[é]
 F [t]ukumbi d_{hendur}-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ / gu₄ [š]ám-šám-da mu-na-ab-bé
- 238' A [d_{utu}] t_{ur}-ra-ni d_u-a-bi nam im-mi-ib-tar-re
 E₂ [d]utu t_{ur}-ni d_u-a-ni nam mu-ni-i[b-tar-re]
 F d_{utu} t_{ur}-ni d_u-bi-a nam im-mi-ib-tar-re
- 239' A t[uk]umbi lú udu in-sa₁₀-sa₁₀
 E₂ [tu]kumbi lú udu in-sa₁₀-s[a₁₀]
 F tukumbi lú-u_x udu in-šám-šám
- 240' A d_{utu} d_{hendur}-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ èn mu-na-tar-re
 E₂ (Zeile fehlt)
 F d_{utu} d_{hendur}-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ èn mu-un-tar-re

- 227' Sein Gott, der ihn angeblickt hat, wird ihn an seinem (= des Gottes) Arm groß machen.
- 228' Im Röhricht wird der wehende Südwind das Schiff dank ihm nicht versenken.
- 229' Wie wenn er in einem Wagen (säße), wird er dank ihm (die Reise sicher) vollenden,
- 230' Auch wenn (das Schiff) auf der Weite des Meeres gegen gewaltige Wogen ankämpfen muß.
- 231' (A) Was hat jetzt einer zum andern gesagt?
 (F) Jetzt – Utu – an diesem Tage,
- 231a' (A) Was hat einer zum anderen noch gesagt?
- 232' Als der Tag anbrach, als Utu heraustrat,
- 233' Da begab er sich, Utu, an den Wiegeplatz.
- 234' Wenn jemand ein Rind kaufen will,
- 235' Dann wird Utu den Hendersanga fragen.
- 236' [Dem Mann], der das Rind kaufen will, wird (Utu) seinen Einblick nicht mitteilen.
- 237' (A) Dem Hendersanga wird er ihn mitteilen.
 (E₂, F) Wenn Hendersanga (dem Utu sagt, der Käufer) könne das Rind kaufen, wird (Utu) es (dem Käufer) sagen.
- 238' Utu wird ihm dann für den Bau seines Rinderpferches ein (günstiges) Geschick bestimmen.
- 239' Wenn jemand Schafe kaufen will,
- 240' Dann wird Utu den Hendersanga fragen.

- 241' A lú udu [sa₁₀-s]a₁₀-dè igi-ǵál-la-ni nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 E₂ [lú] udu sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dè igi-ǵál-la-ni nu-mu-n[a- . . .]
 F lú udu! šám-šám igi-ǵál-[l]a-ni nam-mu-na-ab-bé
- 242' A d_{hen}[dur-s]aǵ-ǵá-ra m[u-n]a-ab-bé
 E₂ [t]ukumbi d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-k[e₄ . . .] / [udu] sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dè mu-na-ab-b[é]
 F tukumbi d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-ke₄ / udu šám-šám-da mu-na-ab-bé
- 243' A d_{utu} [amaš ni]ǵín-na-bi nam im-ma-ab-tar-re
 E₂ [d]utu amaš niǵín-na-bi nam mu-ni-ib-[tar-re]
 F d_{utu} <amaš> niǵín-n[a]-bi-a! nam im-<mi>-ib-tar-re
- 244' A tu[kum]bi lú saǵ in-sa₁₀-sa₁₀
 E₂ [tukum]bi [lú] saǵ ib!-sa₁₀-s[a₁₀]
 F tukumbi lú-u_x saǵ in-šám-šám
- 245' A d_{utu} d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-ke₄ èn mu-na-tar-re
 E₂ [. . . d]hendur-saǵ-ra èn mu-na-tar-r[e]
 F d_{utu} d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-ke₄ èn mu-na-tar-re
- 246' A lú saǵ sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dè ig[i-ǵ]ál-la-ni nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 E₂ [lú] saǵ sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dè igi-ǵál-la-ni nu-mu-n[a-ab-bé]
 F lú saǵ šám-šám igi-ǵál-la-ni nam-[MU]-mu-na-ab-bé
- 247' A d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-ra mu-na-ab-bé
 E₂ [tuku]mbi d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-[x] / [saǵ] sa₁₀-sa₁₀ (Rasur) mu-na-ab-bé
 F tuk[umbi] d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-ke₄ / [saǵ] šám-šám-da mu-na-a]b-bé
- 248' A d_{utu} á-ǵiš!-rín-na-ka! mu-un-na-gi-né!
 E₂ [. . .] ki-ǵiš-rín-na-ka mu-un-[. . .](!)
 F [d_{utu} . . . -n]é
- 249' A tukumbi lú dam in-TUK.TUK
 E₂ [tuku]mbi lú dam in-TUK.TUK
- 250' A d_{utu} d_{hendur}-saǵ-[ǵ]á-ke₄ èn mu-na-tar-re
 E₂ [. . . d]hendur-saǵ-ra èn mu-na-ta[r-re]
 F [d_{ut}]u d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-ke₄ [. . .]
- 251' A lú dam TUK.TUK-dè igi-ǵál-la-ni nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 E₂ [. . .] igi-ǵá[l- . . .]
 E₁ lú dam TUK.TUK [. . .]
 F lú dam TUK.TUK igi-ǵál-la-ni [. . .]
- 252' A <d_{hendur}-saǵ-ǵá-ra mu-na-ab-bé>
 E₁ tukumbi [. . .] / dam TUK.TUK-dè [. . .]
 F tukumbi {d_{utu}} d_{hendur}!-saǵ-ke₄ / [dam] TUK.TUK-da mu-na-ab-bé
- 253' A lú-u_x-bi dam in-ga-an-TUK.TUK dumu in-ga-an-ù-tu
 E₁ lú-u_x-bi dam in-ga-[. . .]
 F [lú]-u_x-bi dam in-ga-TUK.TUK du[mu in]-ga-ù-tu
- 254' A é in-ga-dù-e GÁ in-ga-NIGÍN.NIGÍN
 E₁ é in-ga-dù-e G[Á . . .]
 F [. . . -g]a-dù-e GÁ [i]n-ga-NIGÍN.NIGÍN
- 255' A nita-bi dam-a!-n[i?] du₁₀-bi mu-da-ab-bé
 E₁ nita-bi dam-a-ni du₁₀-b[i . . .]
 F [. . .]-a-ni du₁₀-bi m[u]-un-da-bé

- 241' Dem Mann, der Schafe kaufen will, wird (Utu) seinen Einblick nicht mitteilen.
- 242' (A) Dem Hen[durs]anga wird er ihn mitteilen.
 (E₂, F) Wenn Hendersanga (dem Utu sagt, der Käufer) könne die Schafe kaufen, wird (Utu) es (dem Käufer) sagen.
- 243' Utu wird ihm dann für die Einfriedung seines Schafpferches ein (günstiges) Geschick bestimmen.
- 244' Wenn jemand einen Sklaven kaufen will,
- 245' Dann wird Utu den Hendersanga fragen.
- 246' Dem Mann, der den Sklaven kaufen will, wird (Utu) seinen Einblick nicht mitteilen.
- 247' (A) Dem Hendersanga wird er ihn mitteilen.
 (E₂, F) Wenn Hendersanga (dem Utu sagt, der Käufer) könne [den Sklaven] kaufen, wird (Utu) es (dem Käufer) sagen.
- 248' Utu wird ihm dann durch den Arm der Waage sicheres (Eigentum verschaffen).
- 249' Wenn jemand eine Frau nehmen will,
- 250' Dann wird Utu den Hendersanga fragen.
- 251' Dem Mann, der eine Frau nehmen will, wird (Utu) seinen Einblick nicht mitteilen.
- 252' (A) <Dem Hendersanga wird er ihn mitteilen>.
 (E₁, F) Wenn Hendersanga (dem Utu sagt, der Mann) könne die Frau nehmen, wird (Utu) es (dem Mann) sagen.
- 253' Dann wird dieser Mann die Frau nehmen, und sie wird ihm Kinder gebären.
- 254' Er wird ein Haus bauen und . . . einfrieden.
- 255' Dieser Mann wird mit seiner Frau nur Gutes reden,

- 256' A ki-sikil-bi [x x SI].A¹-ga dūr [k]i mu-un-ḡá-ḡá
 E₁ ki-sikil-bi ama_s níḡ-diri-g[a . . .]
 F [. . .] níḡ x [. . .]-ḡá-ḡá
- 257' A [i-n]e-šè lú lú-ra a-na na-an-du₁₁
 E₁ i-ne-šè lú lú-r[a . . .]
 F i-[ne]-šè l[ú . . . -a]n-du₁₁
- 258' A [lú] lú-ra AŠ a-[n]a an-na-an-daḥ
 E₁ lú lú-u_x(ULÙ)-ra AŠ [. . .]
 F lú [l]ú-ra AŠ a-[. . .]-daḥ
- 259' A AN.PA [g]a-mu-[un]-TÚG im-me-ne
 E₁ [A]N.PA ga-mu-un-TÚG-e-e[n . . .]
 F AN [x x] mu-un-KU [. . .]-ne
- 260' A AN.PA ga-mu-un-x lú nam tar-re-da
 E₁ [x] PA ga-mu-un-TÚG-e-en [. . .]
 F AN [x x] mu-un-KU [x na]m t[ar]-re-da
- 261' A gu₄-sa₁₀-a [tù]r-ra gi-né-dè
 E₁ [. . . -a]a₁₀-a [. . .]
 F gu₄-šám-a x [. . . -n]é-dè
- 262' A udu-sa₁₀-a [ama]š-a daḡal-e-dè
 F udu-šám-a a[maš . . .]-dè
- 263' A saḡ-sa₁₀-a é-lugal-[x]-ka gú ḡiḡ ḡá-ḡá-dè
 F saḡ-šám-a é-lugal-la-ni-ta [. . . ḡ]á-ḡá-dè
- 264' A kaš 1 silà-ta a-naḡ di-da
 F kaš 1 silà-ta a-naḡ di-dè
- 265' A uḡnim igi-KA-kešda-mè-ka
 F [K]I.SU.<LU>.ÚB.GAR igi-KA-kešda-mè-ka
- 266' A nimgir-e si gù um-mi-in-ra
 F [nimg]ir-e si gù um-ma-ni-ra
- 267' A ur-saḡ an-edén-na du-a-ni
 F ur-saḡ an-edén-na du-a-ni
- 268' A [nim]gir ušumgal ḡiri-ba zi-zi-dè
 E₁ [. . . UŠ]UM ḡiri-ba zi-zi-dam
 F nimgir ušumgal ḡiri-ba zi-zi-dè
- 269' A [x] dḥendur-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ su-ba zi-zi-dè
 E₁ [. . . -sa]ḡ-ḡá su-ba zi-zi-dam
 F nimgir dḥendur-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ KA[?]-ba zi-zi-dè
- 270' A [x]-nimgir-ra-ke₄ mí-du₁₁-ga šul d^uutu zà-mí
 E₁ [. . . nim]gir-ra-ke₄ mí-du₁₁-ga šul d^u[tu . . .]
 F á-maḥ-nimgir¹-ra-ke₄ m[í-du₁₁-ga] / šul d^uutu z[à-m]í
- 271' A [. . . -a]a[ḡ-ḡ]á-ke₄ mí-du₁₁-ga a-a d^{en}-[ki] zà-[mí]
 F á-maḥ-dḥendur-saḡ-[ḡá]-ke₄ mí-du₁₁-ga a-a d^{en}-[ki] zà-[mí]

(Doppelstrich in F)

- 256' Und die junge Frau wird sich in einem Harem, der größer ist (als üblich), häuslich niederlassen.
- 257' Was hat jetzt einer dem andern gesagt?
- 258' Was hat einer dem andern noch weiter gesagt?
- 259' "Was . . . will ich . . ." sagen sie,
- 260' ". . . will . . ."
- 261' Das gekaufte Rind fest in die Hürde einzugliedern,
- 262' Die gekauften Schafe im P[fer]ch sich ausbreiten zu lassen,
- 263' Den gekauften Sklaven im Hause seines Herrn unterwürfig sich zeigen zu lassen,
- 264' Je einen Liter Bier als Getränk anzuordnen –
- 265' Wenn der Herold das der Truppe vor der Kampfeselite
- 266' Mit seinem Horn verkündet hat,
- 267' Dann sei, auf daß der Krieger – er geht ins An'edena –
- 268' Auf daß der Herold die Drachen vom Wege sich erheben lasse,
- 269' Auf daß der Herold Hendersanga sie sehr erschrecken lasse,
- 270' Dann sei dem jungen Utu Preis, der die erhabene Macht des Herolds freundlich unterstützt hat,
- 271' Dann sei dem Vater En[ki] preis, der die erhabene Macht des Hendersanga freundlich unterstützt hat!

Kommentar

Der hier vorgelegte Text zerfällt deutlich in zwei Teile: Im ersten Teil (Z. [1]-230') ist Hēdursanga angeredet; der zweite, wesentlich kürzere (Z. 231'-259') berichtet über ihn in der dritten Person. Die erweiterte Doxologie (Z. 260'-271') spricht von ihm ebenfalls in der dritten Person und preist die Götter Utu und Enki. Die in der Überschrift gewählte und in der Literatur längst eingebürgerte Bezeichnung "Hēdursanga-Hymne" ist darum cum grano salis zu nehmen. Sie findet ihre Berechtigung auch darin, daß der Stil des ersten Teiles gelegentlich hymnische Züge aufweist, so besonders in seinem ersten durch den Refrain gegliederten Abschnitt.

Während der zweite Teil einen in sich geschlossenen Eindruck macht, zerfällt der erste in fünf oder sechs unterschiedlich gebaute Abschnitte:

A An Hēdursanga.

- I [1]-90 "Hymnus", gegliedert durch den Refrain in Z. 7, 14, 41 und 90; schlecht erhalten; große Lücke zwischen Z. 56 und 68.
- II 91-[105+x] Beschreibung der Helfer des H. nach dem gleichbleibenden Schema "damit . . . , dafür stellt sich der Gott GN bei dir ein".
- III [?]-[?] nicht erhalten.
- IV [?]-169 Zeugung der sieben Söhne des Krebses durch Enki um H.s willen.
- V 170-202 Aufgaben der sieben Söhne des Krebses nach dem gleichbleibenden Schema "damit . . . , dafür stellt sich der älteste Bruder (etc.) bei dir ein. Von(!) . . . entrichtet er dir die Abgabe."
- VI 203'-230' Urteil über Menschen, je nachdem sie mit dem Gotte . . . oder ohne ihn . . . haben; weitgehend spiegelbildlich.

B Über Hēdursanga.

- I 231'-231a' Überleitungsformel.
- II 232'-256' Zusammenwirken von Utu und H. beim Kauf von Sklaven und Tieren (nur Mobilien!) und bei der Wahl der Ehefrau.
- III 257'-260' Echo in der Bevölkerung.

C Doxologie (nur ein Satz!)

- I 261'-266' Verkündigung durch den Herold (= H.) (Replik auf die Kaufgeschäfte von B II und Honorarfestsetzung für den Dichter/Sänger (?)).
- II 267'-269' Wirkung (der ganzen Dichtung?) für die ausziehende Truppe.
- III 270'-271' z à - m f-Formel für Utu und Enki.

Zwischen den beiden Teilen A und B läßt sich mit dem verfügbaren Text keinerlei Verbindung herstellen. Die Überleitung (Z. 231'-231a') erfolgt abrupt. Allenfalls kann man zur Formulierung dieser Überleitung in Text F (in A ein Vorgriff auf B III) an eine Replik auf die Einleitung der Beschreibung der Sieben in Z. 77 denken: Abend und Morgen. Z. 77 gehört aber noch zu A I, wenn auch (mit Ausnahme des Refrains in Z. 90) in den Zeilen 68ff. (nach der Lücke) keine 2. Person erscheint.

Dagegen ist der Bezug der Doxologie (C) klar erkennbar: An die Kaufgeschäfte von B II anknüpfend läßt der Dichter den Herold – d.i. Hēdursanga – deren Wirksamkeit verkünden; dabei läßt er offenbar durch-

blicken (Z. 264), daß ihn der Vortrag durstig gemacht hat! Das Ganze wird mit dem Preis Utus, der bei diesen Geschäften ja mit H. zusammenwirkte, verbunden. Darauf folgt dann noch der Preis Enkis, der H. durch die Erschaffung der Sieben (A IV) unterstützt hat.

Die Wechselbeziehung der einzelnen Abschnitte von Teil A zueinander sind vorläufig nur zum Teil erkennbar.

A I enthält in Z. 31-36(-40?) eine Beschreibung nicht erhobener Abgaben etc., die, für sich genommen, positiv wirkt, aber im Kontrast zu A V vielleicht doch einen negativen Zustand beschreibt, da Z. 35-36 den Z. 188-192 direkt und Z. 31 und 32 jeweils den Z. 183-187 und 193-197 ungefähr entsprechen. Z. 40 wird in Z. 160 wiederholt.

A I Z. 77-89 (Z. 90 = Refrain) beschreiben sieben Wesen anscheinend wenig erfreulicher Art, die aber dennoch "die göttlichen Kräfte vollkommen machen", d.h., den Willen der Götter erfüllen. (Unklar bleibt, ob diese Sieben bereits Subjekt zu den in Z. 74-77 beschriebenen ordnenden Handlungen sind.)

Diese Siebenzahl stimmt überein mit der Zahl der im Text erhaltenen Helfer des H. in A II (Z. 91-105) und der Zahl der von Enki gezeugten Söhne des Krebses in A IV-V. Es scheint sich aber jeweils um verschiedene Siebenergruppen zu handeln.

A IV-V gehen ohne Bruch ineinander über.

A II und A V sind miteinander durch die Formel "damit . . . , stellt sich . . . bei dir ein" verbunden, jedoch unterschieden durch den in A V obligaten Zusatz über die zu entrichtenden Abgaben, der mit A I 31-36 zusammenzuhängen scheint.

A VI steht vorläufig isoliert, doch könnte zwischen Z. 202 und 203' eine Überleitung gestanden haben.

Die Tierbilder in der Beschreibung der Sieben hat W. Heimpel in St. Pohl 2, 1968, untersucht.

Bei der Übersetzung von Z. 170-202 (bei der vieles sehr unsicher ist) haben wir angenommen, daß der von den Abgaben handelnde jeweils zweite Teil der Abschnitte den Vollzug der Aufgabe voraussetzt, die finalen - a - d a / e - d è-Formen hier also aus den jeweils ersten Teilen der Abschnitte mechanisch übernommen sind statt des zu erwartenden Ablativ-Instrumentals (- a - t a), wobei der relativ nahe Anklang der Formen aneinander wohl nicht unschuldig war.

Glossar

- a "Wasser": 102 a - t a í l - [l] a - d a; 183/6 a s i - s i - d a.
s. l ú a - a s i - g a.
- a - a "Vater" 271' a - a d e n - k i.
- a - a b - b a "Meer" 230' a - a b - b a k i - n í g - d a ġ a l - l a - b a.
- a - g à r "Flur" 179/182 a - g à r - r e D U . D U - e - d a.
- a - G I B I L - l á 174/177 a - G I B I L - l á - t a
- a - i , - d a "Flußwasser" 173/176.
- A . M I "Flut" 84 k u s ú k u A . [M] I i m - B U . B U . B U .
- a - n a "was" 231' (A); 231a'; 257; 258.
- a - n a ġ "Getränk" 264.
- a - n e - d i s . k i - a - n e - d i

A.NIGÍN 37 (= a-niǵín "Teich"?)

a-PÚ-ǵá "Wasser aus dem Wasserloch (?) " 173/176.

a-ra-li s. dub-sar-dub-sar-a-ra-li.

a-šà "Feld" 32; 213'; 244'.

a-tu₅ "baden" 70 a im-mi-tu₅-[...]

á "Arm" 216'; 227'.

á-ǵiš-rín-na "Arm der Waage" 248'.

á-LÁ "die Arme binden" 86 á mu-un-LÁ-ne.

á-maḥ "erhabene Macht" 270'; 271'.

AB-kù "reines Meer?" 25.

abzu s. da-ma-abzu-é-kur-ra; ddu-mu-zi-abzu.

adda_x(LÚ)-kú "Leichen fressen" 81.

ak s. níg-ku₅-ak; níg-MÍ-ús-sá-ak; si-im-si-im-ak.

al-(du₁₁)/e "verlangen" 7; 14; 41; 90 lú al nu-um-me.

al-lu₅ "Krebs" 167 dumu-al-lu₅-imin-na-ne-ne.

dalàd-igi-sa₆ "Schutzgeist mit dem freundlichen Gesicht" 54(?).

ama "Mutter" 17; 21; 30 ama^dnanše.

ama₅ "Harem" 256'.

amaš "Schafpferch" 243'; 262'.

ambar "Röhricht" 228'.

an "Himmel" 168.

AN 259; 260 AN.PA ga-mu-un-KU/TÚG(-e-en).

an-ed en "Hohe Steppe" 267.

ǵi^šasal_x(A.TU.GAB.LIŠ) 24

asil_x(ASILAL) 184/7 kun-bi asil_x-lá-da.

AŠ 231a'; 258'.

āš-kam-ma "sechster" 83; 195.

bàd s. ùr-bàd(-).

bàn-da s. dlu^{gal}?-bàn-da.

bar s. igi-bar; ur-bar-ra.

bar-su "nackt" (?) 209.

bára "Herrscher" 10 bá-ra-bára-ǵé-ne.

BU.BU.BU 84 kušú^{ku}-am A.[M]I im-BU.BU.BU.

ǵi^šbunin-níg-sila_x(ŠID)-ǵá "Trog für Teig" 36; 188; 191.

bur 178/181.

bur-šu-ma "Alte(r)" 207.

da "Seite" 87 (?)

dab₅ "nehmen" 31 nu-un-dab₅; 43 ù-bí-in-dab₅; 45 mi-ni-dab₅-[b é]; 75 máš-a im-mi-in-dab₅/dab-b é-ne.

daǵal "weit machen" 262' daǵal-e-dè; s. sila-daǵal; ki-níg-daǵal.

daḥ "hinzuflügen", "außerdem sagen" 231a'; 258' a-na-an-na-an-daḥ.

dam "Ehefrau" 255'.

dam-TUK "(eine Frau) heiraten" 249' dam in-TUK.TUK; 251' dam-TUK.TUK-dè(/TUK.TUK; TUK.TUK.[...]); 252' dam TUK.TUK-dè/da; 253' dam in-ga-(an-) TUK.TUK.

dar s. dⁿin-dar

dar^{mu}šen "Iahn" 25.

di s. du₁₁/e/di; ki-a-ne-di.

dib s. dab₅.

dingir "Gott" 89; 205'; 216' 217'; 227'.

dingir-lú-u_x(ULÙ) "persönlicher Schutzgott" 42.

dingir-munus "weibliche Gottheit" 85.

diri (= neqelp^{lm}) "mit der Strömung segeln" 21 ša-mu-ra-ab-diri-ga.

(= watārum) "hinausgehen über" 256' níg-diri-ga.

diš "einer" 78 imin-ba diš ka₅-a-àm.

du "gehen" 210'; 221'; 267 du-a-ni.

DU "gehen" oder "sich stellen" 42; 93; 95; 97; 99; 101; 103; 105; 171; 175; 180; 185; 190; 195; 200 ša-ra-da-DU; 213/244 ù-um-DU; 233 mu-un-DU (/b í-DU).

DU.DU "gehen" (?), "gebracht werden" 40; 179/182 DU.DU-e-da; 160 DU.DU-e-bi; 47 DU.DU; 73 im-ta-DU.DU-dè-eš.

dù "bauen" 238' tūr(-ra)-ni dù-a-bi (/dù-a-ni; dù-bi-a); 254' é in-ga-dù-e; 37 a-niǵín mu-na-an-dù-uš.

"hindern", "(die Hände) binden" 86 nita-ra ša-mu-un-dù-ne.

s. saš šu-dù(-dù); šita₅-dù; ŠITA₅.DÙ.

du₇ 55]x nu-du₇; s. šu-du₇.

du₈ s. šu-du₈; zar-du₈.

du₁₀ "angenehm", "Gutes" 22 nar-du₁₀-nun; 255 du₁₀-bi mu-un-da-ab-b é; s. ki-ná du₁₀.

du₁₁/e/di "sagen" 264' di-dè(/da); 231' (A) a-na an-na-an-du₁₁; 257' a-na na-an-du₁₁; 259' im-me-ne; 207' nu-um-me; 237'; 242'; 247'; 252' mu-na-ab-b é; 255' mu-da-ab-b é (/mu-un-da-b é); 236'; 241'; 247'; 251' nu(/nam)-mu-na-ab-b é; s. al-(du₁₁)/e; e-ne-du₁₁; ǵiš-du₁₁; ka₅-du₁₁; ki-a-ne-di; lul-du₁₁; LUL-šè(du₁₁)/e; mí-du₁₁ u₄-sá-du₁₁-ga; zi-du₁₁.

du₁₂ "ein Musikinstrument spielen" 22 ša-mu-na-du₁₂-àm.

dub-sar-dub-sar-a-ra-li "Schreiber der Unterwelt (Arali)" 46.

DUG-kaš-sur-ra "Krug mit gefiltertem Bier" 172.

dumu "Kind" 253' dumu in-ga(-an)-ù-tu; 167 dumu-al-lu₅; 166 dumu-imin-na.

dúr ki-ǵá-ǵá "sich (häuslich) niederlassen" 256 dūr [k]i mu-un-ǵá-ǵá.

e-ne-du₁₁-du₁₁ "spielen" (?) 161.

e-ne-ne-ne "sie" 74 (C).

e-re-ne "Zeder" (?) 24.

é "Haus", "Tempel" 30; 254'.

é-gal-lugal-la "königlicher Palast" 214'; 225'.

é-kù "reines Haus" 96.

é-kur "Ekur" 92; s. da-ma-abzu-é-kur-ra.

é-lugal-la "Haus des Eigentümers" 263' é-lugal-[a-na]-ka (/é-lugal-la-ni-ta).

é-me-eš "Sommer" 209'.

é-MI.MI-ga "dunkles Haus" 162.

è "herauskommen" 232' du tu um-ta-è(-a-ra); s. u₄-è.

e₁₁ "herauf/herabgehen" 212'; 223' i₇-da un-e₁₁; s. gu₄-e₁₁; lú-gu₄-e₁₁-da.

eden s. an-ed en.

en "Herr" 25 en-AB-kù-ga; 164 en d^hendur-saš-ǵá; s. en-uru_x-e-ne.

"en-Priester" 74.

en-nu-un "Wache" 12.

en-te-en "Winter" 208'.

en-urux(EN)-e-ne "gewaltige En" 9.
 èn-tar "fragen" 235'; 240'; 245'; 250' èn mu-na-tar-re.
 engar "Bauer" 32.
 enkara(ENxGÁNAtenû) "enkara-Waffe" 10.
 ér-gig ḡá-ḡá "bittere Tränen vergießen" 88 ér-gig (/ir-si-im) ... ba-an-ḡá-ḡá-ne.
 gišeren "Zeder" s. e-re-ne(?).
 erím-du "Böser" 53.
 eš₅-kam-ma "dritter" 80; 180.

ga "Milch" 27 ga mu-na-ab-[t]ùm.
 GÁ (Objekt zu NIGÍN.NIGÍN "einfrieden") 254.
 gišGAD.TAG.DA 35 (?); 189; 192.
 gišgag "Pflock" 96.
 gal s. é-gal-lugal-la; gal₆-lá-gal; gú-gal; ku₆-gal-gal; šeš-gal.
 GAL.NIMGIR "Großherold" 161.
 ḡál "vorhanden sein" 92 ḡál-la-da; s. ḡul-ḡál; kù-ḡál.
 ḡál-ta_g "öffnen" 13 ḡál TAG₄.TAG₄; 94 ḡál TAG₄.TAG₄-[d a] (/DU); 96 ḡál TAG₄.TAG₄-da.
 gal₆-lá-gal "großer Polizist" 40; 160.
 ḡar/ḡá-ḡá "setzen" 98 ḡar-ra-da; 91 ḡar-ḡar-ra-da; 198/201 ḡá-[ḡá-da]; 263' ḡá-ḡá-dè;
 24[i]m-mi-in-ḡar-ra-zu; 225' ù-mu-un-ḡar; 87 mu-ni-ib-ḡá-ḡá-ne; s. ér-gig ḡá-ḡá; dúr ki-ḡá-ḡá; ki-ḡar; šà-ḡar; níḡ-ŠITA₅ ḡá-ḡá.
 ganá-zi "wohlbestelltes(?) Feld" 23.
 ḡeštin "Wein" 198/201.
 gi "Rohr" 35.
 gi(-n) "fest machen" 261' gi-né-dè; 47 [i]m²-ta-a[b²]-gi-né-[x]; 168 im-ta-ab-gi-né; 248' mu-un-na-gi-né.

GIL.A.NE 43.
 ḡi₆ "Nacht", "dunkel" 12; s. é-MI.MI-ga; saḡ-ḡi₆; sila₄-ḡi₆.
 ḡi₆-pàr "Gipar" 74.
 ḡi₆-ù-na "Mitternacht" 45.
 gi₇ s. ur-gi₇.
 GIBIL s. a-GIBIL-lá.
 ḡidri "Stock" 18; s. PA.
 gig "Weizen" 23.
 "bitter" s. ér-gig.
 gišgigir "Wagen" 229'.
 GIL 35 nu-GIL-G[I²].
 ḡir-lam-kù "feiner Kuchen" 199/201. [s. aber B. Landsberger, Date Palm S. 37 (Herausgeber)]
 ḡiri "Weg" 268'.
 ḡiš s. gú ḡiš ḡá-ḡá.
 ḡiš-ḡur "Zeichnung", "Grundriß" 18.
 ḡiš-rín "Waage" s. á-ḡiš-rín-na; ki-ḡiš-rín-na.
 ḡiš-du₁₁ "begatten" 165 ḡiš bí-in-du₁₁-ga-ta.
 ḡizkim-maḡ "erhabenes Wahrzeichen" 16.
 gu-ul "groß machen" 227' bí-in-gu-ul-e; 216' li-[bí-in-gu-ul-e]; 206' la-ba-gu-ul-e.
 gú-gal "Bohnen" 23.
 gú ḡiš ḡá-ḡá "sich unterwerfen" 263' gú ḡiš ḡá-ḡá-dè.

gú-NE 91.
 ḡù-ra "schreien" 83 ḡù mi-ni-ib-ra; s. si ḡù-ra.
 gu₄ "Rind" 33; 234'; 236'; 237'; 261'.
 gu₄-ḡ₁ "Rindersteuer erheben" (?) 33 gu₄ la-ba-ra-ab-e₁₁-dè; s. lú-gu₄-e₁₁-da.
 gub "stehen", "stellen" 172 gub-ba; 170 gub-ba-da'; 73 gub-ba-ta; 13 gub-bu; 16 im-ma-g[u b]; 76 im-[mi-i]n-gub-bu-ne (/bí-in-gub-bu-ne); s. DU(DU); ki-gub.
 gud₄ "gud₄-Priester" 76.
 gug-kul "mit dem Schnabel (?) aufpicken (kul = laqātu)" (?) 80 gug im-kul-e'.
 GUR 48 GUR²-eš; 72 [... gu]r-ra(?).

ḡi-li "Locken" 76.
 ḡul "Schlimmes" 211'; 222'.
 ḡul-ḡál "widrig", "böseartig" 52.
 ḡú "sich freuen" [215?]; 226' lú ba(-an)-da-ḡú-le.
 ḡun "enthronisieren" 74 bí-in-ḡun-e-ne.
 ḡur "ritzen" s. ḡiš-ḡur.
 ḡur-sa₆ s. ki-ḡur-sa₆.

i-gi₍₄₎-in-zu "gleichsam", "als ob" 229 [i-g]i-[i]n-[z]u (in JNES 27 [1968], 229-239 und Wilcke, Lugalbanda, S. 188 Anm. 466a nachzutragen; ebenso: BE 30, 9 III 23-25; ISET 1, S. 207 Ni. 13229:1).

ì "Fett" 27.
 ì-ne-šè "jetzt" 231'; 257'.
 i₇ "Kanal" 31; 173/6; 212/23.
 i₇-kù "reiner Kanal" 183/6.
 iá-kam-ma "fünfter" 82; 190.
 gišg "Tür(flügel)" 13.
 igi "Auge", "Gesicht" 19.
 igi--(ak)-a "vor" 92 igi-bi-a; 265' igi-KA-kešda-mè-ka.
 igi-bar "(an)schauen" 216'/227' igi mu-un-ši-bar-ra-ni.
 igi-ḡál "Einsicht" 6; 236'; 241'; 246'; 251'.
 igi-kù "helles Auge" 20 [igi]-kù.
 igi-íl "schauen auf" 11 igi-í[l]-íl-i.
 igi-ri-ri 163.
 igi-sa₆ s. dalàd-igi-sa₆.
 íl "erheben" 19 íl-la-aš; 102 kur a-ta íl-[l]a-da; s. igi-íl.
 imin "sieben" 49; 167 imin-na-ne-ne; 85 imin-bi-ne; 78 imin-ba(-k); 171 šeš-gal-
 imin-ba; 166 dumu-imin-na.
 imin-kam-ma "siebenter" 84.
 in-nin "Herrin" 17; 21; 30 in-nin ama-dnanše.
 ir-si-im "Geruch" 88 Variante zu ér-gig.
 iti "Monat" 28.
 izi-tag s. ku₆ izi-tag.

KA 47 KA-ba-ta; 208 en-te-en-na KA MÙŠ.DI la-[.
 KA-kešda-mè "Kampfeselite" 265.
 ka-ša-an-ša-ša "überwältigen" (zuletzt Å. Sjöberg, AfO 24 [1972], 46) 81 ka ì-ša-an-ša-ša.

KA-ŠEŠ "bitterer Geschmack"(?) 174/7 KA-ŠEŠ-e a - GIBIL-l[á] - t a.
 k á - u₄ - è "Tor, das den Tag herauskommen läßt" 13.
 k a₅ - a "Fuchs" 78.
 k a l s. [dn] in-BI-š u - k a l - l e.
 k a l a m "Land (Sumer)" 88 k a l a m - m a; 50 [ù] r² - b à d - k a l a m - m a - k a; 163 ù r - b à d -
 k a l a m - m a - k a.
 k a r - s i - s á "gerade Kai(mauer)" 20.
 k a s₄ - d u₁₁ "laufen", "eilen" 215 k a s₄ ħ a - b a - n i - i n - d u₁₁; 226 k a s₄ b a - n i - i n - d u₁₁ - g a.
 k a š "Bier" 170; 172; [214]; 225'; 264'.
 k i "Ort" 24; 51; 169.
 k i - a - n e - d i "Spielplatz" 38.
 k i - ġ a r / ġ á - ġ á "gründen", "anlegen" 23 k i m u - e - ġ a r - r a - z u; s. d ú r k i - ġ á - ġ á.
 k i - g u b "Standort" 204.
 k i - ġ i š - r í n - n a "Wiegeplatz" ("Ort, an dem der Kaufpreis dargewogen wird") 233'; 248' (E).
 k i - ħ u r - s a₆ "Freude" 98.
 k i - i n - d u - k ù "reiner Obstgarten(?)" 94.
 k i - k ù "reiner Ort", "heiliger Platz" 91.
 k i - n í g - d a ġ a l - l a "weite Erde" 15; 230' (Apposition zu Meer!).
 k i - n ú - d u₁₀ "angenehm ruhen" 48 k i - n ú d [u₁₀] - d u₁₀ - g e - e [n].
 k i - s i k i l "reiner Boden" 18.
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 k i n - g i₄ - a "Bote" 215'; 226'.
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 K U s. TÚG.
 k ú "essen" 178/81 k ú - ù - d è; s. a d d a_x(LÜ) - k ú.
 KÚ-x 42.
 k ù "hell", "rein", "heilig" s. AB - k ù; é - k ù; ġ ì r - l a m - k ù; i₇ - k ù; [i g i] - k ù; k i - k ù; k i - i n - d u -
 k ù; m á - g u r₈ - k ù; á b ġ i l a m - k ù.
 k ù - g á l "Kanalinspektor" 31.
 k u₄ "eintreten" 34 n u - u n - k u₄ - k u₄; 214'/225' u n - k u₄.
 k u₄ - k u r - i d i m "gewaltige Wogen" 230'.
 k u₅ s. n í g - k u₅.
 k u₆ "Fisch" 31; 212'; 223'.
 k u₆ - g a l - g a l "große Fische" 179/82.
 k u₆ - i z i - t a g "Fisch rösten, grillen" 189/192 k u₆ i z i - t a g - g a - d a (s. CAD L, S. 83).
 k u₆ - T U R . T U R "kleine Fische" 178/81.
 k u l s. g u g - k u l.
 k u m 71.
 k u n "Becken" (eines Kanals) 184/7.
 k u n - s u d 31 k u n - b i n u - s u d - e (paßt nicht zu der positiven Bedeutung von k u n - s u d, ermittelt
 von A. Falkenstein, ZA 50 [1952], 77ff.; dazu zuletzt Wilcke, Lugalbanda, S. 217).
 k u n - ù r "den Schwanz über den Boden fegen lassen" 78 k u n i m - ù r - ù r - r e.
 k u r "Berg" 102 N I N A^{ki} k u r a - t a í l - l [a] - d a; s. é - k u r.
 "Totenreich" 40/160.
 k ú š - ù s. š à - k ú š - ù.
 k u š ú k u₆ "Hai(?)" (s. aber CAD kušú!) 84 [s. a. M. Cohen, JCS 25 (1973), 203-210; W. Farber, in Vorbereitung].
 l a - g a s. l ú - l a - g a.
 L Á s. á - L Á.

l à l "Honig" 198; 201.
 d l a m a "Schutzgottheit" 54; 55.
 l i m m u - k a m - m a "vierter" 81; 185.
 l u s. u n - l u - a.
 l ú "Mann" 7; 14; 41; 90; [215?]; 226'; 231'(A) = 257'; 231a' = 258'; 234'; [236']; 239; 241; 244'; 246' 249';
 251'.
 l ú a - a s i - g a (Lesung unsicher) 165.
 l ú - g u₄ - e₁₁ - d a (- k) "Eintreiber der Rindersteuer (?) " 33.
 l ú - l a - g a "Räuber" 37.
 l ú - n a m - t a r - r e - d a 260.
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 l ú u₄ - d è D U . D U "wer tagsüber geht" 47.
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 l u g a l - N I N A^{ki} "König von Nina" 15.
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 L U L - š è (d u₁₁) / e 39 L U L - š è i m - t a - e - e [n] (/] - t a - e n).
 ġ i š^m á "Schiff" 228'.
 m á - g u r₈ - k ù "helles Boot" 20; 21.
 m a ħ "überaus groß", "erhaben" 7; 14; 41; 90 m e - z u m a ħ - à m; s. ġ i z k i m - m a ħ; t e_x(Á)mušen.
 m a ħ.
 m a s - s u "Anführer" 158.
 m a š "Ertrag" [213]; 224.
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 M I s. ġ i₆; A . M I; é - M I . M I - g a.
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 m u "Jahr" s. z à - m u.
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 m u - p à "den Namen anrufen" 44 m u - . . . u m - m i - i n - p [à].
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 n a r "Musikant" 22 (?).
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 níg-na-ri 12.
 níg-sila_x(-g) s. gí₃bunín-níg-sila_x(ŠID)-gá.
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 [...]; 37 mu-e-ši-nigín-na; 254' GÁ in-ga-NIGÍN.NIGÍN; s. A.NIGÍN.
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 d[a] (s. Georgica 105; J. Aro bei A. Salonen, Agricultura, S. 211; Texte: UET 6, 172
 IV 9 = OECT 1 Tf. 35 IV 25 = SEM 42, IV 15 = SLTNi 59, Ra. 1 = 60:13).

pà s. mu-pà.
 pa₄ "älterer Bruder" 25.
 peš "weit machen" 12 peš-peš-e.
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 ri s. na-ri-ri; níg-na-ri; igi-ri.
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 rib s. šu-rib.

sá-du₁₁ (=sattukku) s. u₄-sá-du₁₁-ga.
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 sa₁₀-dè (/šám-šám-da); 237' sa₁₀-sa₁₀ (/šám-šám-da); 247' sa₁₀-
 sa₁₀ (/šám-šám-da); 234'; 239'; 244' in-sa₁₀-sa₁₀ (/in-šám-šám);
 s. gu₄-sa₁₀/šám-a; sag-sa₁₀/šám-a; udu-sa₁₀/šám-a.

sa_g "Sklave" 244'; 246'; [247']; 263'.
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 sa_g-gí₆ "Schwarzköpfige" 159.
 sa_g-sè(-g) "umsichtig in Angriff nehmen" 199/202 sa_g-sè-g[a-da].
 sa_g-šu-dù 9 sa_g-šu-dù-dè-en-[ur]u_x(EN)-e-ne; 38 sa_g šu bí-dù.
 sa_g-ug₅-ga "tote Häupter" 40; 160.
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 sila-si-ga "stille Straße" 19; 38; 45; 69(?).
 sila-ùr-ra "Platz" (Å. Sjöberg, AfO 24 [1972], 41) 161.
 silà "Liter" 264.
 sila₄-gí₆ "schwarzes Lamm" 82.
 su "untergehen" 228' la-ba-an-da-su-su.
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 su₈ "hintreten" (pl.) 46 ba-su₈-ge-eš; 49 ša-mu-[d]a-su₈-g[e-eš].
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 še-si-ga "aufgehäufte Gerste" 194/197.
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 šu-du₈ "in der Hand halten" 10 en kara(ENxGANÁtenū)-šu-du₈-bára-bára-gé-ne.
 šu-kal(-le) s. [d_n]in-BI-šu-kal-le.
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 šub "fallen", "herfallen über" 82 ì-šub.
 šul "junger Mann" 270' šul du_{tu}.

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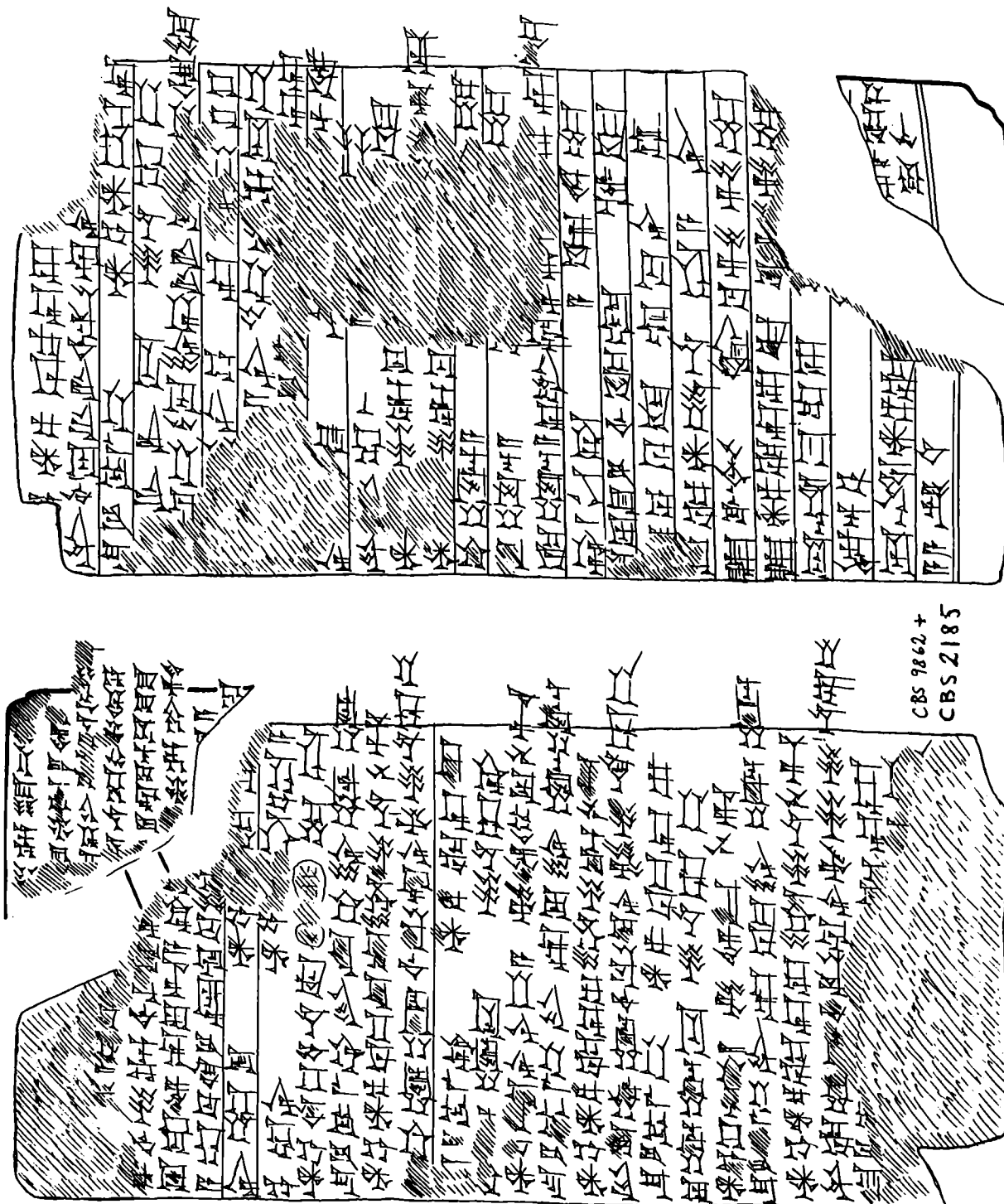
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 ddumu-zi-abzu 95 (Var. zu dama-abzu-é-kur-ra).
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 dnin-mug 93.
 du₁₁ 231'; 232'; 233'; 235'; 238' 240'; 243'; 245'; 248'; 250'; 252'; 270'.

Ortsnamen

aratta^{ki} 100 [L]AM.KUR.RU^{ki}.
 laga^{ki} 26 lugal-laga^{ki}-ra
 NINA^{ki} 15 lugal-NINA^{ki}; 102 NINA^{ki} kur-a-ta íl-l[a]-da.
 umma^{ki} 98.



Zur sogenannten Samsuilunahymne PBS 10/2 Nr. 11

Gertrud Farber-Flügge, Tübingen

Als ich im Sommer 1967 zu Professor S.N. Kramer ins University Museum nach Philadelphia kam, um mich von ihm in die Kunst des Kopierens einführen zu lassen, ließ dieser mich meine ersten Versuche an der sog. 'Samsuilunahymne' CBS 4568, veröffentlicht von Langdon als PBS 10/2, 11, machen. Obwohl dieser Text in einer außerordentlich schönen Schrift geschrieben ist und sich in hervorragendem Erhaltungszustand befindet, erwies er sich inhaltlich als ausgesprochen dornenreich. Auch wenn ich bis heute den Text in vielen philologischen Einzelheiten, aber auch in seinem Gehalt nur sehr unvollkommen verstehe, so möchte ich nun doch wenigstens meine Neukopie, die sehr wesentlich von der St. Langdons abweicht, und einige Gedanken zu dem Text dem Jubilar als Beitrag zu seiner Festschrift widmen. Vielleicht wird es dann ihm selbst oder einem anderen seiner zahlreichen Schüler vergönnt sein, zu einem vollständigen Verständnis des Textes zu gelangen.

Es handelt sich bei unserer Tafel offenbar um die Abschrift einer Statueninschrift, von der mindestens zwei Exemplare auf uns gekommen sind. Schon Langdon hatte jedoch nur noch ein Exemplar zur Hand; Varianten aus diesem auch seither nicht wieder identifizierten Duplikat, das er aus einer Kopie Poebels kannte, fügte er seiner Kopie bei.

Der Beginn des Textes stellt offenbar eine Art hymnischer Beschreibung der Statue Samsuilunas dar, die Inanna mit Üppigkeit und Reiz versehen hat und nun liebevoll betrachtet (Z. 1-7). Aber bereits in Z. 5 scheint dabei erstmalig die Rede von politischen Unruhen zu sein. Im folgenden (Z. 9-15) spricht Inanna zu Samsuiluna(s Statue), ihre Sprache ist Emesal. Sein Schicksal schildert sie als zufriedenstellend, und sie segnet ihn. Auf ihre Veranlassung soll ein frohes Fest (Z. 12) mit Rezitationen von Beschwörungen (?) gefeiert werden (etwa im Zusammenhang mit der Einführung und Mundöffnung der Statue?). Inanna verspricht Samsuiluna, seine Widersacher auf dem jenseitigen Ufer (? des Euphrat?) abzuwehren (Z. 13); er besitze zwar viel eigene Kraft, sie aber werde ihn beschützen (Z. 14-15). Die folgenden Zeilen nun schildern, wie sie ihr Versprechen wahr macht: Sie stellt sich an die Seite seines Königtums, bestimmt der Bevölkerung ein gutes Schicksal, und gibt ihr (sum. Plural) persönliche Schutzgötter (Z. 16-18). Um den Gefährten, denen, die sich für Samsuiluna einsetzen, Kraft zu schenken, die Widersacher hingegen abzuwehren (Z. 19-20), stellt sie sich auf die rechte Seite der Schutzgötter (?), während Samsuiluna ihnen zur Linken steht. Zunächst wird kurz das oben erwähnte Fest beschrieben (Z. 23-24), dann werden die Widersacher übel mißhandelt (Z. 25). Die Schutzgötter reden nun die Widersacher, ebenfalls in Emesal, an; sie nennen sich die 'guten Schutzgeister der Himmelsheerin' (? Z. 26) und die Verbündeten Samsuilunas (Z. 27), bezeichnen dagegen die anderen als 'Widersacher . . .' (Z. 28).

Nach zwei weiteren Zeilen endet der Text unserer Tafel CBS 4568. Die Komposition ist jedoch damit nicht vollständig: Wie wir von Langdon erfahren, enthielt die heute verschollene Duplikattafel ursprünglich wohl einen längeren Text. Die letzten auf unserer Tafel erhaltenen Zeilen bleiben nicht zuletzt deshalb – aus ihrem Kontext herausgerissen – leider gänzlich unverständlich.

Wegen seiner mit im einzelnen oft unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten wage ich nicht, eine zusammenhängende Übersetzung des Textes zu geben. Ich schließe dieser Paraphrase und der Umschrift stattdessen nur ein paar Bemerkungen zu einzelnen Zeilen und Ausdrücken an.

Umschrift:

1. mûš-me-ḫuš gír-gal-nam-KAL-a
2. igi-ḫú-l-la sag-ki-zalag-ga-na im-ma-ši-in-bar
3. nam-sa₆-ga-ni-še la-la ba-an-ši-in-aka
4. alam-gùn-a-ni-še ḫi-li im-ma-ši-in-ti
5. bal-a-ri-ni-še im-ma-an-ši-gub
6. uktin(SIG₇.ALAM)-kal-la-bi ša im-ma-ab-dab₅-bé
7. ša-gú-bé-gi₄-a-na im-ma-ab-NIGIN-e
8. ḫinanna lugal-ra e^eenem(KA) mu-un-gùn-gùn-gú
9. ù-mu-un na-ám-zu zé-ba-àm ki-ig-ág ku₇-ku₇-dam
10. sa-am-su-i-lu-na ZA.MUŠ gùn-a máš giš i-bí-guru₆-kam
11. igi-mu-gin₇ silim-ma dè-gub du-rí-še ti-la
12. i-ze-è^m ám-KA.KAxLI-a asilal da-ra-ab-si
13. ùg-gú-ri-a ḫúb-dar du₅-mu-ra-an-aka
14. sa-am-su-i-lu-na á-gál-za-a-kam ùg-šár-ra¹ en-e¹
15. mu-uš-mes-sa₆-ga-zu ì-me-en nam-en-nu-un mu-ak-e-en
16. zà-nam-lugal-la-še¹ ul-še gub-bu-da-ni
17. ùg-nam-lugal-la-še nam-du₁₀ mu-un-tar
18. UR-gal ḫlama ḫlama mu¹ ne-en-sum
19. an-ta-ne-ne á-gál aka-dè
20. ḫal-a-ri gú-ri ḫúb-dar aka-dè
21. ḫinanna á-zi-da ba-an¹-da-gub
22. gùb-ù-ne-ne-a sa-am-su-i-lu-na ba-gub
23. šila-ga guškin e-ne im-da¹-e-ne
24. èn-du ám-KA.KAxLI-a mu-un-ku₇-ku₇-dè-ne
25. bal-a-ri gú-ri mu-un-ti-ti-ne
26. me-en-dè¹ ga-ša-an-an-na ḫlama-sa₆-ga-me
27. ildú-íl-la sa-am-su-i-lu-na me-en-dè-en
28. me-en-zé-en bal-a-ri zi.in.BU.KA.ke₄
29. [i]-ze-è^m ám-KA.KAxLI-a la-ba¹-UL pi-el²-pi-li ga³-mu-ra-ab-šid

Rd. ša-lá-lá alam nu-un-ki-TAG.TAG-i nu-ma-al

Varianten des oben erwähnten Duplikattextes:

14. ¹⁻¹ -da-ni
16. ¹ -ka
18. ¹ -un-ne-
21. ¹ -an- om.
23. ¹ -di-
26. ¹ -en
29. ¹ -ba-an-; ² -li-; ³ da-

Einzelbemerkungen zum Text:

Z. 5: s. unten zu Z. 19-20.

Z. 8. Da Inanna im folgenden zu Samsuiluna spricht, sehe ich in dieser Zeile die Einführung der wörtlichen Rede. Die Glosse e könnte dabei die Lesung e n e m / i n i m des Zeichens KA bezeichnen.

Z. 12. i - z e - è m verstehe ich als Emesal zu e z e m "Fest".

ám-KA.KAxLI-a (vgl. auch Z. 24) dürfte etwa Emesal-Entsprechung von * n í g-KA.KAxLI-a im Hauptdialekt. Der Begriff KA.KAxLI findet sich auch in "Enki und die Weltordnung" Z. 140 (A. Falkenstein, ZA 56 [1964], 68; diese Schreibung in allen Varianten; Hinweis C. Benito), wo er als Eridu zugehörig genannt wird, also vermutlich dem Bereich der Beschwörung angehört. Evtl. könnte daher á m - d u₁₁-KAxLI-a als "Rezitation von Beschwörungsformeln" aufzufassen sein. Vermutlich finden Fest und Beschwörung im Zusammenhang mit der Einführung der Statue Samsuilunas in den Tempel statt.

Z. 13. s. unten zu Z. 19-20.

Z. 14. Die hier von Langdon zitierte Variante - d a - n i statt e n - e ist unklar; eine direkte Parallelität der beiden Formen, etwa in der Opposition von Hauptdialekt zu Emesal, ist schwerlich daraus herauszulesen. Statt der Form der pronominalen Konjugation der 3.Ps. wäre, da Samsuiluna angesprochen ist, eigentlich eher eine Form der 2.Ps. zu erwarten. Unser Text ist vielleicht entsprechend A. Falkenstein, ZA 52 (1960), 59: 14 zu verstehen: "Samsuiluna, Kraft zu besitzen, ist dir eigen, aller Völker Herr!" Im übrigen sollte man natürlich ù - m u - u n statt e n erwarten!

Z. 18. Offenbar verleiht Inanna der Bevölkerung (ù g - n a m - l u g a l - l a aus Z. 17, was mit Pluraldativfix in m u - n e - e n - s u m aufgenommen ist) lamassu-Schutzgötter, deren Aufgabe es wohl sein dürfte, bei der Vertreibung der b a l - a - r i (s. zu Z. 19-20) Hilfe zu leisten. Vgl. hierzu evtl. das Datum Samsuiluna 6, in dem er Schutzgötter in den Tempel einbringt, aber auch das Datum Ammiditana 29, in dem die l a m a - Götter der Inanna geweiht werden (s. CAD lamassu. Im Zusammenhang mit ḫ l a m a ḫ l a m a könnte man für UR-gal an eine Lesung t é š - g a l denken. Zu t é š, akk. baštu "(personifizierte) Lebenskraft" s. CAD baštu; vgl. im allgemeinen noch W. von Soden, BagM 3, 148 ff.

Z. 19-20. Diese beiden Zeilen sind parallel gebaut, beide enthalten eine Infinitivkonstruktion, abhängig von den Z. 21-22: Inanna und Samsuiluna stehen auf ihrer (der Schutzgötter?) beider Seiten, damit 1) die a n - t a - n e - n e in ihrer Kraft gestärkt werden und 2) gegen die b a l - a - r i - g ú - r i ḫ ú b - d a r gemacht werde; a n - t a - n e - n e, wörtlich "ihre oberen", "die oberhalb von ihnen, aber auch "die neben ihnen" = "ihre Gefährten" (s. dazu J. Krecher, SKIy, S. 157) stellen die Seite dar, auf der Inanna, Samsuiluna und die l a m a - Götter stehen. Die Gegenseite wird in Z. 20 beschrieben. ḫ ú b - d a r - a k a ist sonst aus der Liste der m e in "Inanna und Enki" (n a m - ḫ ú b - d a r, m e Nr. 40) bekannt, im Kontext jedoch nur noch aus "Inanna und Ebiḫ" Z. 3 (SLTNi 13 Vs.3; STVC 42,3; PBS 10/4,9 Vs. 3): m e - g a l - g a l - l a ḫ ú b - d a r - a k a kuš_e - í b - ù r - b i k i - ú s - s a "in den großen Schlachten . . . machend, den Schild dabei auf den Boden setzend." UET 6,12 Vs.3 schreibt die Variante ḫ ú b - s a r - r e - g i m "wie eine, die schnell läuft", doch dürfte diese Variante kaum korrekt sein. Vom Kontext her scheint eine Abwehrhaltung beschrieben zu werden, wie der auf den Boden gestellte Schild erkennen läßt. Für den Samsuilunatext würde dies bedeuten, daß die gegnerische Seite abgewehrt werden soll.

Gegenstück zu a n - t a - n e - n e ist b a l - a - r i g ú - r i. Beide Begriffe bedeuten "jenseitig", "jenseitiges Ufer" und enthalten die ferndeiktische Postposition - r i. Zu g ú - r i vgl. z.B. MSL 4, S. 62 f. "dort", "dortig". Zu b a l - a - r i vgl. die Wörterbücher zu ebertu und ebertān. Es scheint unwahrscheinlich, daß hier ein Hendiadyoin gewählt wurde, eher ist daran zu denken, daß in der Verwendung der beiden Begriffe ein

Wortspiel zu sehen ist. *bal* bedeutet "überschreiten", u.z. auch im übertragenen Sinn eines Verstoßes. Etwa in Anlehnung an die Bedeutung von *ki-bal* und *kur-ki-bal* möchte ich daher *bal-a-ri* hier als "Widersacher" deuten. Schon in Z. 5 kann dies gemeint sein: "In Richtung auf seine Widersacher stellte sie (die Statue) auf". In Z. 13 werden diese Widersacher nicht als *bal-a-ri gú-ri*, sondern als *ùg-gú-ri-a* bezeichnet: "Das Volk auf der anderen Seite will ich für dich abwehren!" In Z. 25 scheint dann das Unternehmen Erfolg zu haben: Die Widersacher auf der anderen Seite werden übel mißhandelt. Hierbei fasse ich *ti-ti* als akk. *ruṣṣu* (s. dazu AHW. S. 996) auf. In Z. 28 schließlich wird ganz deutlich, daß mit *bal-a-ri* feindlich gesinnte Personen gemeint sind, die im Gegensatz zu den guten *la ma*-Göttern Inannas, den Verbündeten Samsuilunas (Z. 26-27) stehen.

Z. 25. s. oben zu Z. 19-20.

Z. 27. s. dazu CAD *illatu* S. 82 a.

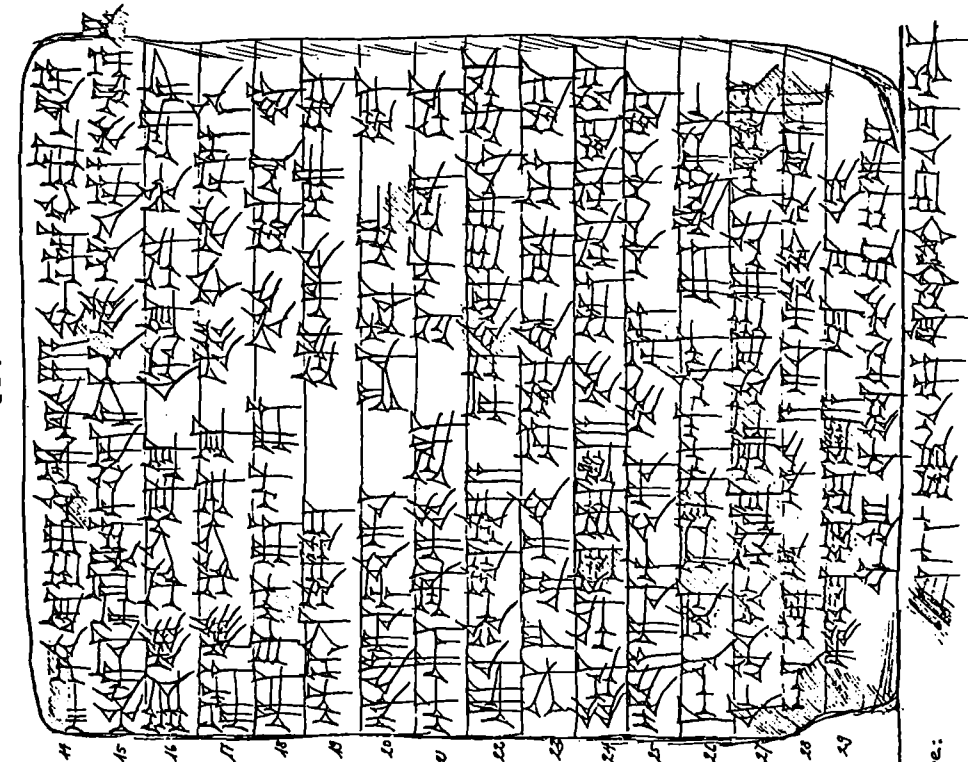
Z. 28. s. zu Z. 19-20.

CBS - 4568

obo.



t eo.



left edge:

Note sur la migration des Sumériens

A. Finet, Bruxelles

Trois questions se posent depuis longtemps concernant l'établissement des Sumériens en Basse-Mésopotamie. D'où proviennent-ils? Quand se sont-ils installés dans le pays dit de Sumer? Par quelles voies y sont-ils parvenus?

Rares sont ceux qui tiennent encore à présent les Sumériens pour les plus anciens habitants du Sud mésopotamien¹. Lors de la 9^e Rencontre assyriologique internationale, en 1960, I.J. Gelb a rassemblé une série d'indices archéologiques, anthropologiques, littéraires, linguistiques, graphiques, ethniques et toponymiques qui avaient précédemment fait l'objet de diverses enquêtes, de l'ensemble desquels il ressort avec une force qui impose l'évidence que les Sumériens, comme les Sémites, et peut-être en même temps qu'eux, sont venus se superposer à une population indigène d'origine encore inconnue². Aucune synthèse postérieure n'a réellement ébranlé cette constatation³.

En ce qui concerne le territoire d'où une population parlant le sumérien serait sortie pour se répandre dans le Sud mésopotamien et y contribuer à la formation de centres urbains, la plupart des orientalistes le situent dans la région du Caucase ou de la Transcaspienne. Une arrivée maritime par le Golfe persique paraît très peu plausible, car, dans les rapports commerciaux qui s'établissent avec la région de l'Indus, les marins ne sont pas les Sumériens. Le Nord de la Caspienne est un réservoir ethnique d'autant plus commode qu'il est à peine connu. N'empêche que les traditions sumériennes conservées dans les usages, la littérature ou la religion évoquent un peuple qui, quel que soit son indéterminable point de départ, a séjourné de façon durable en pays montagneux. Une fois établi à demeure dans une vaste plaine dépourvue de toute espèce de pierre, ce peuple continue d'adorer une "Dame de la montagne", un dieu "Grand-Mont" et de tenir pour natives des régions montagneuses la culture des céréales et la pratique de l'élevage.

¹ C'est cependant l'opinion de J. Mellaart, *The Cambridge Ancient History* 1/1 (3^e édition, 1970), p. 289, pour qui les débuts de la civilisation sumérienne remonteraient au milieu du 6^e millénaire dans la plaine alluviale des deux fleuves. Néanmoins ils auraient acquis au préalable ailleurs la technique de l'irrigation.

² I.J. Gelb, "Sumerians and Akkadians in Their Ethno-linguistic Relationship", *Genava* 8 (1960), 258-271; particulièrement 262-264.

³ V. Christian, *Die Herkunft der Sumerer* (= Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.hist. Klasse, 236/1; Wien, 1961) s'attache surtout à l'étude linguistique et à des rapprochements possibles avec les langues du Caucase; F.R. Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader, ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte* (= Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde, 33/8; Amsterdam - London, 1970) étudie les problèmes de la coexistence des Sumériens et des Akkadiens. P. Garelli, *Le Proche-Orient asiatique des origines aux invasions des peuples de la mer* (Nouvelle Clio, Paris, 1969) brosse le tableau de nos incertitudes concernant l'arrivée des Sumériens et le caractère composite de la civilisation qui leur est attribuée (243-247).

A quel moment ces populations de traditions montagnardes se sont-elles établies dans le Sud? Les avis divergent⁴; ce pourrait être à la fin du 5^e millénaire, ou à l'issue du 4^e. Il est d'autant plus difficile de trancher que cette installation doit avoir été progressive et que les diverses ethnies semblent s'être accommodées de leur voisinage sans heurts violents.

La réalisation, en République arabe syrienne, du barrage de Tabqa sur l'Euphrate va bientôt noyer toute une série de sites anciens implantés de part et d'autre du fleuve sur plus de 80 km de long. C'est pourquoi plusieurs missions archéologiques, nationales et étrangères, se sont mises à l'ouvrage dans cette région. En ce qui regarde les vestiges mésopotamiens, s'il n'y avait pas eu cette prochaine submersion, il est peu probable que les archéologues se fussent intéressés de sitôt à ces "tells" relativement modestes. C'eût été dommage.

La mission archéologique belge qui travaille au Tell Kannâs, sur la terrasse de la rive droite de l'Euphrate, à quelque 12 km en amont de Meskéné, a commencé à dégager, en automne 1972, les murs d'une construction à "niches", montés en petites briques non cuites de 20x10/12x8/10 cm. Le soin de l'appareillage, celui de l'enduit de plâtre, et la présence des niches donnent à penser qu'il pourrait s'agir d'un temple. D'autres murs en "riemchen" apparaissent à divers endroits, toujours directement sous des vestiges que l'on doit attribuer aux environs de 2000⁵.

Au critère que constituent ces constructions en petites briques, il convient d'ajouter les indices que fournissent les ecuelles grossières faites à la main, au rebord en biseau extérieur (les "glockentöpfe")⁶, des fragments de vases pansus décorés sur l'épaule d'incisions géométriques disposées en triangle et réparties en quatre champs séparés par de petits tenons percés⁷, les clous en argile cuite à base excavée et trempés dans le bitume. Tout cela nous reporte au 4^e millénaire. Après quoi, jusqu'au début du 2^e millénaire, le Tell Kannâs a été abandonné. C'est pourquoi nous avons trouvé avec une abondance qui nous intriguait autant de fragments de "glockentöpfe" et autant de "clous", entiers ou fragmentaires, que les réoccupants du site déserté ont fait "remonter" d'au moins dix siècles. Ces vestiges du 4^e millénaire sont particulièrement abondants à Habuba-Sud où travaille la mission archéologique allemande du Pr. E. Heinrich et de Mme E. Strommenger. L'établissement a connu une large extension à cette haute époque, avant d'être abandonné sans retour.

Faut-il croire que cette vaste agglomération, englobant au moins Habuba et Tell Kannâs, représentait une expansion, une sorte de "colonie" sumérienne, partie des centres de Basse Mésopotamie pour gagner la grande boucle de l'Euphrate à plus de 800 km au Nord-Ouest? Ne représenterait-elle pas plutôt une étape importante sur une route qu'auraient empruntée les Sumériens descendant du Nord vers le Sud? Les invasions longent volontiers les fleuves ou rivières qui assurent aux envahisseurs une part notable de leur ravitaillement. Une population parlant le sumérien, venue du Caucase, se serait installée d'abord dans les étroites vallées d'Arménie; puis, les richesses naturelles ne suffisant plus, aurait longé l'Euphrate jusqu'en Basse Mésopotamie, non sans s'établir en nombre dans les endroits où l'élargissement de la vallée peut assurer la subsistance d'une communauté⁸.

Cette hypothèse n'exclut pas que d'autres sections du même groupe "sumérophone" aient pu gagner le Sud par d'autres voies, telles que les bassins du Tigre ou du Habur, voire le plateau iranien. En tous cas un

⁴ Voir l'ancien exposé de A. Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne II. Techniques et problèmes* (Paris, 1953), pp. 308-33; et le bref résumé de P. Garelli, *op.cit.*, pp. 243-46.

⁵ Sur les fouilles du Tell Kannâs, voir provisoirement AAS 22 (1973), 63-74, et AfO 24 (1973), 171-75.

⁶ Sur les fouilles de Habuba-Sud, voir les rapports publiés dans MDOG 102 (1970), 27-85 et 103 (1971), 6-48. Pour les "glockentöpfe", voir E. Strommenger, MDOG 102, 61-2 et n. 66; sur leur diffusion, AAS 20 (1970), 42-4 et carte fig. 17.

⁷ Reproduction dans MDOG 103, fig. 29, p. 47.

⁸ Cf. l'exode des Arméniens vers l'Ouest et Constantinople aux temps byzantins, sans pression extérieure. Sur les divinités sumériennes adorées à Mari avant Sargon d'Akkad, voir D.O. Edzard, "Pantheon und Kult in Mari," CCRAI 15 (1967), 53-56.

cheminement longeant l'Euphrate expliquerait mieux, à mon sens, un point d'appui de l'ampleur de celui de Habuba/Tell Kannâs. Il rendrait compte aussi de noms de lieux comme Emar/Imar⁹ ou Tuttul dont l'étymologie la plus évidente relève du sumérien. On comprend mieux également que des groupes sumérisants dans le Habur ou à Mari aient davantage subi l'influence des populations locales qu'ils rencontraient dans leurs pérégrinations s'ils n'avaient pas encore élaboré leur civilisation caractéristique dans le Sud¹⁰. Auraient-ils été aussi perméables s'ils avaient déjà derrière eux l'organisation urbaine de Sumer?

Se pose aussi la question de l'écriture. Jusqu'à présent, sauf erreur, aucun texte pictographique sumérien, ou présumé tel, n'a été découvert en dehors du pays de Sumer. Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, c'est donc seulement en Basse Mésopotamie que les Sumériens ont employé l'écriture. De deux choses l'une: ils ne l'ont connue eux-mêmes qu'après s'être établis dans le Sud, ou bien ils ne l'ont imaginée ou adaptée qu'au contact de peuples qui s'y trouvaient établis avant eux et auxquels ils venaient se mêler.

Le problème fondamental reste celui de la date à partir de laquelle la masse des gens qui parlaient sumérien a fini par submerger les peuples qu'ils supplantèrent. Les fouilles de la boucle de l'Euphrate ne sont pas terminées; peut-être apporteront-elles la réponse à cette question.

⁹ Les découvertes récentes de J. Margueron confirment l'hypothèse de G. Dossin qui situait Emar à Meskéné (AAS 11-12 [1961-2], 199).

¹⁰ Voir les observations de A. Moortgat, "Frühe Kanaanäische-sumerische Berührungen in Mari", *Baghd. Mitt.* 4 (1968), 221-31.

šilip rēmim and Related Matters

J. J. Finkelstein, New Haven

I am pleased to participate in this tribute to Professor Kramer, whose assured stature needs no further encomium. I hope, however, that the following pages will perhaps suggest the less tangible qualities of enthusiasm and directness which are equally characteristic of him, and which only those of us who were his students can fully appreciate.

In the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 15 (1960) 292-94, A.L. Oppenheim re-edited the text MAH 15951, which E. Szlechter included in his edition of the Geneva tablets.¹ According to Oppenheim's interpretation the text provided unexpected evidence for the delivery of infants by caesarian section in ancient Mesopotamia. This view was based primarily on his understanding of the phrase *šilip rēmim*, literally "drawn out of the uterus", which is the way the infant is described in the first line. Oppenheim derived some support for this view by his reading of the sign in line 2 following the name of the mother, Atkalšim, as UG_x (BE), which would denote that she was already dead.² Further, the transaction reports the adoption of the apparently as yet unnamed child by one Ibqu-Antum who, by the document in hand, records his payment of the standard fee for two years of nursing to Šamaš-našir and Tariš-matim, respectively, the brother³ and sister⁴ of the dead woman. Taking all of these indirect indications together, the conclusion drawn about the circumstances of the child's birth would appear to be justified. Some question may still be raised over certain details in this interpretation, but it is best to postpone their consideration until a larger question is disposed of, namely: What evidence is available to suggest that the mother of the child actually died in the course of labor, and is it, indeed, necessary to read into the term *šilip rēmim* the implication that the infant was removed from the womb by caesarian section or by any other surgical procedure?

¹ Tablettes juridiques de la I^{re} dynastie de Babylone conservées au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève (Paris, 1958) pl. IX and p. 3f.

² But see below, note 11.

³ Oppenheim reports (p. 293) the reading of line 3 by the late B. Landsberger after the name of dUTU-na-šir as [ŠEŠ].GAL.[A].[N]I, but the photograph of the cast on the plate opposite shows the ŠEŠ to be preserved, although slightly mutilated, followed by a perfectly clear AMA. The next sign appears to be NI, as expected, but this is on the right edge, and would require collation.

⁴ I see no reason to emend the clear NIN to DAM as Oppenheim proposes. Granted that it would be more common to hear of a husband and wife together giving the child into adoption, the special circumstances in this instance allow one to presuppose that the sister of Atkalšim, as well as her brother, might have had authority over the child, especially if we should agree with Oppenheim that Atkalšim had died. Whether Shamash-našir did or did not have a wife would then have been entirely secondary.

We are fortunate, however, in that the Geneva tablet is no longer the only known document to describe an infant as *šilip rēmim*. Two additional documents attesting the same term are known to the present writer, both related in function to the Geneva document. Both are in the Budge Collections of the British Museum. We present them herewith.⁵

TEXT A = BM 78811 / 78812 (case)

Copies of both the tablet and the case are herewith included, together with separate transliterations of each. The reason for this will be immediately apparent.

BM 78811 (tablet)

IdNIN.PIRIG-a-bi⁶ šilip re-mi
KI Hu-uš-šu-tum
Inu-ur-dšamaš a-na ma-ru-tim

il-qé-e-šu
5 ŠE.BA Ì.BA ù SÍG.BA
ga-am-ra-am ma-aḫ-ra-at
li-ib-ba-ša DUGab
IGI Ì-lí-ma-a-ḫi
IGI Pa-la-tum
10 IGI Hu-mu-rum
DUMU.MEŠ Ib-ni-dšamaš
IGI SIG-dAdad DUMU U-bar-dšamaš
IGI An-ni-ba-ab-tu
IGI Ib-ni-dAdad
15 IGI dšamaš-li-wi-ir
IGI XXX-ma-gir
IGI dšamaš-be-el-ì-lí
(left edge)
MU ÍD Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí
šu-mu-uḫ⁷-ni-ši

BM 78812 (case)

IdNIN.PIRIG-a-bi⁶
šilip r[e]-mi-im
KI Hu-uš-šu-tum SAL+ME dšamaš DUMU.MÍ Ib-ni-
dšamaš
Inu-ur-dšamaš DUMU Ib-ni-dšamaš ŠEŠ-A-NI
5 a-na ma-ru-tim il-qé-e-šu
ŠE.BA [Ì.B]A ù SÍG.BA
ša MU-3-KAM ga-am-ra-am
ma-aḫ-ra-at
li-ib-ba-ša DUGab
10 IGI SIG-dAdad DUMU U-bar-dšamaš
IGI An-ni-ba-ab-tu DUMU Ar-ZA-nu-um
IGI Ib-ni-dAdad DUMU XXX-i-qí-ša-am
IGI dšamaš-li-wi-ir DUMU E-tel-XXX
IGI XXX-ma-gir DUMU E-ri-ba-am
15 IGI dšamaš-be-el-ì-lí
DUMU Ap-pa-an-él
IGI Be-lí-qar-ra-ad
DUMU Bu-zu-ki
IGI Ì-lí-ma-a-ḫi
20 IGI Pa-la-tum
IGI Hu-mu-rum
DUMU.MEŠ Ib-ni-dšamaš ŠEŠ-A-NI
(left edge)
MU ÍD Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí-šu-mu-uḫ⁷-ni-ši

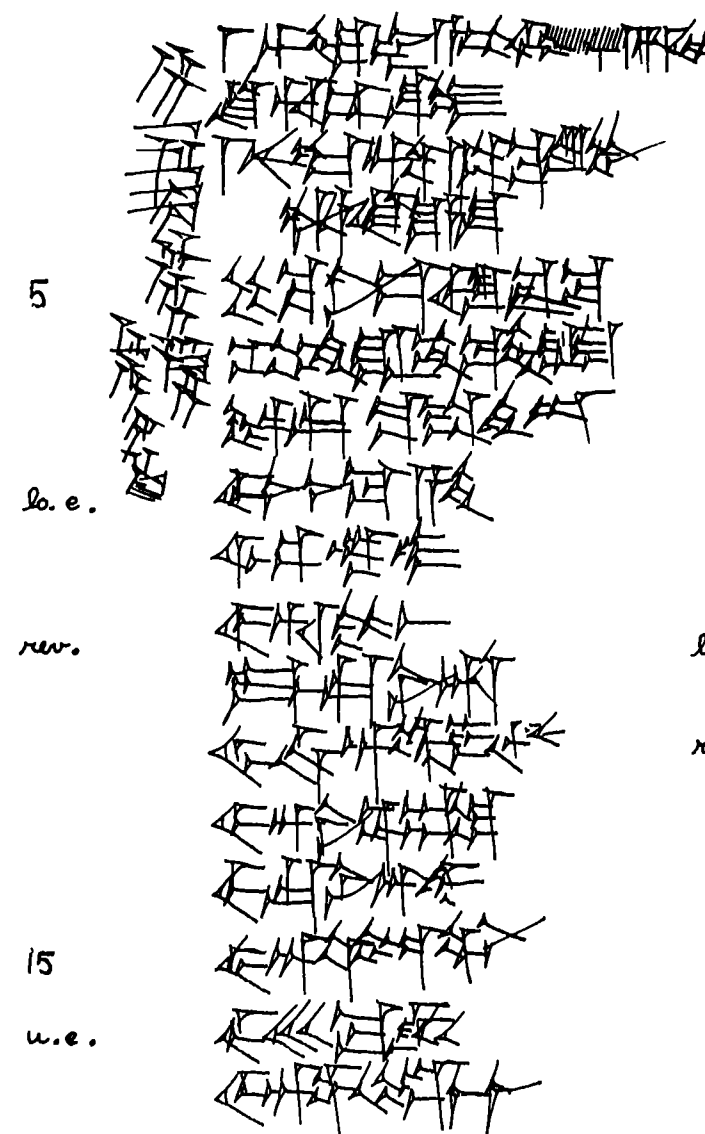
Translation (composite): Nin.pirig-abi, an infant drawn from the womb, was taken in adoption from Huššutum, the *nadītu* of Shamash, daughter of Ibni-Shamash, by her brother Nur-Shamash son of Ibni-Shamash. She has received the barley, oil, and wool allowance for three years. She is satisfied. Eleven witnesses. Dated in the thirty-third year of Hammurapi.

⁵ I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum and Drs. R.D. Barnett and E. Sollberger of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities for permission to publish BM 78811 and its case in the present form.

⁶ On the deity Nin.pirig, see the present writer's article in *RA* 67 (1973), 111 ff.

⁷ Clearly a variant and synonym for the expected *nuḫuš*.

BM 78811



lo. e.

rev.

15

u. e.

seals on case: Ib-ni-⁴IM

XXX-ma-gir

SIG-⁴IM

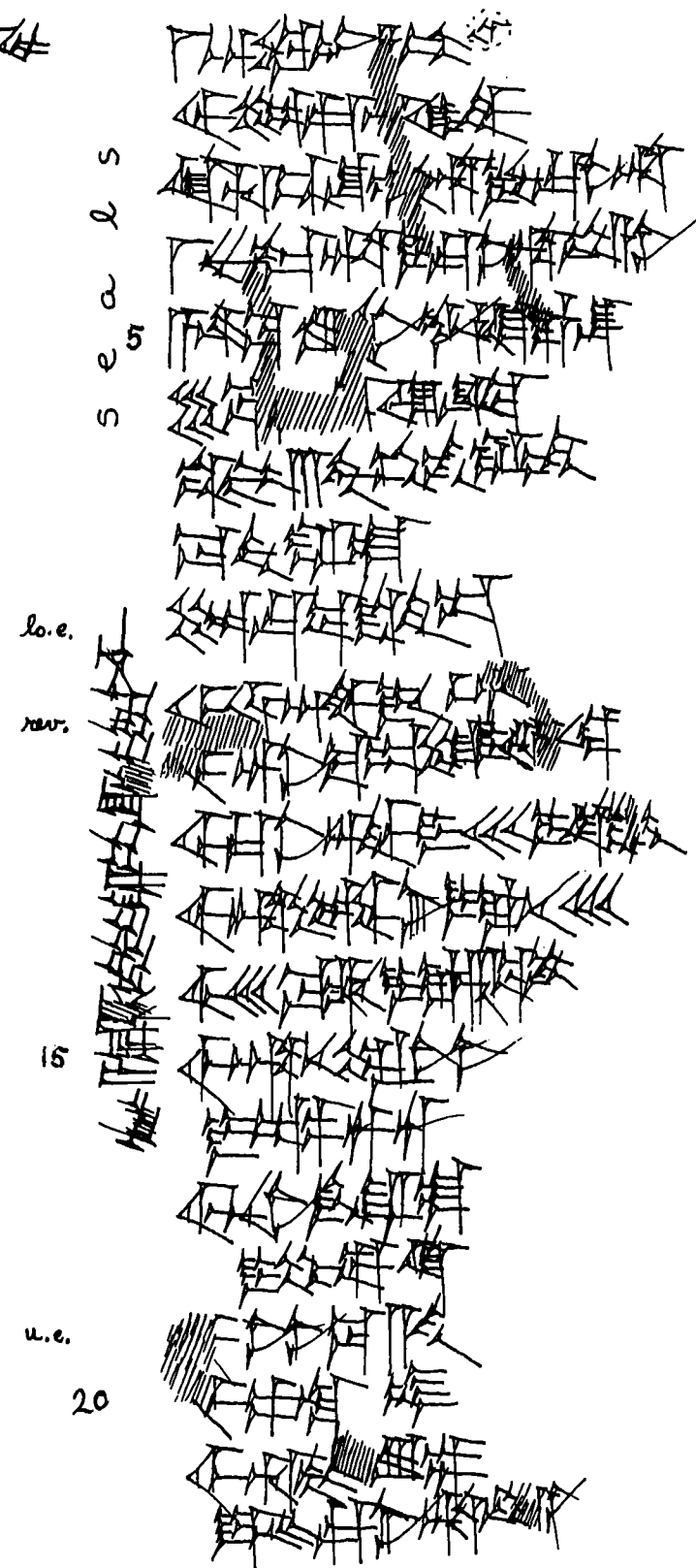
XXX-i-din-nam

Be-lí-qar-ra-ad

...
...
...

...
...
...

(case) BM 78812



lo. e.

rev.

15

u. e.

20

TEXT B = CT 48 No. 70 (BM 82393 / 82383a [case])

Obv.	Rev.
1 Na-am-ra-am-ša-ru-ur	IGI Tu-tu-ni-šu DUMU Ig-mil-AN
ši-li-ip re-mi-im	IGI Er-se-ti-ya DUMU Ku-ru-šu
DUMU A-ḥu-um-wa-qar	15 IGI dŠamaš-AN DUMU XXX-ga-mil(!)
ù Na-ru-ub-tum	IGI Ki-gu-la DUMU Warad-MAR.TU
5 a-na E-ri-ba-am	IGI A-bu-um-wa-qar DUMU XXX-re-me-ni
ù ZI-ir-pa-a	IGI dMAR.TU-na-šir DUMU Wara(d)-sà
a-na te-ni-qí-im	IGI Ya-ar-ši-èl DUMU dSîn-re-me-ni
id-di-nu-šu	20 IGI dI-šum-ba-ni DUMU KÙ.dNanna
ŠE.BA Ì.BA SÍG.BA ša MU.3-KAM ^{am}	IGI Ma-ni-um DUMU I-túr-rum
10 ma-aḥ-ru li-ib-ba-šu-nu ta-ab	IGI Ša-li-AN DUMU XXX-i-din-nam
Lo.E. IGI Nu-úr-dŠamaš ra-bi-a-nu-um	IGI XXX-na-šir DUMU Pu-tu-ya
IGI Ya-aḥ-zu-ub-el DUMU Ma-ší-lim	IGI Mi-nam-e-pu-uš-AN DUMU Nu-úr.dKab-ta
	25 U.E. MU ÍD Ḥa-am-mu-ra-pí-ḫé-gál

Translation: Namram-sharur, an infant drawn from the womb, son of Ahumwaqar and Narubtum — they (i.e. his parents) gave him to Eribam and Zirpā for nursing. They (i.e. E. and Z.) have received in full the barley, oil, and wool allowance for three years. They are satisfied. Fourteen witnesses, Dated in the ninth year of Hammurapi.

We will add here still another document which, although it does not include the term *šilip rēmim*, will nevertheless be seen as pertinent to the discussion in related respects.

TEXT C = CT 47 No. 46

1 Ḥu-za-la-tum SAL + ME dUTU	[IGI] dNinurta-mu-ša-lim
ma-ra-as-sà	DUMU Im-gur-dNinurta
a-na Du-ba-ba-tum ù Bu-ri-ya	IGI A-na-šíl-lí-šu-e-mi-id
a-na te-ni-qí-im id-di-in	20 DUMU Ḥa-zi-rum
5 ŠE.BA ù SÍG.BA ša MU.3-KAM	IGI Bu-ḥu-um du[mu . . .]x
1 Du-ba-ba-tum ù Bu-ri-ya	IGI Gi-mil-i[-lí-šu]
4 GÍN KUBABBAR ma-aḥ-ru	DUMU dEN.ZU[-i . . .]-am
li-ib-ba[-šu-nu] ta-ab	IGI Ì-lí-na-a[p-še-er]
[U ₄]-KU-ÚR ^a U ₄ -DA-ŠÈ	25 DUMU Ì-lí-ḫa-li
10 [1D]u-ba-ba-tum	IGI Im-gur-rum DUMU Wa-tar.dEN.ZU
[ù] Bu-ri-ya	IGI Ib-na-tum AGA.UŠ
[á-ul i-b]a-qá-ru-ma	ša Sa-am-sa-nu-um UGULA MAR.TU
[MU dUTU (?)] Ḥa-am-mu-ra-pí	IGI Še-le-bu-um
IN-PÀD.MEŠ	30 ITI GÁN.GÁN.NE ^a U ₄ -4-KAM
15 [IGI] Ì-lí-i-din-nam	MU Ḥa-am-mu-ra-pí LUGAL
DUMU dEN.ZU-i-qí-ša-am	KÌLI-GÚ-DÀ-A-BI

Translation: (1-5) Ḥuzalatum the *nadītu* of Shamash gave her daughter to Dubabatum and Buriya to be nursed. (5-9) Dubabatum and Buriya received four shekels of silver (to cover) food and clothing for a three-year period, and their heart is satisfied. (10-14) (As warrant that) they will enter no future claim, Dubabatum

and Buriya swore the oath by Shamash(?) and Hammurapi. Eight witnesses. Dated the fourth day of Kislimu, thirty-ninth year of Hammurapi.

a. Such phonetic writings are quite frequent in Old Babylonian documents, and clearly indicate that such formulaic words were not "read" in Akkadian.

In the interest of brevity we shall attempt to combine comment on specific lines of the texts together with discussion of the main points we see as the issue.

Firstly is the natural mother of the infants involved dead? This question cannot be casually answered. Text A is utterly ambiguous in this regard, and how it is to be understood will depend in some measure on our understanding of B. Here the text plainly identifies the parents of the *šilip-rēmim* infant as the ones who gave it over to the second couple for a nursing period of three years. The parents of the child are therefore both alive at the time of the transaction. There remains the possibility, however, that Ahumwaqar and Narubtum are not the natural parents; one can easily envisage a background where the natural mother of the child — possibly a sister of Ahumwaqar, or even of Narubtum — had died in childbirth, that the infant had been removed from the womb by the procedure described by Oppenheim, and that Ahumwaqar and his wife Narubtum had assumed formal or informal parental status before giving the child out for nursing. We will not altogether reject this possibility, the more especially in light of our knowledge of how laconic such documents can be about background and about relationships between the principals which we would consider crucial. But in all fairness we must at least start from the presumption that Ahumwaqar and Narubtum are the natural parents of Namram-sharur unless there is compelling evidence to the contrary. If this is so, then the phrase *šilip rēmim* can have nothing to do with a delivery by caesarian section. We will return below to the issue of an alternative rendering.

We may now turn to Text A, and observe at the outset the degree to which we are at the mercy of scribal whim. Had the case of this text not been preserved we should have remained ignorant of the fact that Nur-Shamash, the person adopting the infant Ninpirig-abi is the brother of Ḥuššutum, and that the first three witnesses to the contract (the last three in the case) are also her brothers. Most importantly, we should not have known that Ḥuššutum was a *nadītu* of Shamash. The most obvious question, however, as well as the most intriguing, is that regarding the real mother of the child. It is incontrovertible, at any rate, that Ḥuššutum has legal possession of the child at the beginning of the time frame covered by the document. Could she have been its real mother? Let us assume for the moment that she is not, bearing in mind the widely held view that *nadītus*, especially those of the god Shamash, were vowed to a life of chastity.⁸ We must then attempt to reconstruct a background which might account for Ḥuššutum's having possession of the child. We must first take note of the fact that nothing is said of the child's paternity. We must therefore assume that it is unknown. The mother would have been, very likely, a *ḥarimtu*, a *qadištu*, or a *kulmašītu*, i.e., a woman characterized by some degree of sexual promiscuity. In order for such a woman to have been associated closely enough with a *nadītu* that the latter would get possession of her child, we must imagine that she either lived in the *gagūm* (the "cloister" — a unfortunate translation at best) or was otherwise in close proximity to, and in association with the *nadītus*. This in itself is not unlikely.⁹ We should have to imagine further that this woman was dead, i.e., had died in childbirth. For how else would Ḥuššutum have been able to assume authority over the child?¹⁰

⁸ See especially the views of B. Landsberger in *Symbolae . . . David* etc. II, p. 58, and those of R. Harris in various articles, cited in Renger, *ZA* 58 (1967), 149 n. 269. See also my criticism of this position in *JAOS* 90 (1970), 246.

⁹ See Mrs. Harris' tabulation of pairs of sisters of which one was a *nadītu* and the other a *kulmašītu* or a *qadištu*, *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964), p. 126. Erištum, the sister of Aya-rīšat in BAP 111 = *VS* 8 17/18, is a *kulmašītu*, not a *qadištu*, as inadvertently stated. Note now also YOS 13 12 22ff. where the *kulmašītu* Rutum, the aunt of the *nadītu* Lamassāni, had inherited a field described as A.GÀR šūt ša dAya, i.e. the arable land in the acreage of the goddess Aya. Further, throughout the docu-

But there are obvious difficulties with this reconstruction, and they are insurmountable. We have already seen from text B that there is no reason to assume that the identification of an infant as *šilip rēmim* implies that the mother had died. Further, were this the case in text A, then we should have been given this most pertinent piece of information, as the Geneva text presumably does, where the name of the mother is also stated. Unpalatable as it may be to some modern authorities, we cannot escape the most obvious solution to the question, namely that *Ḫuššutum*, the *nadītu* of Shamash, is in fact the real mother of the child. Indirect but more positive support for this view is to be found in the text itself. It is *Ḫuššutum* who is to nurse the child for his first three years, and it is for this that her brother pays her in advance. It would be taxing our credulity to imagine that she receives this money only to turn around and sub-contract for a wetnurse. Had that been the case, the nursing stipulation of the contract might have been expected to name explicitly the woman who was to provide this service. Lastly, it is hardly without significance that Nur-Shamash, who is adopting the child, is *Ḫuššutum*'s brother, and that three other brothers are grouped together as witnesses. Clearly, a family matter is at stake; had the child been that of a stranger, with *Ḫuššutum* serving as a go-between — operating, as it were, a foundling placement service — there would have been no need to have the other three brothers attest the agreement. Their witness to it must then be understood as constituting their consent and renunciation of any competing claim to adoptive rights.

The Geneva text in this respect confirms our interpretation of text A. We will assume, at least for the present, that Atkalšim is in fact dead. But what of the natural father of the child? Surely, if the child had a known father, the latter would have been its legal parent, with full rights over its disposition. The fact that such information is absent, and that Shamash-nāšir and his sister Tarīš-mātim have the right to give the child away in adoption, clearly implies that Atkalšim, like *Ḫuššutum* in text A, was not married. She must have belonged to one of the classes of women already mentioned above, more or less formally associated with the Shamash cult in Sippar, or she might even have been a *nadītu*.

It would appear that *nadītus*, and women in other "orders" whose careers normally precluded marriage, enjoyed wide latitude in the disposition of such children as they occasionally bore. In this connection, we observe that the infant girl in text C is described simply as the daughter of *Ḫuzalatum*, a *nadītu* of Shamash. I see no reason to suppose that the natural mother of this infant is anyone other than *Ḫuzalatum* herself. At least at the time of the writing of this nursing agreement — which, like the others studied here, must be presumed to have been made at the beginning of the nursing term rather than at its close — *Ḫuzalatum* appears to have every intention of retaining the child for herself. The situation is otherwise in text A. Here, the mother of the child, the *nadītu* *Ḫuššutum*, formally relinquishes the child to her brother, who adopts it. She is, however, to be paid for nursing it. In the Geneva text, the choice of either retaining the child or giving it out for adoption devolved on Atkalšim's brother (and sister); the second alternative was chosen. We may suppose that the same right of disposition could have been exercised by the brother even if we reject the assumption that Atkalšim was dead.¹¹

mentation of the *kulmašītus*, they are uniformly in close association with persons whose names suggest that they belong to the Shamash-Aya cult in Sippar. From CT 48,53:23 we learn that the *kulmašītus* were under the superintendancy of an UGULA NUBAR (in that case one Shamash-liwir, dated in Samsuiluna 7; in his seal he describes himself as the servant of Hammurapi), which suggests an organization very much like that of the *nadītus* and the *ugbabtus*. On the question of the *qadištus* and the *gagūm* see Renger ZA 58, 181f.

¹⁰ Here one may have in mind the post-Old Babylonian tradition that *nadītus*, like *qadištus* were adept at midwifery, cf. R. Harris, op.cit. 135, Finkelstein, YOS 13, p. 9. But what would such activity have to do with possessory rights in the child unless the woman giving birth had herself been somehow under special jurisdiction of the *nadītus* as a group?

¹¹ While there can be no direct challenge to Oppenheim's reading of line 2 of the Geneva text, there remain some reservations, especially about his reading UG_x(BE) after the name Atkalšim. It is true that this is the sign used to signify that a named individual is dead, but the use of the sign for this purpose in Old Babylonian documents insofar as it is familiar to me — I have not attempted a survey of all the available evi-

All of the four texts reviewed here come from Sippar. All are dated in the reign of Hammurapi. All except the Geneva text, which is witnessed by five persons, carry an extraordinary large number of witness names for this kind of transaction. At least two of the documents involve *nadītus* among the principals. The *rabi'ānum* (of Sippar, or one of its districts) heads the list of witnesses in text B, leading one to suspect that Narubtum, the mother of the infant given out for nursing, was something other than a simple "housewife." As is often the case, however, the document provides no clue to this even in instances, such as the present one, where both the inner tablet and the case tablet are preserved.

We must conclude, however, and return to the issue of *šilip rēmim*. Apart from the objections raised previously against taking the term as denoting a birth by caesarian section or some analogous procedure, attention must surely be attracted by the curious coincidence that all attestations of the term are from a single place, Sippar, and within a very short span of time, from the ninth to the thirty-third year of Hammurapi. Surely, if *šilip rēmim* denoted delivery of an infant by caesarian section one might have expected an occasional allusion to the procedure in more or less similar contractual contexts in documents from other localities in the Old Babylonian period or in other periods and horizons, say, in Middle or Late Assyrian sources. So far as I know, however, such references do not exist, or have not yet been recognized. It appears to me, therefore, that the phrase *šilip rēmim* is neither a technical nor a legal one. It is very probably a local coinage in the Sippar region and had only short temporal currency as well. I believe it denotes nothing more than "new-born babe", "newly delivered" or the like. It may or may not be used in agreements of the kind reviewed here without in any way affecting the terms of such agreements. Text C, and other nursing agreements of the same type differ in no way from the three texts in which the phrase occurs other than the simple omission of the phrase. It very likely connotes the fact that the nursing payment — and the adoption agreement sometimes involved — was contracted and paid for at the outset of the nursing period; i.e., just as soon as the child was born, rather than at the end of that period. Finally, it is hardly possible to dissociate *šilip rēmim* from the description of the adoption of an infant *i-na me-e-šu* in the Laws of Hammurapi § 185. Yaron has demonstrated that this phrase does not mean "by his (i.e. the adopter's) name" but rather "out of its amniotic fluid."¹² The main document establishing this meaning is MDP 23 288 where an infant being given out for nursing is described as (line 8f.) *i-na me-e-šu ù da-mi-šu* "with his amniotic fluid and his blood still upon him." This description should be understood as conveying the same notion as *šilip rēmim*, i.e. "newly born, just delivered," but in more vivid phraseology. That the *šabzūtu* "midwife" (line 1) is the first of the two women who make the declaration with which the document is mainly concerned supports the comparison. The purpose of the declaration is to certify the newly-born child as the heir of the *ištārītu* Manniyatu (line 7), and that this purpose was the latter's declared intention. Whether Manniyatu was the child's natural mother or whether she had adopted him cannot be positively established from the wording of the document, although the fact of the declaration itself — since it could be argued that there would not have been any need for such a declaration if M. were indeed the child's natural mother — and the analogy of LH § 185 would tend to favor the view that the context is one of adoption.¹³

dence — seems to be restricted to placement before the name rather than after it, cf. VS 7, 128:44ff.; TCL 10,58:1; CT 45,52:5, 7; YOS 13,519:4f. Secondly, even as copied by Szlechter, the sign could just as easily, if not with better justification, be read as NU. This would suggest that what we have after the name is Atkalšim's title, which could have been NUBAR or NUGIG i.e. *kulmašītu* or *qadišītu*, either one well suited to the context. No photograph of the right edge of the cast was made, as far as I could ascertain, and the cast itself could no longer be located. Collation of the original tablet in Geneva might well be decisive in this respect.

¹² R. Yaron, in Journal of Juristic Papyrology 15 (1965), 171f. In line with the Susa document which is cited in support, it is clear that the translation should be "while still (bathed) in etc." rather than "out of . . ."

¹³ There can hardly be any doubt that this is the purport of the Susa document. The relevant lines, 6ff. state: *Idumu-U₄-20-kam* *Ma-an-ni-ya-tu ištā-ri-tu a-na ra-šī makkur(NIG.GA)-i-šā i-na me-e-šu ù da-mi-šu i-zi-ib-šu-ma [a-na f dTu-zi-dam-qa-at [mu-še-]ni-iq-ti ta-ad-di-iš-šu-ma [.] ù pi-iš-šā-ta [.] ni-di-in* "(The midwife and the *ištārītu* named in the first two lines declared orally thus:) 'Mar-ūm-ešā was left as heir to

However this question might be resolved, it remains clear that the purpose of the specific phraseology is to indicate that child had only just been delivered, and that it was being given over to a wetnurse for the standard period of suckling and rearing. The term *šilip rēmim* serves to connote the same idea in the Sippar texts reviewed here. This will be equally true for the Geneva text where, to be sure, the possibility exists that the infant's mother was dead at the time the document was drawn up. It is equally clear, however, that in the remainder of these documents there is no evidence for assuming the mother of the infant to be dead. Finally, as regards the Geneva text, even if it is assumed that the mother, Atkalšim, was dead, it is more likely that this transpired in the course of a difficult but natural delivery — as Rachel died while giving birth to Benjamin — or of childbed fever within the following day or so. Or, indeed, she may not have died at all.¹⁴

M. the *ištarītu* with regard to her property, and she handed him over to the wetnurse T. [Food, clothing,] and oil [for x years] we gave." The misunderstanding of *ezēbu* here was apparently created by CAD E p. 416f. which assumed that it denoted here the abandonment ("renounced [all her claims]") of the child, and in this CAD was followed by Yaron and also by de Meyer, *L'Accadien des Contrats de Suse*, p. 130. This goes against the syntax and the total context. If, as the CAD would appear to have it, T., the *mu-šēniqtum*, was given the child outright, there would be no need to re-imburse her for the standard nursing costs. These costs would appear to have been paid out to the wetnurse by the two deponents. The reason why can only be surmised. All the principals are apparently "temple women" so that the environment of the documents is fairly parallel to that of the Sippar texts we are reviewing here with the difference that in the Susa document nothing is explicitly stated about adoption of the infant, though this may well be implied in the phraseology. The reason that the two deponents pay the nursing costs rather than Manniyatu — although it is she who hands the child into the care of the wetnurse — may therefore be related to the living and financial arrangements of all the principals, which may be presumed to have been in the temple-compound. As for the sense in which *ezēbu* is used here, it can hardly be doubted that it is to be understood as "to bequeath" or — in line with the syntax in the present instance — "to name as legatee" in respect of an estate. This special meaning of the verb is well-attested in all periods including some occurrences elsewhere in the Susa documents in phraseology almost identical with that of this text, see CAD E, p. 421f.

¹⁴ See note 11 above. Line 1 of the Geneva tablet is equally problematical. From the fact that it reads: I DUMU *At-ka-al-ši-im* Oppenheim concluded that it could indicate that the child had no name at birth, and that he was first given the name, Mār-Ištar by his adoptive parents, the name occurring first in line 15. But this would be so unusual as to raise suspicion. The name of the child was, after all, known to everybody, including the scribe, at the time the document was being made out. It was not normal scribal procedure in the Old Babylonian period to phrase contractual arrangements in a "developmental" manner. As the numerous adoption contracts of this period show, the status and interrelationships of the principals which the document attests are stated at the very outset. What follows are merely the recording of the formalities and the financial considerations, if any, which validated the status and relationship of the principals. Thus when we observe the standard manumission-adoption agreements we find the subject declared at the very beginning to be the legitimate son or daughter of the adopting parent(s); only then does the document proceed to describe the procedure by which the change in status and relationship was attained. A much simpler explanation of the second line of the Geneva text is that there was a haplological error by the scribe: Intending to write DUMU EŠ₄. DAR he wrote the name of Atkalšim after completing DUMU. This would also account for the scribe having written DIŠ at the beginning of the line, the normal determinative before proper names. The DIŠ is not explicable otherwise. In sum, therefore, there is considerable ground for suspecting that the entire background of the Geneva document as reconstructed by Oppenheim is an unreal one.

Quantitative Evaluation of Slavery and Serfdom

I. J. Gelb, Chicago

A superficial glance at the early Mesopotamian administrative sources is sufficient to convince one that the number of chattel slaves is negligible in comparison with that of other dependent classes, namely the semi-free serfs (*guruš*). In the texts which list the personnel of a public household we find hundreds and thousands of serfs, with but a few scattered references to slaves.

One has to remember, however, that our available sources refer mainly to public, not private, households, and public households generally employ serf labor, not slaves. What about slaves in private possession? Unfortunately that question cannot be answered adequately, partly because of limited information on private households, mainly, however, on account of difficulties in distinguishing between public and true private households.

Our information about the composition of households is best for the temple households, in terms of both quantity and quality. Less known are the crown, or state, or royal households, while our information about private households of individuals is quite limited.

Our limited information in respect to private households can be explained by assuming that administrative accounts were more likely to be kept in the larger-size households of the crown and temples, than in the smaller-size households of individuals.

The reason for our better knowledge of temple households than of crown households lies probably in the composition of their respective labor personnel. The main work personnel of the crown may have consisted of prisoners of war, as they were being made available immediately upon the conclusion of a campaign and before they were freed and settled, with the resultant alleviation of conditions (see Gelb 1973 pp. 90ff.). It can be easily imagined that the state bureaucracy may not have been interested in keeping exact records of POW personnel, cheaply acquired and easily replenished by masses of new POWs as they became available from year to year. By contrast, the work personnel of the temple households was mainly composed of native impoverished classes (see Gelb 1972 pp. 1-12), less of POWs. Much of the temple personnel was born in the household. The character of this more or less permanent personnel required greater attention from the temple bureaucracy than that given to the crown personnel, resulting in a great mass of documents dealing with the personnel under the control of temples.

Before proceeding with the main topic of this paper, we must clarify, however briefly, the meaning of certain terms which have been used above. This very vast topic of the terminology pertaining to slavery and serfdom will be taken up exhaustively in a separate article.

The terms for "slave" and "slave girl" can be applied to individuals of all classes, from chattel slaves to certain kinds of serfs, to lower officials in their relation to higher officials, and to rulers in their relation to a divinity. This is especially true of the terms "slave of the palace" or "slave of the king." There are relatively few types of texts which leave no doubt as to the meaning of the terms *a r á d*, *g e m é*, and *s a g* as chattel slaves. These are contracts dealing with the purchase or sale of individuals; court records (*d i t i l l a s*) dealing with litigations concerning the slave status of certain individuals; and administrative texts referring to bought or manumitted slaves.

Contrasting with the terms for slaves, are two main terms for serfs: *g u r u š* "man" (= Latin *vir*, German *Mann*, not *homo* or *Mensch*) and *g e m é* "woman" (sic!). In contrast to chattel slaves, who are generally foreign-born and have no family life, serfs (*g u r u š*, Spartan helots, medieval serfs, etc.) are native-born and lead a full family life.

The term "private" household can be best applied to small family establishments which managed to remain independent of the control and interference of public households. Large "private" establishments are of two kinds: familial households, with the land in full possession and under the perpetual control of the heads of the kinship groupings; and official households, with the land held by the same individuals in their capacity as officials of the state and, theoretically, only for the duration of their office. However, familial and office holdings often merge to the extent that it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain their exact character in each and every case.

Let us now consider the relative numbers of slaves and serfs attested in early Mesopotamian sources. The highest number of slaves in a public household of the Sargonic period is about 300, found in a text from Susa (MDP 14, 71:rev. iv). The text, discussed in Gelb 1973 p. 81, lists rations of 11,580 quarts of barley for the slaves of the household (*ARÁD.É*), in addition to other rations for the 1,034 men, women, and children of the serf class. Since this text comes from the archive of the military establishment of the Akkadian conquerors at Susa, we may assume that these "slaves" were recently captured POWs in the possession of the royal establishment. See also below p. 199. Even higher numbers of slaves appear in Ur III texts using the collective term *g e m é - a r á d* for "female and male slaves," which is characteristic of the texts dealing with the crown households at Ur. Thus UET 3, 1047 and 1049 deal with rations for several hundreds (the exact number cannot be determined because of the fragmentary state of the tablets) of *g e m é - a r á d*, including men, women, and children, in the household of Karzida (part of Ur). Much higher numbers of *g e m é - a r á d* can be reconstructed from UET 3, 1504:viii 24-31 and 1505:ix 31-39, according to which more than 1,200 talents of wool was provided as *s í g - b a g e m é - a r á d - e - n e* "wool rations for female and male slaves." Since the numbers of men, women, and children are not given, we cannot calculate the exact number in the labor force mentioned in these texts. Estimating 3 or 2 pounds of wool per person per year, we find that 72,000 pounds if divided by 3 yields 24,000; or if divided by 2 yields 36,000 as the total labor force. For the annual rations of 1 to 5 pounds of wool for men, women, and children, see Gelb 1965a p. 235. The estimate of 9,000 slaves, reconstructed from these two texts by Jacobsen in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen . . . dicata* (Copenhagen, 1953) p. 178, is based on the incorrect assumption "that the standard yearly wool-consumption of an individual [was] 10 mana." Counting the sum of wool rations in UET 3, 1504 as 1,148 talents, and averaging 4 pounds per person (too much in my judgment), Waetzoldt, *Textilindustrie*, p. 76 arrived at the sum of 17,220 individuals. In evaluating the significance of the very high numbers of *g e m é - a r á d* in these texts, it must be kept in mind that we are dealing with the royal households at Ur and that royal "slaves" are not necessarily chattel slaves (see above).

The occurrences of slaves and slave girls in temple households are conspicuous by their rarity (see Gelb 1972 p. 2). Varying numbers of *s a g š á m - m e* "purchased slaves," including women and children, receive barley rations in the temple household of Bau at Lagash in the Pre-Sargonic period (Or 34-35 [1928], 99-102, No. 16 and 105-108, No. 18; 43-44 [1929], 65-80, Nos. 13-14). The term *k u g - t a š á m - m e* "purchased for silver" ("price"), with reference to slaves, slave girls and slave children, is found in a number of Ur III texts of temple households (Jacobsen, Copenhagen, 54:xi 26; Barton, Haverford 2, 61:iii; etc.).

The highest numbers of slaves which I found in households which may or may not be considered private are in the following texts. Of two texts older than the Fara period, one (UET 2, 259) lists 23 *a r á d* and 12 *g e m é*, and the other (RTC, 1) lists 13 *a r á d* and 58 men with other designations. Two Pre-Sargonic texts from Adab (OIP 14, 58 and 60) mention 9 *a r á d* and 30 *l ú - ħ u n - g á* "30 hirelings." A *s a n g a* "priest" has at his disposal 17 *s a g* "slaves" (CT 50, 123 Sargonic); 18 slaves and 12 (or 13) slave girls are listed in the inventory of a certain Gubbani (MCS 8 [1959], 84-87), who certainly must have been a prosperous individual, to judge from the large numbers of commodities in his possession. An Ur III text from Ur (UET 3, 1364) deals with the issue of barley to about 77 *g e m é - a r á d* (NITA) "slaves" of three brothers, who are large landowners. An Ur III Umma text published in Grégoire, *Archives*, 81 gives us information about 220 *g e m é - a r á d* who were receiving rations in the household of Ur-Lisi, the governor of Umma, and his TUR.TUR-la "children."

Legal texts yield a sizable amount of information about the sale or purchase of chattel slaves, but they are of limited value for a quantitative evaluation of slavery because they refer, almost without exception, to single individuals. Legal texts concerned with debt or bond slavery, which at times refer to several members of a family, are also of limited value because debt or bond slavery cannot be simply equated with chattel slavery.

In contrast to legal texts dealing with the sale or purchase of slaves, those dealing with the sale or purchase of houses contain information which may be quite important for the quantitative evaluation of slavery. Before stating the facts as I see them, I should like to dispose here of the exaggerated notion — current among archeologists — about the size of the average house in Mesopotamia. This point is of some relevance to the question of slavery, because of the possibility that the alleged existence of large average houses in Mesopotamia may prompt some scholars to link it with economic prosperity and, consequently, with large numbers of slaves needed to service the household.

Frankfort 1948 p. 396 n. 23, in discussing the size and population of Babylonian cities, writes of "about twenty houses per acre with an average area of 200 square meters per house." Pallis 1956 p. 640 lists "various private houses in Mesopotamia," mostly with sizes of several hundred square meters, and concludes p. 641 that two of these houses, with sizes of 143 and 234 square meters, represent the "private houses of plain city people." Adams 1966 p. 98 speaks of larger houses of 200 square meters or more of floor area, and of smaller houses of 50 square meters in the Diyala Region. Harold D. Hill in OIP 88, pp. 143-151 discusses a very large number of private houses at Tell Asmar (Eshnunna), but gives no details about the size of the houses and refuses to make generalizations about a basic house type. The boundaries of some houses are discernible in plans on Plates 23 (squares J-K 18-21) and 24-32, but a statistical evaluation of the size of an average house in Eshnunna would require the expertise of a well-trained architect. Little information about private houses and no statistical evaluation about any kind of houses can be found in E. Heinrich and U. Seidl, "Grundrisszeichnungen aus dem Alten Orient," MDOG 98 (1967), 24-45, which deals primarily with plans of public houses, mainly temples, but only in two cases (p. 28 No. 2 and p. 32 No. 10) with possibly private houses.

The facts pertaining to house sizes which I collected from early Mesopotamian legal and administrative texts yield a completely different picture. While I cannot offer here a full documentation of the facts, I should like to cite at least the results of a statistical evaluation of the size of houses, which I put together some five or six years ago. Of 39 houses in the contracts of the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and Ur III periods, the average house has an area of 1 *s a r* 20 *g í n* or 80 *g í n*, with the largest house being 3 ²/₃ *s a r* or 220 *g í n* (1 example) and the smallest ¹/₃ *s a r* or 20 *g í n* (several examples). An almost identical average of 82.6 *g í n* is obtained from about 40 administrative texts and the *d i t i l l a s* of the same periods. Counted rather superficially, I found that the average house in the Old Babylonian period was 67 *g í n* in size. For the non-informed: 1 *s a r* = 60 *g í n* = 35.2836 m² or roughly 6 yards by 6 yards.

Conforming with and strengthening the evidence about the size of the average house, presented above, is the information which can be derived from the evaluation of an Old Assyrian contract dealing with the sale of a house lot measuring 1 *šū-bat* LÁ $\frac{1}{6}$ GÍN, that is, "1 *šūbat* minus $\frac{1}{6}$ GÍN" (see Gelb and Sollberger, JNES 16 [1957], 163-175). As interpreted by J. Lewy, AnBi 12 (1959), 216-226, esp. p. 221, Old Assyrian 1 *šū-bat* is equated with Babylonian 1 *sar*, and the existence of an Old Assyrian measure *šūbat*, which is identical with the word *šubtum* with the general meaning of "dwelling," "home," "residence," presupposes that the size of the average dwelling in Assyria was 1 *sar* or about 35 square meters.

The discrepancy between the data utilized by archeologists and philologists is roughly in the ratio of 200 to 50 square meters. The difference is enormous, as if one were to argue that the average private house in Chicago consisted of 20-24 rooms, instead of 5-6 rooms. It might very well be that the houses discussed by archeologists are those excavated in the areas of palaces and temples, and represent large houses owned by nobility and high officials; while the houses with which legal and administrative texts are concerned represent average houses sold or bought, and thus can range from larger dwellings to small hovels, some perhaps no more than additions to other houses. But the average house was a small house roughly 6 by 6 yards in area, and it represented well the average little man in ancient Mesopotamia, who could hardly afford to keep slaves.

An Ur III text, TCL 5, 5666, whose function I do not understand, may yield a certain amount of information about the numbers of slaves in the possession of private households. The text lists a total of 55 or 56 persons singly or in groups, each followed by the name of a man, sometimes with his profession or occupation (such as scribe, brewer, merchant, gendarme, etc.). There are altogether 40 men so named, each, presumably, the head of his own household. The types of persons enumerated with each man (household) include *dam* "wife," *dumu-SAL* "daughter," *gemé* "slave girl," and *arád* "slave." Notably, there are no entries for *dumu* or *dumu-nita* "boys." Broken down by households, the following groupings occur: 1 *dam* only, 11 times; 1 *dam*, 1 *dumu-SAL*, 1 *arád*, once; 1 *dam*, 2 *gemé*, once; 1 *dam*, 1 *gemé*, once; 1 *dam*, 1 *arád*, twice; 2 *dumu-SAL* only, once; 1 *dumu-SAL* only, 6 times; 3 *gemé*, 1 *arád*, once; 1 *gemé*, 1 *arád*, once; 3 *gemé* only, once; 2 *gemé* only, once; 1 *gemé* only, 11 times; 2 *arád* only, once. The total of these occurrences is 39 not 40 since there is nothing on the tablet before the name of *Lú-bala-sig₅ dub-sar* on the reverse. I suspect that the scribe who drew up the tablet left this space blank because he did not have the necessary information at the time, meaning to enter it later. This would account for the discrepancy between the number of 55 persons which can be counted in the text as compared with the number 56 which is written on the edge of the tablet. All these persons (55 or 56) are said to be *šà en-nun* "in the guardhouse," or rather "in jail," as in the Ur III texts referring to seized men: *da b₅-da b₅-me šà en-nun* (Grégoire, Archives, 17) and *lú da b₅-ba šà en-nu-gu-la* (Reisner, Telloh, 261 rev.). While I cannot account for the purpose of the text, it is quite significant in that it attests the ownership of small numbers of slaves by private households.

The number of serfs in a public household obviously depends on its size. The figures given below may not represent the total serf personnel of a given household. Furthermore, they may include a few individuals of the so-called "free" class.

In the Pre-Sargonic period:

736 (or 738) serfs, including 500± men and 200± women and children, received wool rations in the temple household of Bau in Giršū (DP 171 = Deimel, AnOr 2, pp. 60-65).

In the Sargonic period:

1,034 serfs, 444 of whom are men, 392 women, and 198 children, received rations in the royal establishment at Susa (MDP 14, 71; see also above p. 196).

690 serfs, of whom 105 are men and 585 women, worked in a weaving establishment at Eshnunna (MAD 1, 163).

Very important information about serfs in large private familial households may be obtained from the Maništušū Obelisk (MDP 2), if my reconstruction is right that the *guruš* "men" who "eat bread" at the ceremonies attendant to the sale of four large parcels of land to Maništušū are the serf personnel of the four households. The figures and proportions are: 190 men to 1,333 *iku* ("acres") in the first property; 94 men to 1,116 acres in the second property; 600 men to 6,400 acres in the third property; and 80 men to 794 acres in the fourth property.

In the Ur III period:

528 persons, including 405 women, 8 old women, and 115 children (among them 43 infants), belonged in a weaving establishment of Guabba (Reisner, Telloh, 162).

1,144 serfs working in a mill at Lagash received barley rations. They include the following: 86 men, 679 women, and 103 children in the mill proper; additionally, 47 women and 12 children who worked as oil pressers and weavers; plus 217 men who worked as scribes, gate keepers, carpenters, potters, etc. (CT 3, 9f.).

54 serfs, including 48 men and 6 boys, were employed in the New Mill at Lagash (Reisner, Telloh, 154).

294 serfs of a household involved in animal husbandry at Babaz include: 113 men, 8 women, 41 children (mainly boys), all of whom received rations; plus 61 fugitive, 19 dead, and 52 unaccounted males (Fish, Catalogue, 263).

79 serfs, including 31 men, 9 helpers, 24 boys, and 15 dead men, are listed in a Lagash household involved in animal husbandry (CT 1, 6f.).

6,466 women weavers, of whom 1,051 are in Giršū, 1,143 in Kinunir (and) Siraran, and 4,272 in Guabba, received oil rations (HSS 4, 3).

586 serfs of the temple household of Ninurra at Umma include: 373 women, 30 old women, 86 boys, 90 girls, 1 "village idiot," 3 individuals working half-time, and 3 men (Szlechter, TJA pl. LIX 10S 37).

321 serfs, including 270 men and 51 boys (among them 6 infants), are listed in a fragmentary text from Nippur (BE 3, 107).

A tremendous number of 21,799 *erín* "soldiers/workers" coming from different localities in Babylonia were gathered for the harvest (TCL 5, 6041).

Two unique Fara texts list even higher numbers of individuals gathered in one place for an unknown purpose. One of these texts (Jestin, Šuruppak, Pl. XXI 50) deals with 1 *guru₇* of barley distributed at 7 *silà* per man to 164,571 (individuals). The number 164,571 (men) multiplied by 7 *silà* is 1,151,997 *silà*; that number plus 3 *silà* (at the end of the text: 3 *še silà tag₄*) is 1,152,000 *silà*, which is exactly

the 1 g u r, of line 1. The second Fara text (Jestin, Šuruppak, Pl. CXLII 671), with similar numbers, but without totals, lists 164,160 g u r u š, each receiving 6 s i l à of barley. The issue of 7 or 6 s i l à of barley does not represent regular rations, but a special issue to the huge gathering of men, perhaps on the occasion of a festival. M. Lambert in *Sumer* 9 (1953), 206 and Geneviève Guitel in *RA* 57 (1963), 145-150 understand the first of the two Fara texts here discussed as an arithmetical problem.

Not discussed in the present article is the rather far-reaching conclusion, based on feelings rather than statistics, that women slaves and women serfs occur more often and in greater numbers in the Mesopotamian texts, and may therefore represent a more important source of labor than men.

The reasons for the disproportionate numbers of slaves and serfs in early Mesopotamia are obvious. Chattel slaves performed simple, menial, domestic tasks in the households of their masters. They were not engaged in production, which required mass labor of a different class of dependent labor, the serfs. Under production we understand mainly agricultural production, including agriculture proper, animal husbandry, cultivation of plants and trees in gardens, orchards, and forests, as well as processing raw products and manufacturing finished products. Finished products served to satisfy the autarkic needs of households, the surplus was traded or exported abroad.

This sharply stated division between service slavery and productive serfdom may not always be applicable. Occasionally slaves could be utilized in productive effort, as in agriculture, especially at the time of the harvest; and serf personnel could be employed at times in various tasks, including service, as in the so-called "work assignment texts" (see Gelb 1965b p. 61b).

My conclusions about the disproportionate numbers of slaves and serfs in early Mesopotamia find support in the frequently made statements that (chattel) slavery was little developed in areas where serfdom, including helotry, dominated and, vice versa, serfdom was very rare, if not unknown, in the areas of dominating slavery. See Westermann 1955 p. 3; Bolkestein 1958 p. 81; and Finley 1964 pp. 240f.

In my judgment, the conclusions about the numbers and utilization of slaves and serfs in early Mesopotamia apply also, in a general way, to later Mesopotamia and neighboring areas.

For the low numbers of slaves in the Old Babylonian and later periods, cf. Leemans in *JESHO* 12 (1968), 181f. and Mendelsohn 1949 pp. 119f. I know of one Old Babylonian text, UCP 9, p. 348 No. 22, which refers to 280 ARÁD.HIA 8 LÚ.TU.RA "280 slaves and 8 sick (slaves)"; the text probably represents a public household.

A full statistical evaluation of slavery in later Mesopotamian times cannot be given at the present time because of lack of space. Let it suffice to note here that even in the New Assyrian period, at the height of Assyrian military power, captured populations were not enslaved, but deported and resettled throughout the Empire. Also, the complete lack of attestation of slave rebellions in ancient Mesopotamia speaks against the widespread application of slavery and in favor of more lenient forms of serfdom in that country. Some pertinent information can be culled from the following discussions.

In reference to later periods in areas in Mesopotamia and areas adjacent to Mesopotamia, a number of scholars have expressed opinions — untenable in my judgment — about the utilization of slaves in agriculture.

Mendelsohn in *IEJ* 5 (1955), 71 stated that "in their [referring to the rulers of Alalakh] agricultural and industrial concerns slave labour was probably used to a considerable degree, an economic phenomenon known from other parts of the Ancient Near East." He justified this conclusion by the existence of palace ration lists, overlooking the fact that rations generally are not issued to slaves, but to dependent labor of the

serf class. Similarly, for the Old Babylonian texts from Sippar, Oppenheim 1969 p. 35 expressed an opinion that "profits from trade are invested in land which is rented out or, to a still unknown extent, farmed by slaves who seem to have been imported by the traders." The conclusion that the men and women involved in agricultural enterprises of the New Assyrian period were largely slaves (Jakobson 1965 pp. 292ff.; Garelli 1972 p. 73, partially qualified on pp. 78f. with n. 30; Zabłocka 1972 pp. 210 and 213f.) is based exclusively on terminology referring to ARÁD and GEMÉ, which is all too broad and inconclusive, especially in late Assyrian times. The statement of Korošec 1972 p. 111 that "allem Anschein nach wurden Sklaven [in the Hittite Empire] hauptsächlich in der Landwirtschaft beschäftigt" is not supported by the existing evidence. Dandamayev 1972 finds slavery everywhere in the Achaemenid Empire. On p. 33 he writes: "Eine große Zahl von Sklaven wurde zu den verschiedenen Arten häuslicher Arbeiten, aber auch in der Landwirtschaft, den großköniglichen Steinbrüchen und bei Bauarbeiten verwendet." In support of this statement, Dandamayev cites (in n. 60) M.F. Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies and Administration*, 663 to 323 B.C. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959) p. 87 and R.N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland and New York, 1963) pp. 152-153. While the reference to Frye is a misquotation, Gyles, p. 87, writes: "the [slaves] were used as house servants and field workers by private owners, and for the royal quarrying and building purposes." In tracing (with the help of Professor Charles F. Nims) the references cited by Gyles in n. 68, I find that E. Revillout, *Notice des papyrus démotiques archaïques* (Paris, 1896) pp. 288 and 410 (and similarly the corresponding entries in F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri* [Manchester and London, 1909]) yields nothing to support Gyles' statement, while K. Piehl, *ZAS* 32 (1894), 119 deals with male and female slaves offered by a high official to a god.

Dandamayev 1972 pp. 36-42 discusses at length the Elamite *kurtaš*, who correspond to the *grd* of Aramaic inscriptions and to the *gardu* of New Babylonian texts. While he cites certain evidence that the *kurtaš* may have been free Persian craftsmen (pp. 39 and 42), generally he regards them as slaves. On p. 41, he cites the fact that the *grd* of the Arsames letter were marked or branded as "eines klaren Zeugnis dafür, daß die *garda* Sklaven waren." This is contrary to the evidence I have gathered, which will be published elsewhere, showing that not only chattel slaves, but also individuals of the serf class were marked or branded. On p. 39, Dandamayev cites W. Hinz, *ZA* 49 (1949), 349 and Falkenstein, *WO* 1 (1952), 505 as being in favor of the idea that "die *kurtaš* waren Kriegsgefangene, die man zu Sklaven gemacht hatte." However, the two cited authors (also Hinz, *JNES* 9 [1950], 3 and 61 *ad l.* 41) interpret *kurtaš marrip* as "Kriegsgefangene," "captives," "Fronknechte," "Zwangsarbeiter," and "forced laborers," not as slaves. Apparently it was only Dandamayev who reached the conclusion that POWs are automatically slaves, which is contrary to all the evidence gathered in Gelb 1973. I leave open here the question whether the Elamite word *marrip* is derived from *mar* "to seize" and what relation the meaning "seized," "captive," if correct, might have to the (secondary?) meaning "craftsman," "artisan," definitely associated with *marrip* on the basis of Persian and Aramaic equations. See Dandamayev 1972 p. 39 n. 87 and R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (OIP 92, Chicago, 1969) pp. 46 n. 39 and 726.

The conclusion in respect to the functional difference between service slavery and productive serfdom and the concomittant disproportion between limited numbers of slaves and masses of serfs can be further applied, *pari passu*, to ancient as well as later times, to the Near East as well as elsewhere around the globe, with the exception of Classical Greece and Rome and post-Columbian America. As I realize the impact this sweeping statement may have on the reader, I shall let the evidence speak for itself.

In Pharaonic Egypt, slaves in limited numbers were employed in a domestic service capacity (Bakir 1952 pp. 81 and 101ff.). For the small numbers of slaves, cf. also Janssen 1963 pp. 144f. Public domains were cultivated in Egypt not by slaves, but by "Hörige" (Helck 1959 pp. 361f.); however, Baer 1962 p. 33 n. 63 states rightly that "The whole problem of serfdom (as contrasted with out-and-out chattel slavery) in ancient Egypt requires an intensive study." For Greco-Roman times, cf.: "In Egypt, where agricultural slavery had never existed, the land continued to be cultivated by free peasants as tenants either of the state, the temples, or private landlords" (Jones 1956 p. 11; similarly, Finley 1964 p. 242).

In Mycenaean Greece, the main labor force is generally taken to be composed of slaves, mainly I suppose because the overall term used for them is *do-e-ro*, *do-e-ra*, etc., taken to correspond to the Classical Greek *doulos* and *doulē* with the meaning (chattel) slave and slave girl. This is the position of many Marxist scholars, some of whom have modified it in recent years by assuming that the slavery of the Mycenaean era is not of the same kind as Classical slavery, but of the "patriarchal" type. The fact is that the meaning of *doulos*, *doulē* in Mycenaean texts is much broader than that of the identical terms in Classical Greece, as it encompasses also various types of dependency short of chattel slavery. This has been noted for the Mycenaean texts (E.L. Bennett, Nestor [1969] pp. 73ff.; Wundsam 1968 pp. 169-179), for the Cretan Gortyn Code (Willets 1955 pp. 46ff. and 52ff.; Willets 1969 pp. 146ff.; Lotze 1959 pp. 17ff.), and for Homeric Greece (Micknat 1954 p. 621). Furthermore, anybody who has only glanced at the Mycenaean ration lists and lists of personnel finds so many parallels with the corresponding early Mesopotamian texts that one is almost forced to the conclusion that the same, or at least a very similar, type of labor class must have existed in both areas. Lejeune 1959 discusses in a very exhaustive article the manifold uses of the terms *do-e-ro* and *do-e-ra* in the Mycenaean texts. He translates the terms as "hommes esclaves" and "femmes esclaves," respectively, apparently regards them as full chattel slaves, and suggests (p. 144) that, by contrast, the "esclaves du dieu" (*teoio doero* and *teoja doera*) may not have been "esclaves comme les autres." In going carefully through Lejeune's article, I find the following: the meaning "chattel slave" for the two terms is obvious from two texts (pp. 130f.) which deal with the purchase of individuals so termed. Also the text (pp. 131ff.) which lists a number of women with various designations for their fathers and mothers, such as "father is a slave, mother is a Cytherian" or "mother is a slave woman, father is a smith," indicates the meaning "slave" for the two terms. However, the meaning "slave" is highly improbable in most of the other texts treated in Lejeune's article, according to which individuals so termed receive grain (pp. 135 and 139), and sheep and goats (pp. 136 and 141), offer grain to divinities (p. 135 and n. 38), and, above all, have plots of land allocated to them for usufruct (pp. 132 n. 18 and 141ff.). See on all these points also Gelb 1972 p. 3.

The statement in Lencman 1966 p. 163 that the number of slaves in Mycenaean texts is at least ten times that in Homer, where, as interpreted by Lencman, terms for "slaves" occur 15 times and for "slave girls" 262 times (p. 263), has to be corrected in line with the opinions of Bennett, Wundsam, Willets, Lotze, and Micknat, cited above.

Bolkestein 1958 p. 74 and Schrader 1929 p. 458 refer to the opinions of Herodotus and Athenaios that there were no (chattel) slaves in ancient times. Lotze 1959 devotes a whole monograph to the discussion of "helotry" in Sparta, Crete, etc., with nothing but a fleeting mention of the chattel slaves (*chrusōnētoi* "acquired for silver") of Crete (pp. 4 and 18).

For ancient India, Ruben 1957 p. 73 writes of "die Verwendung von Sklaven und Sklavinnen im Hause"; Sharma 1958 p. 280 writes that there was hardly any slavery in India and p. 283 that "There is very little evidence of the employment of agricultural slaves; slavery was mostly domestic." Similarly, he writes on pp. 280ff. that the *śūdra* were not slaves, but a working class mainly employed in agriculture and therefore roughly comparable to the helots of Sparta. Chanana 1959 pp. 201f., esp. n. 3 has some strong words to say against those scholars who identify all the *śūdra* with slaves, and points out (p. 203) that Manu listed several groups among the *śūdra*, namely "the *ardhika* (share-cropper), *kula-mitra* (friend of the family), *gopala* (cowherd), *dasa* (slave), and *napita* (barber)." Cf. further, the statements that India never had a classical slave economy like Greece and Rome (Kosambi 1956 p. 10); no slavery occurs in Ramayana, very little in Mahabharata (Chanana 1960 pp. 26ff.). Megasthenes refers to the absence of slavery in the Maurya period, 322-200 B.C. (Sharma 1966 p. 66) and, confirming Megasthenes, a Chinese account "points out that human beings are not sold in the Five Indies, and adds that there are no female slaves" (Sharma 1965 p. 59).

In ancient China, "there is far more evidence that private slaves were used in service capacities . . . than as producers of wealth" (Wilbur 1943 p. 195); "slavery was [not] a part . . . agricultural production" (p.

203); "in general, the system remained at the level of domestic slavery" (p. 243); "slave labor apparently constituted a small part of the total population — probably well under 5 and not even 1 per cent" (p. 216); and "slaves seem to have made up not more than 1 per cent of the total population even at the time when the institution was most fully developed" (p. 241). Cf. similarly, "slaves were not used in agricultural production, nor indeed very much in industry; slavery was primarily domestic, or as some would say, 'patriarchal', throughout the ages" (Needham 1964 p. 178); "chattel-slavery was distinctly rare" (p. 185).

Applied to China of the Chou period, are the following statements: "Like the medieval European serf, the *shu jen* or peasant was obligated to work in the field to support his superiors. He did not own any land, but was attached to it and given it as a vassal. He was probably assigned a piece of land to cultivate for his lord, and another piece to support his family" (Hsu 1965 pp. 8f.); the economic life of pre-Ch'un Ch'in China in general resembled the manorial system of western Europe, the manor in China was the fief of a noble household. Peasants tilled its land . . . , and their food and clothing were supplied by the lord of the manor (p. 107); "there is no evidence that the economy of ancient China was based on slavery like the economy of ancient Greece" (pp. 13 and 174).

Note, however, these controversial statements about China. While Pulleybank 1958 p. 186 states that there is scant evidence in favor of slavery before the Han period and that China was never a "slave society," he also writes on p. 220 of the constant association of slaves with land and agriculture, which cannot be evaluated quantitatively. Similarly, H. Maspero in *Le servage* 1937 p. 268, in reference to the Chou and Han dynasties, writes about "l'usurpation des terres vacantes par les gens riches, qui les faisaient cultiver par les esclaves ou par des ouvriers à gages" (cf. also "esclaves ou fermiers" on p. 270).

In the manorial system of medieval Europe, chattel slaves played no role numerically, and wherever they existed they were employed mainly in domestic service. The rest of the dependent labor force, the *glebae adscripti* serfs, were employed mainly in agricultural production. All these facts are too well-known to need any documentation. Davis 1966 p. 38 states that according to the Domesday Book only about 10 percent of the population of medieval England were outright slaves, with the rest of the dependent labor constituted by serfs.

In the Arabic Near East of medieval and post-medieval times we meet everywhere with masses of poor *fellahin* peasants who were in a state of quasi-serfdom to large landowners, be it officials or sheikhs, on whom they were often dependent from year to year for seed-grain, plows, and work animals. Chattel slavery was relatively rare, with slave girls dominating slaves in number and employed almost exclusively in domestic service. For slavery in the Arabic Near East, cf. Goitein 1962 pp. 3ff.; Goitein 1966 pp. 131ff.; R. Brunschvig, article "abd" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1/1, p. 32.

Of the three main civilizations of pre-Columbian America, the best known is that of the Aztecs. Slavery was of little importance among the Aztecs (Kirchhoff 1954 p. 358; Katz 1956 p. 131; Katz 1969 pp. 422f.). Slaves were mainly in domestic service and transport, very rarely also in agriculture (Katz 1956 p. 131; Katz 1969 p. 422). According to the statistics offered by Katz 1969 p. 589, 30 percent of the Aztec population consisted of serfs, 5 percent of slaves, with the rest of the population being free peasants of the village communities. The social system of the Mayas is poorly known. The only reference to slaves in the Maya civilization known to me is found in Katz 1969 p. 134, who writes of the Maya slaves employed in agriculture. References to slaves employed in agriculture are suspect, since the Maya "slaves" may very well have been of the same social status as the *mayerques* of the Aztecs and the *yanacunas* of the Incas, who were serfs permanently attached to the soil of the ruling classes and therefore were at times labelled "slaves" by the Spaniards (Katz 1969 p. 542 calls them "Hörige"). I found no more than fleeting mentions of Inca slaves in Murra 1956 pp. 285 and 288.

Beginning with Classical Greece (specifically Athens) and Rome, chattel slavery, besides retaining its older function in service, becomes full production slavery. In Greece, slaves were rarely used in agriculture,

much in industry, crafts, and mining. In Rome, slaves were employed mainly in agriculture, less in industry and mining. Centuries later, production slavery is represented in the fully developed plantation slavery of post-Columbian America.

More or less exact statistics are known only for Classical Greece and Rome and medieval and modern times. For Greece, cf. generally Lencman 1966 pp. 3, 16-19, 28-31, 83, 86f., and 90. Finley 1964 p. 240 writes: "The helots outnumbered the Spartiates, perhaps several times over (in contrast to Athens where the proportion of slaves to free was probably of the order of 1:4, of slaves to citizens less than 1:1)." For Rome, cf. Barrow 1928 pp. 127 and 211, citing Tenney Frank who "concludes that nine-tenths of the population of Rome under the early Empire were of foreign descent"; and Goitein 1962 p. 2, with reference to J. Carcopino (which I cannot locate), who assumes that three-fourths of the inhabitants of Imperial Rome were slaves or freedmen. For statistics in respect to American slavery, cf. especially Curtin 1969.

In a brief résumé of the preceeding discussion, several broad features of slavery and serfdom can be pointed out.

Chattel slaves were normally of foreign origin, were purchased for a price, and once in the household of their master lived singly, not within a family. Serfs (Sumerian *g u r u š*, Spartan helots, medieval serfs, etc.) were normally of native origin and led a full family life on small plots of land assigned to them by the master household. Slaves were employed in menial domestic service and were limited in number. Serfs were employed in production, and represent the major class of dependent labor. These characteristics of slavery and serfdom are found in early and later Mesopotamia, the whole Near East, as well as the rest of the world, from ancient to modern times.

Contrasted with service slavery, described above, is productive slavery. Discounting such unique developments as the slavery of the Northwest American Indians (Salish, Kwakiutl, etc.), where slaves work, mostly in fishing, in accumulating wealth for their masters for the sole purpose of being consumed or given away at potlaches; or the case of imported slaves who worked on sugar plantations in Iraq in the 9th century A.D.; it can be concluded that productive slavery appears only twice in history: in Classical Greece (specifically Athens) and Rome, and much later in post-Columbian America.

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The Royal Correspondence of Larsa:

I. A Sumerian Prototype for the Prayer of Hezekiah?¹

William W. Hallo, New Haven

Five years ago I addressed myself to the subject of individual prayer in Sumerian, tracing its evolution from the epistolary format of neo-Sumerian times to the dialectal poems for "appeasing the heart" of the deity in post-Sumerian times.² Many parallels could be cited, throughout the long history of this evolution, to the structure and formulations of individual laments in the Psalter and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. No direct connection was proposed, since the parallels could also be explained as equivalent responses to comparable situations, but the way was opened to the investigation of such connections.

About the same time, it was suggested by Boehl that the Bible itself preserved a prayer in the form of a letter, namely the so-called Psalm of Hezekiah inserted in the account of his illness in Isaiah 38, though absent from the parallel narrative in II Kings 20.³ Actually this psalm is not a letter in formal terms, but rather betrays many of the generic characteristics of an individual lament or thanksgiving psalm, with form criticism tending to favor the latter classification.⁴ It is described in the Hebrew text (Is. 38:9) as a MIQTĀB, a word which came to mean "letter" in later Biblical Hebrew (e.g. II Ch. 21:12),⁵ but which critical opinion, both modern and traditional, here tends to associate with MIQTĀM, found as superscription in a number of psalms linked to events in the life of David (Pss. 16, 56-60). And while MIQTĀB is translated in the Greek Bible simply by PROSEUCHĒ (prayer), MIQTĀM is consistently rendered by STĒLOGRAPHÍA, inscription on a stele. H.L. Ginsberg long ago drew attention to this significant correlation between "Psalms and inscriptions of petition and acknowledgement," adducing a number of West Semitic epigraphic finds to support the conclusion that the psalm of Hezekiah likewise was published. Given "the nature of the document" and "the rank of its author," Ginsberg suggested that "it was published by being engraved in stone."⁶ More recently, Greenfield and

¹ This paper, presented to the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, August 14, 1973, is dedicated to Professor Samuel Noah Kramer on the occasion of his 77th birthday.

² "Individual prayer in Sumerian: the continuity of a tradition," JAOS 88 (1968), 71-89; also published in *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser*, ed. W.W. Hallo (= AOS 53 [1968]), pp. 71-89.

³ F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl in *Studia Biblica et Semitica* Theodoro Christiano Vriezen dedicata (1966), p. 213, note 1.

⁴ Joachim Begrich, *Der Psalm des Hiskia: ein Beitrag zum Verständnis von Jesaja 38:10-20* (1926). Cf. P.A.H. de Boer, "Notes on the Text and Meaning of Isaiah XXXVIII 9-20," *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 9 (1951), 170-186.

⁵ The usual term for letter in this period is SĒPER; cf. e.g. Isaiah 37:14. Later Biblical Hebrew also used the term IGGERET (II Chr. 30:1) as did Aramaic (Ezra 5:6) where, in addition, NIŠTĒWĀN (Ezra 4:7, 18) and PITGĀM (ib. 17) occur.

⁶ H.L. Ginsberg, "Psalms and Inscriptions of Petition and Acknowledgment," in *Louis Ginsberg Jubilee Volume* (1945), pp. 159-171, esp. p. 169. (Reference courtesy J. Tigay.)

Zobel have both independently found numerous points of contact between the Zakir Stele and the Biblical psalms of individual thanksgiving and lament respectively.⁷

But the Ancient Near Eastern convention of royal communication with the deity by means either of a letter or of a stele extends beyond the confines of the West Semitic area and of the first millennium. A sub-genre of royal letters to the gods (and of occasional divine letters to the king) has long been recognized in Akkadian, the former either in the context of specific petitions or of a kind of annual report in the form of an "open letter" to the deity. The material has been summarized in separate surveys by Hirsch and, more recently, by Borger, and traced from the middle of the first millennium back to the beginning of the second.⁸ And the popularity of the stele as a royal medium goes back even further. Hammurapi was not the first to employ it for his famous laws, for earlier Sumerian laws also originated on steles and, as I have pointed out elsewhere, a number of other Sumerian genres — cadastres, royal inscriptions, hymns to kings and deities — also go back to monumental prototypes on public display.⁹ But these prototypes, as well as the more common monumental genres including building and dedicatory inscriptions, do not constitute prayers. They follow several firmly fixed stylistic conventions depending on their function, to which prayer was at best an optional addendum.¹⁰ The earliest literary letters, for their part, were either sober exchanges between the kings of Ur and Isin and their high officials or, in the case of the true letter-prayers, were addressed to a deity (or to a deified king) by a scribe or other commoner. Among the latter, a whole sub-category of Sumerian letter-prayers addressed by ailing persons to a healing goddess was recognized by Kraus,¹¹ who has meantime also recovered the first Akkadian example of this sub-genre.¹² What has hitherto been lacking to complete the parallelism with the psalm of Hezekiah on the Sumerian side was either a monumental or petitionary letter addressed to the deity by a king, and neither Sumerian nor Akkadian had hitherto provided a letter-prayer in the context of royal illness. It is the purpose of this paper to fill in these gaps.

The king in question is Sin-iddinam of Larsa, who reigned from 1849-1843, half a century before the accession of Hammurapi of Babylon. Despite his short reign of just seven years, he has left an impressive corpus of both monumental and literary texts, which has already grown larger even since my recent summary of the material.¹³ Nor is this mere coincidence. For during the century of political turmoil before Hammurapi re-unified Mesopotamia, Larsa was the preeminent power in the south (1865-1763). As such it controlled the ancient scribal center at Ur, inheriting there the literary traditions of the Third Dynasty of Ur and of the early kings of Isin.¹⁴ At the same time (as I have begun to demonstrate elsewhere) it carried forward the venerable literary heritage (and political aspirations) of Lagash.¹⁵ The royal scribes of Larsa appear to have fused these two traditions into a productive and even ornate literary style which found expression in both monumental and canonical texts. Sin-iddinam and Rim-Sin in particular are the subjects of large numbers of prayers of various kinds. I shall confine myself here to the letter-prayers and other literary letters of Sin-iddinam.

⁷ Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Zakir Inscriptions and the Danklied," *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* 1 (1971), 174-191; Hans-Jürgen Zobel, "Das Gebet um Abwendung der Not und seine Erhöhung in den Klageliedern des Alten Testaments und in der Inschrift des Königs Zakir von Hamath," *VT* 2 (1971), 91-99.

⁸ R. Borger, "Gottesbrief," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3/8 (1971), 575f.; H.E. Hirsch, "Akkadische Briefe an Götter," *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon* 1 (1964), cc. 325f. Add below, note 12.

⁹ Hallo, *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. A. Finet (1970), p. 121. Much additional evidence could be cited on this point.

¹⁰ Hallo, "The Royal Inscription of Ur: A Typology," *HUCA* 33 (1962), 1-43, esp. p. 22 and note 197; cf. now also E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper, "L'inscription royale comme genre littéraire" in *IRSA*, pp. 24-36.

¹¹ F.R. Kraus, *JCS* 3 (1949), 78, note 40; cf. Hallo, *JAOS* 88 (1968), 77, note 38. Add now the text noted below, note 26, and SLTN 131 Item I in the reconstruction of M. Civil, *Or NS* 41 (1972), 90.

¹² Kraus, "Ein altbabylonischer Privatbrief an eine Gottheit," *RA* 65 (1971), 27-36.

¹³ Hallo, "New Texts from the Reign of Sin-iddinam," *JCS* 21 (1967 [1969]), 95-99. Cf. *id.*, *JANES* 5 (1973), 169-171.

¹⁴ Hallo, *JCS* 20 (1966), 92.

¹⁵ Hallo, "Toward a History of Sumerian Literature," (in press), notes 29 and 103.

Two of these were first made known in 1965 by J. van Dijk.¹⁶ Both were found on a single tablet in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, and republished in van Dijk's volume of Sumerian literary texts from that collection.¹⁷ They are preceded on this tablet by the copy of an inscription whose original had graced a statue of Nur-Adad, Sin-iddinam's father and predecessor. The statue was commissioned and dedicated by Sin-iddinam in keeping with the practice, well attested in the date formulas and archival texts of the Kingdom of Larsa, of so honoring one's ancestors and predecessors.¹⁸ But beyond this the text explicitly states (line 32, as restored by van Dijk) that the statue had "an inscribed clay tablet deposited" (*i [m - s a] r - r a s i - g a*), presumably at its feet, exactly as reconstructed from circumstantial evidence in my study of the letter-prayer tradition.¹⁹ What follows in the Berlin text is, no doubt, the text of the clay tablet or rather tablets, for in fact two separate letters ensue. As far as preserved, they appear to be petitions to the statue to address these letters to Utu, the sun-god and patron-deity of Larsa. The letters themselves are detailed accounts of events preceding and following the accession of Nur-Adad. They appear designed to emphasize the difficulties that Nur-Adad overcame, his contributions to peace and stability, and his pious works. We are already familiar in the letter-prayers with "protestations of past merits and present deserts on the part of the suppliant".²⁰ Here the concept appears to extend to a kind of "merit of the father(s)" as the basis for the request for a long life on behalf of the son. But this request essentially falls outside the framework of the letters per se, which are not so much letter-prayers as letter-reports. (I introduce this term with some misgivings in view of the strictures regarding epistolary terminology by Veenhof).²¹ Their functional affinity is rather with the very much later "open letters to the gods" already cited above from the neo-Assyrian tradition.²²

The same characterization applies to the first of two new letters from Sin-iddinam to the gods that are incorporated in a corpus best entitled "the royal correspondence of Larsa." This corpus forms a worthy counterpart to the "royal correspondence of Ur" now being edited in a definitive manner by my student Peter Michalowski, and to the "royal correspondence of Isin" most of which has been edited by F.A. Ali.²³ The three corpora form an interesting historical sequence, and display a distinct literary development. The earliest material, that concerning the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, deals in fairly sober and unembellished terms with the relations between the king and his high officials. The intermediate stage, represented by the correspondence of Isin, chiefly involves that dynasty's disputes with the early kings of Larsa over water-rights,²⁴ but in addition usually incorporates letter-prayers properly speaking as well as a miscellany of dedicatory and other texts. The latest stage is represented by the Larsa corpus, which features the elaborate style already identified with the "school of Larsa" above, and includes moving letter-prayers addressed to Rim-Sin of Larsa by the daughter of

¹⁶ J. van Dijk, "Une insurrection générale au pays de Larša avant l'avènement de Nūr-Adad," *JCS* 19 (1965), 1-25.

¹⁷ van Dijk, *Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte* (= *VS* 17 [1971]) No. 41.

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. Edwin C. Kingsbury, *HUCA* 34 (1963), 2 and note 3; 14f.: lines 142f.

¹⁹ *JOAS* 88 (1968), 79 and note 74.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ K.R. Veenhof, *Bi.Or.* 28 (1971), 349-351.

²² It is not entirely clear to me whether the Berlin text represents Sin-iddinam as king addressing his deceased predecessor or as (crown-)prince addressing his reigning father; he is referred to as prince (*n u n*) but also, in the initial dedicatory inscription, as "strong man, provider of Ur" (*n i t a - k a l a - g a ú - a u r i k i . m a*), i.e. with standard elements of the royal titulary of Larsa in general and Sin-iddinam in particular; cf. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles* (= *AOS* 43 [1957]), pp. 70f., 147. Note that lines 19-23 are almost identical with the titulary of Sin-iddinam 2 (= *UET* 1,117).

²³ Fadhil A. Ali, *Sumerian Letters: Two Collections from the Old Babylonian Schools* (1964), pp. 63-79 (Letters B2-B5).

²⁴ Cf. M.B. Rowton, "Watercourses and Water Rights in the Official Correspondence from Larsa and Isin," *JCS* 21 (1967 [1969]), 267-274.

Sin-kashid of Uruk,²⁵ and to Nin-isina the healing goddess by a scribe,²⁶ in addition to the two Sin-iddinam letters.

Unlike the two earlier corpora, which are known chiefly from Nippur texts, the royal correspondence of Larsa has been reconstructed from texts of diverse (and chiefly unknown) provenience. Among them, however, are enough Nippur exemplars to demonstrate that this corpus was no mere local manifestation of the Larsa schools but had likewise entered the standard scribal curriculum. The published texts of the correspondence are chiefly in the Louvre and the British Museum; but the reconstruction of the corpus is based on unpublished materials from the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, the University Museum at Philadelphia, and the Yale Babylonian Collection. I am happy to acknowledge my deep debt to Professors Gurney, Kramer, Civil and Sjöberg for permitting me to study these materials in advance of their publications.

The first of the new Sin-iddinam letters is addressed, once more, to Utu. It begins with an elaborate salutation of eleven lines filled, as usual, with selected epithets of the deity. Significantly, those chosen here allude, among other things, to Utu as healer ("righteous god who loves to keep men alive, who listens to their prayers"), foreshadowing the body of the letter. Another describes him as "bearded son of Ningal, (who) wears a lapis lazuli beard" — most probably reflecting the fact that it is, again, a statue of the deity that is being addressed.²⁷

The body of the letter can be divided into four sections of approximately nine lines each, beginning with a dramatic statement of the disaster that has befallen the city of Larsa. Although the technical term used can mean to commit sacrilege or evil (*níg-gíg-ga...a k*), in the light of what follows it must here have its literal implication of breaking out in sickness of epidemic proportions. The effect on troops, young men, children and the whole people is graphically rendered.

The second section contrasts this sad state of affairs with the happy circumstances in which Elam and especially the godless Subarians find themselves. There is a virtual appeal to the argument from theodicy. The Subarian, it is averred, "knows no reverence, does not install priests and priestesses in the shrines of the gods, does not even know the shrines of the gods, nor libations and offerings" and yet "his troops grow like grass, his seed is wide-spread; death, evil, paralysis and sickness have not carried him off; his men escape illness, his army is safe."

The concluding sections, noting that the plague has raged for seven years already, contrast Sin-iddinam's cultic piety and plead, as a reward, for Utu's compassion and mercy toward Larsa, so that the pestilence may depart from the city and its people survive to sing his praises. This is, incidentally, early and important testimony for the Mesopotamian conception according to which royal piety is the warrant for national well-being (and fertility), in sharp distinction to the Biblical, and especially Deuteronomic, concept of collective responsibility for the common weal. The final two lines invoke the king's own personal case: "And as for me, for my reverence give me health, bestow on me long life as a present!" They thus form a fitting transition to the other new letter prayer of Sin-iddinam.

This is preserved in its entirety on two unpublished tablets of the Yale Babylonian Collection, and in part on three published and unpublished duplicates from other collections. It is addressed to Nin-isina, tutelary

²⁵ TCL 16, Nos. 58, 59, 46; ISET 1, 181 (Ni. 9729), and unpublished duplicates. My remarks concerning "Letter Collection C" (JOAS 88 [1968], 89) have to be revised accordingly.

²⁶ TCL 16, 60 ("Letter F" in my list, *ibid.*) and unpublished duplicate; identified by S.N. Kramer.

²⁷ This was already intimated by A. Falkenstein in his pioneering study of the letter-prayer genre, ZA 44 (1938), 1-25, esp. pp. 7f. Cf. Hallo, JOAS 88 (1968), 77.

goddess of the rival kingdom of Isin, but revered throughout Sumer as a healing goddess.²⁸ It is a classic of the genre, and is presented below, with thanks to Professor Jacobsen for many helpful suggestions.^{28a}

Once more, the letter displays a fairly clear five-fold structure, beginning with the elaborate salutation characteristic of the genre (lines 1-11). The body of the letter begins with the historical (or in this case biographical) background, stressing the king's past piety and effective rule (12-15), until a dream at night reversed his fortunes (20-22). There follows a praise section which, in the context of his illness (23-25), emphasizes his total dependence on the healing arts of the goddess in face of the failure of human help (26-29). Next comes a petition section which pleads for mercy from both the goddess and her healer-son Damu (34-40). The concluding petition looks to both deities for merciful restoration of health and long life (45-50). A final line in only some exemplars seems to imply reconciliation with Babylon or its hostile deities; in others, the granting of the petition (52).

In general, then, one may posit a structural correspondence between the Sumerian letter-prayers and the individual prayers (both laments and thanksgiving) of the Bible, including those concerned with sickness. For the specific assessment of the prayer of Hezekiah, one may note the following: we now have evidence that an Old Babylonian king, writing in Sumerian, addressed prayers to the gods in the form of letters, and in two or even three cases these were, if not actual inscriptions on steles, intimately connected with the erection of monumental stone statues. In addition, the specific occasion for at least one of the new letter-prayers was the king's illness.

We cannot yet fully reconstruct the historical circumstances surrounding each of the letters: whether those regarding Nur-Adad date to that king's reign when Sin-iddinam was only the crown-prince;²⁹ whether the seven-year plague was coterminous with his seven-year reign;^{29a} whether his illness resulted from it; whether his victory over Babylon in his fourth year³⁰ was alluded to; or even whether he recovered, as might seem to be implied by his famous omen.³¹ But, even without going into these questions, or into the numerous verbal correspondences between the prayer attributed to Hezekiah and the comparative Sumerian material, we may already conclude that this material provides an early Mesopotamian model for the notion of a king praying to the deity for recovery from illness by means of a letter inscribed on or deposited before a public monument.^{31a}

²⁸ Cf. most recently W.H.Ph. Römer, "Einige Beobachtungen zur Göttin Nini(n)sina auf Grund von Quellen der Ur III-Zeit und der altbabylonischen Periode," = AOAT 1 (1969), pp. 279-305.

^{28a} I am also indebted to Professor Shaffer for supplying me with Text F (identified by P. Michalowski), which I was able to incorporate in the page-proofs.

²⁹ Above, note 22.

^{29a} FLP 1331 and 1333, two unpublished texts kindly called to my attention by David I. Owen (letter of 4-19-74), are dated to the fifteenth day of the sixth month of the "year following the year the great wall of Maškan-šabra was built." Since "the great wall of Maškan-šabra" gave its name to the sixth or seventh year of Sin-iddinam (Goetze, JCS 4 [1950], 93f. and 101) we have here evidence either for a variant formula for the seventh year or a possible eight-year reign.

³⁰ A. Goetze, JCS 4 (1950), 101; cf. D.O. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 146.

³¹ Hallo, JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 96f.

^{31a} Note also the apocryphal Syriac "psalm of David" entitled "The prayer of Hezekiah when enemies surrounded him" first published by William Wright, PSBA 9 (1887), 257-266.

Letter of Sin-iddinam to Nin-isina

A = Ashm. 1932.520	lines 1-52	copy by O.R. Gurney
B = YBC 4705	lines 1-25	copy by W.W. Hallo
C = UET 8:70 (collated)	lines 1-13, 39-52?	copy by E. Sollberger
D = YBC 4605	lines 25-52	copy by W.W. Hallo
E = CBS 7072A obv.	lines 23-46	copy by M.E. Cohen
F = UET 6/3: "225" (joins C)	lines 14-26	copy by A. Shaffer

Transliteration

1. ^dNin-in-si-na dumu-ki-ág An-mah_h nin-<é>-gal-^rma_h^l-ra^a ù-na-a-du₁₁
2. gu-za-lá ki-^dutu-è-a^a na-ri a-ra-li
3. nitlam ki-ág ur-sag ^dpa-bil-sag-gá-ke₄ é-gi₄-a-mah_h ki-ùr-ra
4. sa₁₂-aug₅-mah_h An ^dEn-líl-lá-ke₄^a sag-íl nin-e-ne
5. EN.LIL.KI-a^a dur-an-ki-ka me-bé šu-du₇-du₇
6. ^aé-gal-mah_h é-nam-nin-a^b ka-ni^b nam-mah_h-bé^c ^dpa-è^d
7. I-a^a-ra-ak^{KI}^b é-^cnig^d-gar aš^e-te^f ^gé-sa-bad é-sa-si-ma^g bá-ra-mah_h-bi ri-a
8. a-zu-gal^a tu₆^b-du₁₁-ga-ni^a nam-ti-la^c tu₆^c-^rtu₆^c ^dtu-ra^d b[a-ni-i]b-gi₄-gi₄

1. ^aNew line begins here in B.
2. ^aA adds -^ršè^l?
4. ^aSo B?! A: - t a?
5. So A and C; B omits.
6. ^aIn B, this line follows line 7. ^bSo A and B; C: - z u. ^cSo B; C: - z u. ^dSo B? (or: b a - t ù m?); C adds - [a k]?
7. ^aSo B; C: é. ^bSo B; A and C omit. ^cSo A and C; B omits. ^di.e.: n i g ì n; glossed by n í g in B. ^eSo A (broken) and B; C omits? ^fSo B; A: t i; C: t a. ^gSo A (broken) and B; C: é - s a - s ì[?]! - m a[?]! é - s a - [b a d]!
8. ^aSo B and C; A: š u - d u₁₁ - g a. ^bGlossed by t u - ú in B. ^cSo A (?); B omits; C adds: -^rg á - n i[?] ^dSo A; B: u [g₅ - g a[?]].

Translation

I

1. To Nin-isina, beloved daughter of lofty An, mistress of Egalmah, speak!
2. To the chair-bearer of the Orient, the counselor of the netherworld,
3. The beloved (chief-)wife of the warrior Pabilsag, the senior daughter-in-law of Ki'ur,
4. The senior record-keeper of An and Enlil, proudest of goddesses,
5. Who perfects the attributes of Duranki in Nippur,
6. Who makes their^a exaltation appear in Egalmah, the house of her queenship,
7. Who has founded (in) Larak the Eniggar (as) a throne, the Esabad, the house of . . . , (as) their lofty dais,
8. Great healer whose incantation^a is life (health), whose spells restore(?) the sick man,^b

6. ^aC: your
8. ^aA: (whose) creation. ^bB: the dead man?

9. ama-kalam-ma arḫuš su_x(KAxŠU)-dè ki-ág a-r[a-zu giš-tu]g
 10. nin-mu-ra ù-ne-d[è-daḫ]
 11. d^{EN}.ZU-i-din-nam lugal UD.UNU.KI-ma-ke₄ ìr-zu na-ab-bé-a
12. u₄-tu-da-mu-ta d^{Utu}-ra ù-na^a-a^b-du₁₁ nam-sipa kalam-ma-né ma-an-sì
 13. gá-mu^a nu^b ṣub¹-bu^b -dè-en c¹gá¹-e^c ù-du₁₀^d nu^e-mu-da^e-ku-ku nam ti ì-kin-kin
 14. ^adingir-re-e-ne-er^a maḫ-bi KA-ša₆-ša₆-ge-mu-da
 15. sizkur^a b^b ninda-ba^b -bi^c i-kin-en^d níg-nam^e f^f nu-mu^f -ne-kés^g
 16. [d^{Asa}]l-lú-ḫi lugal ká-dingir-ra^{KI^a} dumu^b d₁₇-lú-ru-gú x-y u₄-zal
 17. [u]ru[?] -bi uru-mu-šè u₄-šú-uš-e^a ki im^b -sì-sì^c -ge
 18. lugal-bi lugal UD.UNU.KI-šè^a níg^b -ḫul-dib^c -bé^d ì^e -kin-kin
 19. sipa kalam^a -bé nu-me-en-na nindaba-bi^b la-ba-ab^c -gi
20. šul gá-ra gi₆-a^a ní^b -ma-mú-da^c -ke₄^d gíri^e -né^f g^g ma-an-dib-bé^g
 21. sag-gá im-ma^a -gub igi-ḫuš-bi gá-e igi^b mu^c -ni-du₈
 22. ^a[giš[?]-g]isal (BI+IZ)[?] 'i-₇¹ -[da-tù]m tu₆-ḫul-bi sì-[ga]^a

23. u₄-bi-ta nam-šul-mu si nu-sá kišib^a -ni^b mu^c -un-dí¹ -bé-en
 24. ní-tug-mu-ta ní-mu^a la-ba-ra-è^a tu-ra-ṣig¹ ^bba-an-dib-bé-en
 25. ku₄-ra-mu kukkú nu-zalag^a -ge^b gar-ra^c -àm^d lú igi^e nu-mu-ni-in-du₈-a

9. B only.
 10. B only (the verb may be restored at the beginning of C 10).
 12. ^aSo A and C; B: n e. ^bSo A and C; B omits.
 13. ^aSo A (restored); B adds: -š è. ^bSo A: B: š e - b i. ^cSo A; B omits. ^dSo B; A omits. ^eSo B; A omits.
 14. ^aSo B; A: [dingir-gal-gal]-e-ne-ra?
 15. ^aSo F? A adds: -re; B adds: -ra. ^bSo F; B: ninda-ba (PAD.^dINANNA); C: ninda-ba-ninda-[ba]? ^cSo B; A and F; -ta. ^dSo B; A: è - a; F: AK. ^eSo B (and F); A: na - me. ^fSo B; A: la - b [a - . . .].
^ggloss in B: i k[?] - š i.
 16. ^aSo A; F omits. ^bSo F; A: e n - t u r; B: NÍG.TUR?
 17. ^aSo F; A omits. ^bSo B; A and F omit. ^cSo A and B; F omits.
 18. ^aSo B; F (and A): - m a. ^bSo A and B; F: k i -. ^cSo A and F; B omits. ^dSo A; B and F omit. ^eSo A and B; F: i b -.
 19. ^agloss in B: k a. ^bSo A and F; B adds: -š è ŠU? ^cSo B; F: a n.
 20. ^aSo B; A and F omit. ^bSo B; A and F omit. ^cSo B (and A); F omits. ^dSo A; B and F omit. ^eSo A and B; F omits.
^fSo B; A: t a; F omits. ^gSo B; A: m u - u n - d a - g [u b ?]; F: m u - d a - g u b - b [a].
 21. ^aSo B; A: m i - i n; F: m i. ^bSo A and B; F omits. ^cSo A and B; F: i m - m i -.
 22. ^{a-a}A only.
 23. F omits line (other notes as before).
 24. ^{a-a}So B (and A); F: b a - r a - a n - è - a. ^{b-b}So B (and A?); F omits.
 25. ^aSo B and D; A: s ì. ^bSo A and D; B omits. ^cSo B, F (and A); D omits. ^dSo F; B and D omit. ^eSo B and D;
 F: i g i - d u.

9. Mother of the nation, merciful one, who loves prayer and supplication,
 10. My lady, say furthermore to her —
 11. (This is) what Sin-iddinam, the king of Larsa, says:

II

12. Since the day of my birth, after you spoke to Utu (and) he gave me the shepherdship over his nation,
 13. I do not neglect my duties, I do not sleep sweetly, I seek life (or: I work all my life).
 14. To the gods greatly in my worship
 15. ^aI perform prayers and sacrifices, ^aI have withheld nothing from them.
 16. Asalluhi the king of Babylon, ^ason of Illurugu^a (the divine Ordeal-river), persisting [in wrath?],
 17. Their city against my city daily overruns the land,
 18. Their king seeks out the king of Larsa as an evildoer.
19. (Though) I, not being the shepherd over their nation, have not coveted(?) their sacrifices,
 20. A young man to me at night in the guise of a dream ^apassed by me on his feet,
 21. He stood at my head, I myself saw his terrible glance,
 22. Carrying a river-oar(?), having cast a spell most evilly.

III

23. Since that day my manhood is not in order, his hand has seized me.
 24. I cannot escape from my fears by myself, an evil sickness has seized me.
 25. My sickness is^a an unlit darkness, not visible to man.

15. ^{a-a}A: In prayers, emerging from sacrifices; F: Prayers performed with sacrifice.
 16. ^{a-a}A: (and) the young lord Ilurugu
 20. ^{a-a}or: seized me by the feet; A and F: stationed himself at my feet.
 25. ^aA and B: is placed in

26. a-[zu]-e igi-bi nu-mu-un-du₈-e túg-níg-lá^a nu-mu-š[ed₇-dè]
 27. tu₆-e^a tu₆-e^b du₁₁-ga nu-šid-dè^b èn^c-tukun ZI^d tu-ra-m]u izkim nu-tuku-a^d
 28. tu-ra-mu ú-šim^a edin-na ħur-sag-gá^b nu-um^c-mú-a^d lú nu-mu-un-TUG.TUG.TUG-e
 29. [t]i-la tu-ra-mu za-a^a-da ì-gál nam-maĥ-zu ga-àm-du₁₁
 30. [ama]-mu u₄^a-tur-ra-mu-ta^b mu-un^b-tag₄-àm
 31. [ama-n]u-tug^a-me-en^a ĩr-mu^b nu-mu-ra^c-ab-bé^c za-e ama-mu-me-en
 32. [za-e]-nu^a amalu^b-kúr-ra^b nu-tug^c d arĥuš-mu nu-mu-ra-ab-bé^d
 33. x-[. . . -m]u nu-mu-ra-ab^a-kin-kin-e^b za-e amalu^c-mu^d-me-en^d

34. lú-gal₅-lá ur-gir_x(KU)^a-zu^b gá-e^b ħé^c-me-en keš-da-zu-šè^d muš nam-ba-an-túm-mu-un
 35. dDa-mu dumu-ki-ág(a)-zu^a uku-uš^b sag-gá^b-na^b giš-tukul šu^c-du₈-a^c-ni^d gá-e^d-me-en
 36. a arĥuš-mu^b igi-ni-šè^b ħu-mu-ra-ab-bé
 37. tu-ra-mu tu-ra-šè^a ba-an^b-kúr^c si-sá-dè^c nu-ub^d-zu
 38. an-bir_x(NE)-ta ú-a^a na-ma-da-an^a si-mu gi₆-a ù nu^b mu-un-da-an^b ku-ku-un^c
 39. a ama-níg^l-ú-rum^a-mu kù^d Nin-in-si-na nin-arĥuš^b ħé-me-en^b
 40. ù-nu-ku-ku^a-mu^b še-šá₄-mu gi₆-a^c ga^d-mu-ra-ab-tùm^c

26. ^aSo A; D: l á m??

27. ^aSo A; D omits. ^{b-b}So D; E: [d] u₁₁-g a n u-š u b - b u - d è; A: n [u-š] u b - b u d [u₁₁-g] a - b i - t a .
^cSo A (and E?); D omits. ^{d-d}From E, where this forms separate line.

28. ^aSo E (and D?!); A:BI. ^{b-b}So A; D: e d i n - ħ u r - s a g - g á; E: ħ u r - s a g - g á? e d i n - n a . ^cSo D; A omits. ^dSo A; D omits.

29. ^aSo A; D and E omit.

30. ^aSo E; D omits. ^{b-b}So A and D; E: m a - a n - .

31. ^{a-a}So D; A omits? ^{b-b}So D: A a r ĥ u š . ^{c-c}So D and E; A: d u₁₁ .

32. ^aSo D; A: [- n] a? ; E: [. . .] - n a - a n - n a . ^{b-b}So D; A: k ú r; E: n í g - k ú r . ^cSo A; D: t u g (erased)- t u g . ^{d-d}So D (from middle of next line); A: a r ĥ u š n u - m u - r a - d u₁₁ [. . .]; E omits.

33. ^aFrom D; A omits; E:] - i n . ^bSo A (!) and D; E omits. ^cSo D; E: A M A . I N A N N A . ^{d-d}So D; E omits?

34. ^aSo D and E; A: g i š - g u - z a - t u r . ^{b-b}So D and E; A omits. ^cSo E; A and D omit. ^dSo D; E omits.

35. ^aNew line begins here in D. ^{b-b}So E; A and D omit. ^{c-c}So D (and [A]); E: g á l - l a . ^{d-d}So D; E: ħ [é - . . .].

36. ^aNot a new line in D; E omits line. ^{b-b}So A; D omits.

37. ^aSo D and E; A: - t a . ^bSo A and D; E omits. ^{c-c}So D? (or: d é?); A: š e d_x (A. MUŠ_x)- d [i]; E: s i - b i with gloss: š e d_x (M U Š_x)- d i - b i ? ^dSo D; E omits.

38. ^{a-a}So D; A: n u - ; E: n u - m u - u n - . ^{b-b}So D; E omits. ^cSo E; D omits.

39. ^{a-a}So E; D: x - y - m a ? - . ^{b-b}So E; D: - a - k e₄ .

40. ^aSo D; E omits. ^bSo D; E omits. ^cSo E (and C?); D: - e; A omits. ^dSo A; C, D and E: ħ u - . ^eSo D; E: - t ú m - m u .

26. The physician cannot look upon it, cannot [soothe?] it with a bandage,^a
 27. The exorcists cannot recite the spell(?), since suddenly(?) my sickness has no diagnosis.
 28. My sickness: its (healing) herb has not sprouted forth^a on plain (or) mountain,^a no one gets it for me.
 29. Healing my sickness is with you (alone), let me declare your supremacy:
 30. "As my [mother] has abandoned me since my childhood
 31. I am one who has no [mother], no one recites my lament to you, you are my mother!
 32. Except [for you], I do not have another personal goddess, no one pleads for mercy to you on my behalf,
 33. No one seeks [for mercy?] from you for me, you are my personal goddess!"

IV

34. I am verily your constable (and) dog,^a I do not cease from being tied to you.
 35. Damu, your beloved son: I am verily his private soldier (and) weapon holder,
 36. May you plead for mercy for me before him!
 37. My sickness has been changed into (worse) sickness, one does not know how to rectify it.
 38. At midday I am not given any sustenance, by night I cannot sleep.
 39. My very own mother(?), holy Nin-isina, verily you are the merciful lady,
 40. With my not sleeping, let me bring my wailing to you at night:

26. ^aA: regal robe?

28. ^{a-a}E: on mountain and plain

34. ^aA: your little lap dog (little chairdog)

41. ^aigi-ša₆-ga-zu-še^a ^bbar-mu-ši-ib^b zi-du₁₀-ga si-ma-ab
 42. [gá-e] ? mušen-še sár-dù mušen-ta^a ^bkar-ra^b -gim zi-mu al-tùm-tùm-mu^c -un
 43. [g]á-e igi^a nam-tar-ra-ke₄^a úr-za^b ^cku₄-mu-ni-ib^c šu-ta^d kar-mu^d
 44. ^aguruš^a me-en^a šu-nam-tar-ra^b -ka a-nir i^c gá-gá^d zi-mu im-mi-in-zal

45. áb^a -šilam^b -a-gim arḫuš tug-ma-ra-ab^c
 46. [-l]a^a -na-gim arḫuš tug-ma-ra-ab^a
 47. [ama-t]u-da-mu-gim uzu^a -SAL.ÁŠ^a ḫé-e^a -dīb-bé arḫuš tug-ma-ra
 48. [x]-^aad^a ka-^atab^a -ba giš-tug MAŠ.KA nu-še-ga
 49. [dDa-m]u dumu-ki-ág(a)-zu a-zu-gal dEn-líl-lá-ke₄
 50. ú-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu a-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu
 51. [. . .]-ka dingir sag-[du-ga-mu] a-ba za-ra [. . .]
 52. ^a[dAsal-l]ú-ḫi dumu ^a[d^aI₇-lú-r]u-gú na-ab-d[u₁₁-ga]^a ^bḫu-mu-un-ti-le^b

41. ^aSo E; D omits. ^{b-b}So D; E: ù - m u - š i - b a r. In A, this either belongs with line 41 or there is something lost at the beginning.
 42. ^aSo D; A and E omit; C: d a? ^{b-b}So A, C^a and D; E: d a l - a. ^cSo D; E omits.
 43. ^{a-a}So D and E: C: n a m - [. . .]; A: d i n g i r - b i - t a ù - m u - [. . .]. ^bSo E; A: - z a - a; D: - z u - š è; C: - d a - z u? . ^{c-c}So E; D: ù - m e - n i - k u₄; C: [ù]? - m e - [. . .]; A: m u - e - [. . .]. ^{d-d}So E; D: k a r - (r a, erased) - m u - d a.
 44. ^{a-a}So D; C: g á? ! - e? !. ^bSo A and D; C omits. ^cSo D; C omits. ^dSo C; D adds: - a n.
 45. ^aFrom C (collated). ^bFrom C (collated). ^cSo E? ; C: a n? ; D omits.
 46. ^aSo C (and A); D omits.
 47. ^aSo D; A: - r i - i b - .
 48. Line in A only; D omits.
 51. Line in A only; D omits.
 52. ^{a-a}So A; D omits except for a few traces. ^{b-b}So D; A: [. . .] - a n - t i - [. . .].

41. ^a"Let me behold your favorable glance, give me sweet life!
 42. As for me, ^alike a bird fleeing from a falcon, ^aI am seeking to save my life.
 43. As for me, ^alet me enter your lap in the face of Death (Fate), ^asave me from (its) hand.
 44. ^aI am a young man, ^aI set up lamentation in the face of Death, my life ebbs away from me."

V

45. Like a mother-cow, have mercy on me!
 46. Like a [. . .], have mercy on me!
 47. Like the mother who bore me, who verily took me from the womb(?), have mercy on me!
 48. (Like) the father who . . . , hear the . . . , the disobedient . . .
 49. Damu, your beloved son, the great healer of Enlil,
 50. He knows the plant of life, knows the water of life,
 51. . . . , the god who cre[ated (?) me], who can [. . .] to you?
 52. Asalluhi, son of Ilurugu, has verily spoken: "Let him live!"

41. ^aE: When I shall have beheld . . .
 42. ^{a-a}E: like a falcon flying up against a bird
 43. ^{a-a}A: when I . . . from the face of its god
 44. ^{a-a}C: as for me,

Notes

1. The reading *Dingir-maḥ* does not recommend itself, since Ninisina's "mother" is Uraš (Römer, AOAT 1, p. 282) whereas *Dingirmah* is a form of *Ninhursaga-Nintur*. Instead of the proposed emendation (for which cf. e.g. TCL 16, No. 60:9) at the end of the line, one may also consider *nin-gal-'dingir-re-n e l - r a*, as in SRT, 6:iv 16 = 7:64 (Römer, *ibid.*, p. 292).
2. These epithets seem more at home with other deities; cf. e.g. UET 8, 85 (inscription of Rim-Sin) which beigns: *dNin-giz-zi-da...gu-za-lá ki-an-a-na-šú-a-aš³² na-ri eri₁₁-gal-la*, "Ningizzida... chair-bearer of the universe, counselor of the underworld." For the connection of the Orient (literally, the place of the sun-rise; originally a poetic designation of Dilmun) with Ningizzida, see Sjöberg, Temple Hymns No. 15. Cf. ISET 1, 201:9789; *dNusku...na-ri An dUraš-a*.
3. As spouse of Pabilsag, Ninisina was daughter-in-law of Enlil (*'é-gi₄-a¹-gal en dnu-nam-nir-ra*: TRS 60:2; cf. Kraus, JCS 3 (1949), 77f; Römer, AOAT 1, p. 282). Evidently, this also made her the daughter-in-law of Ninlil, whose temple at Nippur was called Kiur (see CAD K s.v. *kiūru* B; Falkenstein, Götterlieder, p. 33; Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 59; van Dijk, Acta Or. 28 [1964], 44f.).
4. "(Senior) record-keeper of An" is a standard epithet of Ninisina (see Krecher, Kultlyrik, pp. 120f.); the variant with *-ta* recurs only once (TCL 15, 2:i 5). She is addressed as the "proudest of goddesses" also in TCL 16, 60, for which see above, note 26.
- 5-7. The sequence Nippur-Egalmah-Larak or Nippur-Larak-Egalmah (so in text C) here replaces the sequence Isin-Egalmah-Larak which is standard in Isin contexts; see Krecher, Kultlyrik, p. 167.
6. The Egalmah is the temple of Ninisina in Isin; *ibid.*, p. 86.
7. The Eniggar (note the gloss in B) is connected with Ninisina, Gula and Ninkarrak through the divine name "Lady of Eniggar" (Krecher, Kultlyrik, p. 129) and Ninkarrak may in turn be connected with Larak (Hallo, JCS 23 [1970], 65 n. 94). The throne (*aš-te* or *aš-ti*) is connected to Larak through the equation of the divine names or epithets "Lady of the throne" and "Lady of Larak" (Krecher, *op.cit.*, pp. 131f.). The Esabad is associated with Gula in later texts (Ebeling, RIA 2 s.v.; E. Ritter, AS 16, p. 313, n. 18). An alternative translation might be "founded... the dais mightily (*maḥ-bi*)," but *bá-ra-maḥ* can best be taken as a technical term (cf. the loanword *paramāḥu* in Akkadian). That *-bi* has a plural (or impersonal) antecedent here (and in lines 5-6) seems to follow from the correct use of the personal singular suffix in line 6 (note, however, the variants from C). Compare also the statement in Lipit-Ishtar Hymn *24:50 (Römer, Königshymnen, p. 27): "Ninisina has founded your (sic?) lofty dais in Isin."
8. For Ninisina as healing goddess, see at length Römer, ATOT 1, pp. 283-291. The lines missing in A and C are required by the context and can be restored safely with the help of TCL 16, 60:10f.
- 12-13. These lines recall the beginning of the second letter-prayer of Sin-iddinam to Utu via the statue of Nur-Adad his father (JCS 19 [1965], 9:189-193: (*u₄*) *nam-sipa-kalam-ma-ni-šè šu-ni-šè mu-un-gar-ra-a nu-še-bi-da³¹ gú-ni nu-mu-un-da-šub ù ki-šà-du₁₀ ba-ra-a n - k u³³*).

³² The same form occurs in UET 6, 182:6; variant: *ki-an-na-a ki-šú-a-aš*.

³³ or *dib*; cf. CAD s.v. *šabātu*.

Indeed it may be necessary to compare the entire passage 170-190 and to revise van Dijk's rendering of it somewhat as follows: "Since (lit.: on) the day that you entrusted to his hand the shepherdship of his nation, he has not been negligent, he has not been idle, he has never slept the sweet sleep of contentment (?; lit. the sleep of the place of contentment)."

14.-15. These lines (note the gloss) were already quoted in JAOS 88 (1968), 79 with n. 63 and, in part, YNER 3, p. 81 s.v. *kešda*. I cannot explain the variant for line 15 in A. For *kèš³⁴* in the sense of withhold (*kalū*) cf. Sjöberg, JCS 24 (1972), 72f. For the "virtual ablative" infix *ne* (plural) cf. Jacobsen, TIT, pp. 293ff.

16.-18. These lines are crucial but difficult. Do they allude to the dispute between Babylon and Larsa which, according to the name of Sin-iddinam's fourth year, led to a defeat of Babylon by Larsa in 1847 B.C., three years before the end of Sumu-la-el's reign?

20.-23. This is an expansion of the classic dream image. For the heroic figure standing at the head, see Oppenheim, Dream-book, p. 189 and CAD E, p. 409 b s.v. *etlu* (= ŠUL). The seizing of the feet and hand is a new element, but cf. line 18 in the letter-prayer to Enki, Hallo, JAOS 88 (1968), 83.

22. This line, omitted in B and F and largely broken in A, is restored and translated with all due reserve. It is included here in part to preserve the quatrain-structure of the letter as a whole. Jacobsen suggests that "The oar is probably meant to identify him as belonging to the circle of *Íd-lú-ru-gú* (i.e. Enki) if not as a form of Asalluhe himself."

25. Could the reference here be to the netherworld (unlit) as in the Akkadian loanword? See CAD s.v. *kukkū*.

26. In TCL 16, 60:6, Römer translates as the (cooling) bandage: AOAT 1, p. 291. For *túg-níg-lá* see CAD s.v. *šimdu*.

27. For (*è*n)-*tukun* see AHW. s.v. (*adi*) *surri*; CAD s.v. *zamar*. For *izkim* in sense of symptom or diagnosis see CAD s.v. *ittu* A 1a 1'.

28. For *ú-šim* = *urqītu* see most recently MSL 13, p. 193:268.

29. Cf. *úš-ti-ti za-da ša-mu-e-da-gál*, "reviving the (near) dead is surely with you (alone)" in another letter-prayer to Ninisina or Nin-tin-ugga (SLTN, 131 rev. ii; cf. above, note 11). Cf. also the latter's epithet *nin-ti-la-u g₅-ga*, Hallo, JNES 18 (1959), 54. For *nam-maḥ...du₁₁* see YNER 3, p. 86 s.v.

30.-33. These sentiments are familiar from other letter-prayers and from the Gudea cylinders: Hallo, JAOS 88 (1968), 78 with notes 50-53 and 83 lines 39f. Cf. now also Sollberger, JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 286 note 80.

34.-35. This couplet recurs, *mutatis mutandis*, in another letter-prayer to Ninisina (above, note 26): [*kéš-da-zu-uš muš nam-ba-an-túm-mu-d[é]/^dDa-mu dumu-ki-ág(a)-zu giš-tukul nam-ur-sag-gá-ka-ni gá-e-me-en nam-uku-uš-bi g[a-à]m-a-k*. For *uku-uš-sag-gá* (! written RU?) - *na* (text E only), see MSL 12, p. 37:114.

38. For *an-NE* in parallelism with *gi₆*, see YNER 3, p. 71. For the reading *an-bir_x*, cf. now also Sjöberg, Or NS 39 (1970), 82; in Or.Succ. 19-20 (1972), 146:5 etc. he reads *an-ba_{r_x}*.

³⁴ CAD reads *sìr*.

42. For the two similes involving the falcon (note variant), see Heimpel, Tierbilder, pp. 422-5 and add Ali, Sumerian Letters B 8 line 13.
44. The complaint that life is ebbing or flowing away in one's prime recurs in other letter-prayers; cf. Hallo, JAOS 88 (1968), 78 with notes 44f.; 83 lines 33,38.
- 45-47. For the form a r ḫ u ṣ t u g - m a - r a - a b, cf. Limet, Les Légendes des Sceaux Cassites, p. 4:21f. It occurs already on a seal assigned to the very late Old Babylonian period: P.R.S. Moorey and O.R. Gurney, Iraq 35 (1973), 78 No. 20.
50. Plant of life and water of life recur together in the Descent of Inanna (cf. e.g. Kramer, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 107 [1963], 512:246) and in Lugalbanda and Hurrum-kurra (YBC 4623:5f.). The former is equated in Akkadian variously with the loan-word ^unattila, the loan translation šamme balāṭi, and the specific species irrū (CAD s.v.); cf. for the last also Labat, RA 53 (1959), 2 note 4.
51. For the restoration cf. the letter-prayer to Enki, Hallo, JAOS 88 (1968), 82:6.

An Early Babylonian Offering List from Nippur

Jane W. Heimerdinger, Philadelphia

For Professor Samuel Noah Kramer with appreciation, affection, gratitude and respect from his n i n - d u b - s a r.

UM 29-13-357 + N 915 + N 1911 (Pl. IX*)

Transliteration

obv. i destroyed	18' []-x ¹
	19' [] -x
	20' []-sig ₅
obv. ii	21' []-NIM
	22' []-sig ₅ ¹ -x x ¹
1' []-x	23' []-má-su
2' []d]inanna	24' -x
3' [x - u]du-niga-sig ₅	
4' ¹ d ¹ zuen	
5' ¹ udu-niga-sig ₅	obv. iii
6' d _i ḡkur	1' []udu-x []
7' 1 udu-niga-sig ₅	2' 2 udu-nitá-ŠU.ŠÈ ?
	3' 1 udu-nitá-sig ₅ - abzu- ¹ ṣē ¹
(approximately 10 lines missing)	4' 1 udu-ṣà-x-x

5' zi-DAG.KISIM₅ x ? +DIŠ-GUM [cf. obv. iii,
line 15']

6' 1 gu₄-niga-sig₅
7' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
8' 1 (erasure)-x
9' x x x
10' d[]

(approximately 4 lines missing)

15' [zi-DAG.KISIM₅ x ?] +DIŠ-GUM
16' [g]u₄-niga-sig₅
17' [x]-niga-sig₅
18' []
19' []-ke₄
20' ša-líl-lá
21' d_{nin}-líl
22' ša-é-kur-ra-igi-gál
23' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
24' nisag-šè

obv. iv

1' [-s]ig₅

(approximately 2 lines missing)

4' 1 udu- []
5' giš-gu-za-š¹
6' 1 udu-nitá-niga-š¹
7' giš-gu-za-ma[h]
8' 1 x x

(approximately 10 lines missing)

19' []-niga
20' 1 udu-niga-si[g₅]
21' 1 udu-nitá-x
22' []-sila₄-nitá-[]
23' [-s]ila₄-šà-x
24' d_{nin}- []
25' []-š¹x¹- []
26' []-[x]- []
27' x-gal-ma[h]
28' é-d_{nin}- []
29' 1 udu-niga- []
30' []udu-niga-
31' []-x- []

obv. v

1' []š¹x¹ sila(?)
2' 1 udu ša-líl-lá []
3' d_{nin}-urta
4' 2 udu-nitá-U.ŠÈ-x
5' [g]iš-gu-za-guškin
6' udu-nitá-U.ŠÈ-x
7' [IGI.DUB]-ti-la-a(!)-x [cf. rev.vi 7']
8' []-šè
9' []-x

(approximately 4 lines missing)

14' []-nin-x
15' é-d_{nin}- []
16' 1 gu₄-niga- []
17' 1 udu-niga- []
18' 1 []-nitá- []
19' 1 udu-nitá- []
20' [ni]sag- []
21' 1 [gu₄] []

obv. vi

1' [x]- []
2' x- []
3' x-š¹niga¹- []
4' abzu-š¹x-x¹
5' [u₄]-l₈-ka[m]
6' []-sig₅-abzu-š[è]

obv. vii destroyed

rev. i

1' x []
2' giš-gu-za
3' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅-x
4' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅

5' ša-líl-lá
6' giš-gu-za-maḥ
7' 1 udu-nitá-s[ig₅]
8' ša-líl-lá
9' ḥur-sag- []
10' ša-líl-lá
11' š¹x¹- []
12' 1 []

rev. ii

1' 1 udu- []
2' ša-líl-lá
3' d_x- []
4' 1 udu-niga-s[ig₅]
5' ne-sag- []
6' 1 udu-niga-[sig₅]
7' nisag-itu-š¹x¹
8' udu-mi ni[sag]
9' 1 gu₄-niga-sig₅
10' 2 udu-niga-sig₅
11' 2 udu-nitá-niga-sig₅
12' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
13' nisag-šè
14' 1 gu₄-niga-sig₅
15' 2 udu-niga-sig₅
16' 2 udu-nitá-niga-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
17' ša-líl-lá
18' d_{nin}-urta
19' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
20' nisag-šè
21' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
22' ša-líl-lá
23' giš-gu-za-bára-maḥ
igi-š¹u-galam-ma
24' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
25' 1 udu-nitá-niga-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
26' nisag-šè
27' 1 gu₄-niga-sig₅
28' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
29' 1 udu-nitá-niga-sig₅

rev. iii

1' nisag-šè
2' 1 gu₄-niga-sig₅

3' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
4' 1 udu-nitá-niga-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
5' ša-líl-lá
6' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
7' 1 udu-nitá-niga nisag-šè
8' 1 gu₄-niga-sig₅
9' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
10' 1 udu-nitá-niga-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
11' ša-líl-lá
12' d_škur
13' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
14' 1 udu-nitá-niga-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
15' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
16' nisag-šè
17' 1 gu₄-niga-sig₅
18' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
19' 1 udu-nitá-niga-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
20' ša-líl-lá
21' den-ki
22' udu-niga-sig₅
23' abzu-šè
24' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
25' 1 udu-nitá-niga-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
26' d_{nin}-š¹si-in-ki-na
27' 1 udu-niga-sig₅
28' nisag-šè
29' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅

rev. iv

1' []-x-[]
2' d_{nin}-gubлага (=EZENxLA)
3' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
4' d_{nin}-giš-zi-da
5' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
6' d_{nin}-imma (=SIG₇)
7' 1 udu nitá-sig₅
8' d_{pa}-bil-sag
9' udu-mi-nisag-šè
10' 15-gu₄-niga
11' 40 lá 1 udu-niga
12' 30 lá 1 (over erasure) udu-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
13' 25 udu-nitá-sig₅
14' šu-nigin 15 gu₄
15' šu-nigin 93 udu-ḫi-a
16' dah-ḫu

- 17' 𐎶𐎵𐎶-5-kam (erased ma)
 18' [ud] 21-kam
 19' [udu]-nitá nisag-šè
 20' udu-[nitá] šà-líl-lá
 21' den-líl
 22' [] -nisag-šè
 23' [] -me
 24' [é]-kur-ra-igi-gal
 25' [udu]-nitá-sig₅ nisag-šè
 26' udu-nitá-sig₅ šà-líl-lá
 27' [de]n-líl
 28' 1 udu-nitá sig(?) -x-MAŠ (cf. obv. 1 5')
 29' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅ (erasure)
 30' giš-gu-za-den-líl
 31' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
 32' giš-gu-za-dnin-líl
 33' 1 u[du-nitá]-sig₅
 34' [] -sig₅

rev. v

- 1' x x x
 2' 1 udu-ká-gal-dnin-líl-lá
 3' 1 udu-ká-gal-dnergal (= dGÌR.UNU.GAL)
 4' 1 udu-ká-gal-mu-sag-gál
 5' 1 udu-ug₅ nibru^{ki} [?]
 6' á-gú-zi-ga
 7' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅ 1 sila₄
 8' gú-ŠU.AB-a (cf. rev. vi 10')
 9' dnin-líl
 10' á-u₄-t[e-ŋ]a
 11' 26 [udu]-nitá-sig₅
 12' 7 udu-[] 1 sila₄
 13' šu.nigin 33 udu 1 sila₄ (!)
 14' 𐎶𐎵𐎶-6- kam (erased ma)
 15' u₄ 21-kam (erased ma)
 16' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅ nisag-šè¹
 17' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅ -š[à-líl]-lá
 18' de[n]-líl
 19' [] -è-šè
 20' [] -x
 21' []
 22' []
 23' 1 udu-nitá-si[g₅-]
 24' 1 udu nitá-sig₅ -šà-líl-[lá]
 25' den-líl

- 26' udu-nitá-sig₅ - 1-ta
 27' giš-gu-za-an
 28' giš-gu-za-den-líl
 29' giš-gu-za-dnin-líl
 30' giš-gu-za-èš-mah
 31' siskur šà-líl
 32' šà-líl-kur-ra
 33' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅ -šà-abzu
 34' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅ -šà-líl-lá
 35' dnin-líl-é-gu-la
 36' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅ -nisa[g-]
 37' [] x[]

rev. vi

- 1' []
 2' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
 3' dnin-urta
 4' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
 5' giš-gu-za-giš-ḫašḫur
 6' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
 7' IGI.DUB-ti-la-a-x (cf. obv. v 7')
 8' 1 udu-nitá-sig₅
 9' dnin-nibru^{ki}
 10' udu-gú-šú-AB-a
 11' dnin-urta
 12' 1 udu-nitá-ŠÚ.ŠÈ?
 13' má-am-na
 14' siskur šà-líl
 15' 8 udu-nitá-sig₅
 16' 1 sila₄ (!)
 17' u₄ 25-kam
 18' 1 udu-nitá-gurušda
 19' den-líl
 20' 1 udu-dnin-líl
 21' é-kur-ra-igi (over erasure)-gal
 22' 1 udu-den-líl
 23' 1 udu-dnin-líl
 24' é-gu-la
 25' 1 udu-dnin-urta
 26' 1 udu-dnuska
 27' 1 udu-dinanna
 28' 7 udu
 29' siskur-gu-la
 30' u₄ 27-kam

rev. vii

- 1' x x
 2' [] nitá-gurušda
 3' dnergal (GÌR.UNU.GAL)
 4' [] nitá-gurušda
 5' [dnin-t]in-ug₅-ga
 6' [] -gurušda
 7' [] li_x(!)-si₄
 8' [x x]-nisag-šè
 9' udu-nitá-gurušda
 10' ká-kur-ra igi-gál
 11' udu-nitá-gurušda
 12' [] te-er-sum

- 13' 1 udu-nitá-gurušda
 14' ká-gu-la
 15' den-líl-lá
 16' 1 udu-nitá-gurušda
 17' ká-gu-la
 18' dnin-líl
 19' 1 udu-nitá-gurušda
 20' ká-dnin-urta
 21' 31 udu
 22' ír-x(erased igi)-gu-la
 23' u₄ 28-kam
 24' x-udu-nitá-x-sig₅
 25' x¹-šu-a
 26' [x] u₄ 10-kam
 27' [] x¹

Two Philological Notes on Enūma Eliš

Moshe Held, New York

The great Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal, who took pride not only in his accomplishments in the hunt and in battle, but also in matters of scholarship and learning, has this to say concerning his cuneiform studies: *aštassi kammu naklu ša Šumerū ṣullulu, Akkadū ana šutēšuri ašfu* "I immersed myself in reading an artful literary composition whose Sumerian is obscure, the Akkadian difficult to clarify."¹ The scholarly king must surely have had in mind not only bilinguals but such classics as Gilgāmeš, Enūma eliš, Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, and the like. Indeed, the interpretation of these literary creations seems to be an endless task, with every generation of scholars contributing in some measure toward their elucidation. As to Enūma eliš, we shall soon have at our disposal a new edition of the Epic from the masterly hand of W.G. Lambert.² This new study will undoubtedly arouse renewed interest in the Babylonian Epic of Creation. Not only will many philological details have to be reconsidered, but the problem of the Hymnal-Epic Dialect (HED)³ in general and the date of the composition of the Epic in particular, will be taken up anew. It is to be expected that Lambert will maintain Enūma eliš is a relatively late literary creation. If so, since synonymous parallelism is by far more characteristic of what we term SB than it is of OB,⁴ the role of parallelism as a stylistic criterion will gain in importance. It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate the significance of this stylistic feature for the philological interpretation of two problematic passages in Enūma eliš.

A good case in point is the familiar introduction to the Epic. The passage under consideration reads as follows:

- 1) *enūma eliš lā nabū šamāmu* When on high heaven had not (yet) been created,

¹ Streck, *Asb.*, p. 256:17.

² See the Preface to Lambert and Parker, *Enūma Eliš: The Babylonian Epic of Creation: The Cuneiform Text* (Oxford, 1966).

³ The basic study of the HED is still von Soden, "Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen", *ZA* 40 (1931), 163ff.; 41 (1933), 90ff.

⁴ This problem is discussed in somewhat more detail in my forthcoming paper entitled "Philological Notes on Ludlul Tablet II."

- 2) *šapliš ammatum*⁵ *šuma lā zakrat* Earth⁶ below had not (yet) been brought into being,⁷
 3) *apsūmma rēšū zārūšun* (When) Apsū primeval, their begetter,⁸
 4) *mummu tiāmat muallidat*⁹ *gimrīšun* Primal¹⁰ Tiamat their progenitress
 5) *mēšunu*¹¹ *ištēniš iḫṭūma* (Still) mingled their waters together,
 6) *gipāra lā kiššuru*¹² *šūšū lā še-’u*¹³ When no grassland¹⁴ had been formed, no reed-thicket¹⁵ *še-’u*,

⁵ Var. *abbatu*; cf. Theodicy: 58 (Lambert, BWL, p. 74) where *ammatīš* is equated in the Commentary with *abbatiš*.

⁶ Outside of our text the vocable *ammatum*, poetic for *eršetum*, is attested only in Theodicy: 58 (Lambert, BWL, p. 74) *gīnātāma ammatīš nesi milik ilim* "You (Sufferer) are as stable as the earth (Comm. *kīma eršetu*), (but) remote is the counsel of god." It may not be out of place to note that *gīnātāma* can hardly be derived from *gīnū* 'permanent, ordinary, normal' (contrast CAD G, p. 80a), nor can it be related to *gīnū* 'infant' (contrast von Soden, Or. N.S. 25 [1956], 244; AHw., p. 290b). Rather it seems to be a stative from *kānu(m)* 'to be firm, established', the writing *gi-na-ta-ma* (for *ki-na-ta-ma*) being dictated by the demands of the acrostic.

⁷ For the idiom *šuma nabū/zakāru* denoting 'to create, bring into existence', see already Delitzsch, Welt-schöpfungsepos (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 116f.; for the semantically equivalent Hebrew idiom *qr' bšm*, see the study of my student Chayim Cohen in JNES 1/1 (1968), 32-34.

⁸ The sequence of *zārū* – *muallidatu* calls to mind that of *zārū* – *ālittu* 'begetter – progenitress' in Theodicy: 9-10 (Lambert, BWL, p. 70). Note the commentary to our line (CT 13, 32:1) where the restoration *zārū* = *abu* seems quite certain; cf. the lexical equation of *zārū* = *abu* in Malku-Šarru I:114 and the pair *abu* – *zārū* in Cagni, Erra II C:33.

⁹ Var. *mumallidat* (<*muwallidat*); the writing *mumallidat* seems to be the result of a contamination by *mummu*.

¹⁰ On *mummu* denoting 'primal (matter)' see already Jensen, KB 6/1, pp. 302f., and contrast Heidel, JNES 7 (1948), 98ff. A detailed study of this problematic vocable cannot be undertaken here. It will suffice to note, however, that a solution whereby *mummu* represents "two or possibly four distinct homonyms" (Heidel, op. cit., 105) can hardly be termed a solution. A glance at the En. el. passages (I:4 and VII:121a) leads one to believe that we are dealing with one and the same etymon, where the rendering 'primal matter' seems to be called for. For whether one follows Jensen (op. cit., p. 303; cf. CAD E, p. 303b) and equates *mummu* in the expression *mummu erpēti* (En. el. VII:121a) with *bi-iš-mu*! (var. of *bišimtu* 'product?') of the Commentary (CT 13, 32 r. 10), or reads the latter as *rig-mu* and relates *mummu* to *rigmu* 'thunder' (Delitzsch, Welt-schöpfungsepos, p. 59; cf. Heidel, op. cit., 104, and von Soden, AHw., p. 672a), one cannot help feeling that in its original context the idiom *mummu erpēti* means 'primal form of the clouds'. In other words, contrary to Heidel's assertion "that we have here an entirely distinct homonym" (op. cit., 104), *mummu* here is identical with the one encountered in the idiom *mummu tiāmat* 'primal (form of) Tiamat' in En. el. I:4. Observe that the Commentary on En. el. I:4 (CT 13, 32:2) has X X X = *nab-ni-tu*, and it is tempting indeed to restore: [*mummu*] = *nabnī* [*tu*] "[The vocable *mummu*] denotes 'form, figure'." The key passage for *mummu* denoting 'primal matter, substance', not available to Heidel, is now attested in the Anzū Epic (RA 46 [1952], 34:25-27; cf. ibid., 32:11-13 and 36:41-43) where *mummu qašti* 'the basic material (= wood) of the bow' is ordered to return to its original habitat, "the forests" (*qīšātu*) (see my remarks in Studies Landsberger [AS 16, Chicago, 1965], p. 402 n. 112).

¹¹ Var. *mūšunu* (*mu-ū-šu-nu*). Observe that the var. readings are in all probability due to the fact that the verb *ḫāqu(m)* can be both transitive and intransitive. Thus in CAD H, p. 86b *ḫāqu* is taken as transitive, and the var. *mēšunu* is preferred, while CAD I/J, p. 280a assumes *ḫāqu* to be intransitive, and the var. *mūšunu* is adopted.

¹² Var. *kuššuru*.

¹³ Var. *še-e-’u* and *še-e-’i*.

¹⁴ The semantic development from *gipāru* denoting 'courtyard, house' (e.g., AnSt 6 [1956], 150:17 = 152:46; RA 49 [1955], 182:1-2 *gipāru-bītu*; AOB 1, 40:16-18 *bītu-gipāru-šubtu*) to 'pasture, meadow, grassland' is not without problems. Observe however that Malku-Šarru II:111-112 does equate *gipāru* with *rītu* 'pasture' and *tamirtu* 'meadow, grassland'. The equation would seem to be supported by the parallelism of *gipāru-šippatu* 'grassland-orchard' (Streck, Asb., p. 6 i:49-50) and *gipāru-irmū* 'meadow-garden plot' (Cagni, Erra I: 83-84; cf. CAD I/J, p. 178b) respectively.

¹⁵ For *šūšū*, poetic synonym of *apparu*, cf. the Commentary to our line (CT 13, 32:3): *šūšū* = *appa[ru]*.

- 7) *enūma ilū lā šūpū manāma* When no gods whatever had been brought into being,¹⁶
 8) *šuma lā zukkuru šimāta lā šīmu* Were not yet existent, their destinies undetermined –
 9) *ibbanūma ilū qerebšun* (for *qerbuššun*!) (At that time) the gods were created within them.¹⁷

Of particular interest to us is line 6 *gipāra lā kiššuru šūšū lā še-’u*, which in Heidel's translation reads: "And no pasture land had been formed (and) not (even) a reed marsh was to be seen."¹⁸ Others render the latter part of our verse: "Before canebrakes could be found"¹⁹ or "No marshland had appeared."²⁰ Such renderings, however, and the philological analysis underlying them, are untenable on several counts:

1) The verb *še-’u* never means 'to find' nor can it be rendered 'to see' or 'to appear' as such.²¹ The primary meaning of *še-’u*, the semantic equivalent of Ugaritic *bqš*,²² Phoenician and Hebrew *bqš*,²³ is 'to look for, to seek'. It will be recalled that *še-’u* is frequently in parallelism with *bu-’u* and *saḫāru* 'to look for, search for, examine'.²⁴ Thus, the idiom *balāṭa še-’u* 'to seek life'²⁵ is in no way different in meaning from *balāṭa bu-’u*²⁶ and *balāṭa saḫāru*.²⁷ Were it the intention of the poet to inform us that no reed marsh was to be seen or found, he would surely have employed *amru*²⁸ or (*w*)*atū*,²⁹ certainly not *še-’u*!³⁰ It is indeed the merit of Jensen³¹ to have recognized, precisely on these grounds, that such renderings cannot be maintained.

¹⁶ For the same sequence of *šūpū* and *šuma zakāru*, cf. En. el. I:10. For *šūpū* 'to create' cf. CT 13, 34:3 *enūma ilū . . . ušūpū šiknāt napīšti* "When the gods . . . created the living beings."

¹⁷ En. el. I:1-9.

¹⁸ The Babylonian Genesis (Chicago, 1951 [2 ed.]), p. 18.

¹⁹ CAD S, p. 262a.

²⁰ ANET, p. 61a.

²¹ It should be emphasized that even in cases such as En. el. IV:65-66 and Theodicy: 287-288 (Lambert, BWL, p. 88), where *še-’u* is in parallelism with *barū* or *amāru*, the verb *še-’u* can hardly be rendered 'to see' or 'to behold' as such (contrast Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis, p. 39, and Lambert, BWL, p. 89). As to the En. el. passage, the following reading and rendering would seem to be called for: *iḫḫēma bēlum qabluš Tiawati ibarri ša Kingu ḫā-iriša iše-’e šibqīšu* "The lord drew near, inspecting the insides of Tiamat, looking for the stratagem of Kingu, her spouse." Observe that the most frequent verb in parallelism with *barū* is *ḫāṭu* 'to search, examine, investigate' (cf., e.g., Ebeling, Handerhebung, p. 68:14-15; RAcc, p. 130:19-20; VAS 1, 37 i: 20-21; VAB 4, p. 68:35). One wonders whether the very same pair is not to be sought also in En. el. IV:141, where *ibir* would seem to be miswritten for *ibri* (|| *iḫṭi*)! A plausible, though less probable, reading would be *ibēr* < *bēru* (= Heb. *bḥr*) 'to select, test, examine' rarely attested in parallelism with *ḫāṭu* (cf. Borger, Esarh., p. 106:15, 33).

²² I AB 4:44 (Herdner, Corpus [MRS 10], p. 41); see Held, JBL 84 (1965), 278 n. 29.

²³ Donner-Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften (Wiesbaden, 1964), 1, No. 14:4-5. Note the correspondence of Heb. *bqš* and Akk. *še-’u* in the following Akk. idioms: *ila še-’u* 'to seek god' (e.g., Theodicy: 70, 73 [Lambert BWL, pp. 74, 76], cf. Mullo Weir, Lexicon, p. 339) = Heb. *bqš yhwḥ* ('*lhym*') (e.g., Deut. 4: 29; Isa. 51:1; Jer. 50:4; Hos. 3:5; 5:6); *pānī še-’u* 'to seek out' (PBS 1/2, 121:11) = *bqš pny* (e.g., Hos. 5:15; Ps. 27:8; 105:4); *lemutta še-’u* (*bu-’u*) 'to seek evil' (e.g., Streck, Asb., p. 44, V:24) = *bqš r’h* (e.g., 1 Kgs. 20:7; Ps. 71:13, 24; Prov. 17:11); *damqāti še-’u* 'to seek goodness' (e.g., VAB 4, p. 86 i:9-10) = *bqš twb(h)* (e.g., Ps. 122:9; Neh. 2:10); *rīta še-’u* (*saḫāru*) 'to seek pasture' (e.g., CT 16, 12 i:45) = *bqš mr’h* (1 Chr. 4: 39). Note also the idiom *ina qāti bu-’u* 'to hold someone responsible for, to call someone to account' (CAD B, pp. 364f.; AHw., p. 145) = Heb. *bqš myd* (Gen. 31:39; 43:9; 1 Sam. 20:16; 2 Sam. 4:11; Ezek. 3:18, 20; 33:8; cf. Gen. 9:5; Ezek. 33:6; 34:10 [*drš myd*]).

²⁴ For *še-’u* || *saḫāru* and *bu-’u* || *saḫāru*, cf. e.g., Theodicy: 72-73 (Lambert, BWL, p. 76); Ebeling, Handerhebung, pp. 24:3-4; 60:15; 62:29-30; 114:15-16; Maqlū VII:88-91. For a case in point involving the parallelism of all three verbs, note Maqlū II:206-208 *attī mannu kaššaptu ša tubtana’ innī ana lemulli taštene’ innī ana lā ṭābtī tassanaḫḫurinnī* "Whoever you are, sorceress, who keeps seeking me out, keeps searching for me with evil intent, keeps looking for me to no good purpose"; cf. ibid., 210-212.

²⁵ Gilg. XI:7.

²⁶ Ibid., 198.

²⁷ Gilg. X, i:8; ibid., iii:2 (OB).

²⁸ Cf. e.g., AFO 19 (1959-60), 51:76 (Prayer to Ištar) *lā amra kīma kāti māḫir teslīti* "One who listens to prayers

2) The form *še'ū* (stat.-subj.) can in no way be accepted metri causa since it violates the principle of the trochee at the end of the line.³² While this is not the place for a detailed discussion of meter in Akkadian poetry,³³ it may be observed that the final trochee is maintained throughout our passage without a single exception. Thus *šamāmu* (1), *zākrat* (2), *zārūšun* (3), *gimrīšun* (4), *iḫtūma* (5), *manāma* (7), *šīmu* (8), *qerēbšun* (9). There is, therefore, no escape from the conclusion that *še'ū* can hardly have been the intended reading.

3) Parallelism clearly excludes the accepted renderings. For it is a fact that the well attested verb *kašāru* 'to tie, bind together' is nowhere employed in parallelism with *še'ū*. The verbs most frequently in parallelism with *kašāru* are: *paḥāru* 'to gather',³⁴ *dekū* 'to muster',³⁵ *šutēšuru* 'to make ready',³⁶ *nadū/šakānu* 'to establish',³⁷ *dunnunu* 'to reinforce',³⁸ *ruppušu* 'to enlarge',³⁹ *ulludu/šuludu* 'to produce, breed',⁴⁰ *patālu* 'to twist, twine',⁴¹ and *kasū* 'to bind'.⁴² More significant, within a creation context, is the fact that *kašāru* frequently denotes 'to bring together, lay out, concentrate, mass, knit together, coagulate'.⁴³ It is hardly surprising, therefore, to note its employment in parallelism with such verbs as *banū* 'to construct, create', *šubšū* 'to bring into existence', and *bašāmu* 'to fashion, create'. Note the following examples: *damī lukšurma ešmēla*⁴⁴ *lušabši* 'I'll cause blood to coagulate'⁴⁵ and produce bones";⁴⁶ *appa danna ana Sippar akšurma nābala abšim* 'I constructed as you has never been seen'; note also *Ludlul II:14* (Lambert, BWL, p. 38); BWL, p. 130:67 (*Šamaš Hymn*); YOS 6, 123:1-3; TCL 12, 77:6-7; *ibid.*, 13, 147:7-8.

²⁹ Cf. e.g., MSL 5, p. 50:3 *pū-ta-pā-da: ina būrtu atu* 'It (the child) has been found in a well'; note also KAR, 178 iv:18; Boissier, DA, 11 i:19.

³⁰ In the context of the creation of a reed marsh one expects some verb for growing. Note that a parallel bilingual creation story employs the stative of (*w*)*ašū* 'to grow, to sprout'. Thus CT 13, 35:2 (= KB 6/1, p. 38) reads: *gi nu-è gi š nu-dīm: qanū ul ašī iṣ(š)u ul bani* 'No reed had (yet) grown, no tree had (yet) been created.'

³¹ KB 6/1, p. 304.

³² Landsberger, *Islamica* 2 (1926), 371.

³³ See for the present Held, JCS 15 (1961), 3.

³⁴ Cf. e.g., ARM 6, 58:17-18 (= 57:6-7) *ana šahātim uktašširam u inanna paḥārumma ipaḥḥur* 'They (the Suteans) got together here in order to make a raid, and now they are indeed assembled'; note also Winckler, Sar., p. 114:97-98; PRT, No. 128 r. 5-6; OIP 2, p. 49:15; Cagni, Erra IV:31 (*uktaššir*; var. *uptaḥḥir*).

³⁵ Cf. e.g., Streck, Asb., p. 114:42-43 (= 190:21; 220:7-8) *idkū ummānātēšu iḫšura tāḫzu uša'ala kakkēšu* 'He (the king of Elam) mustered his troops against me, he prepared to do battle with me, sharpening his weapons'; note also Wiseman, Chron., p. 70 r. 8 and 9.

³⁶ Cf. e.g., Winckler, Sar., p. 40:243-244 (= 54:317; 120:124; Lie, Sar., p. 272) *šindīya uštēšera akšura ušmānī* 'I made my chariot teams ready, organized my camp'; note also LKA, 22:15.

³⁷ Cf. e.g., AKA, p. 210:21-23 (see Reiner, AFO 23 [1970], 90-91) *isinnātēšu . . . lū aškun ekurra* [a]na nābān (= *ana limītīša*) *lū akšur parak Ninurta bēliya ina qerebšu lū addi* 'I established (two) festivals for him, I constructed that temple in its entirety, founded therein the throne-dais for my lord DN'; note also *ibid.*, p. 346:134-135; TCL 3:129; *ibid.*, 254; Winckler, Sar., p. 56:328 (= 122-129).

³⁸ TCL 3:190 *dūrānišunu dunnunūma šalḫūšunu kašrū ḫirīšānišunu šuppulūma šutashuru limīssun* 'Their (the fortresses') inner walls (= Heb. *ḥōmāh*) are reinforced, their outer walls (= Heb. *ḥēl*) (well) constructed, their moats (= Aram. *ḥrs*) are very deep, surrounding their enclosure.'

³⁹ Streck, Asb., p. 4:27-30 *ašar . . . kimtu urappišu iḫšuru nišūtu u salātu* 'Where he (Esarhaddon) enlarged the family, joined together relatives and kin'; cf. VAB 4, p. 88 No. 8 ii:9-12 (*kašāru-šumdulu*).

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g., Iraq 14 (1952), 34:99-100 *sugullātēšunu akšur maršissina ušālid* 'I gathered flocks of them (the wild animals), bred herds of them'; note also AKA, p. 141:21; 142:27; BA 5 (1906), 599, No. 17 r. 18.

⁴¹ Maqlū V:11 *mannu pā iptil uḫḫata ukaššir* 'Who had ever twined a rope of chaff (= *iltu* = Heb. *mōš*), tied barley together?'

⁴² *Ibid.*, 95-96 *šir'anī tukassira . . . šalmāni tuggira tukassā* 'You tied together the sinews, bound together the figurines crosswise.'

⁴³ See the numerous references now collected in CAD K, pp. 260f.; cf. AHw., p. 456b.

⁴⁴ Var. *eš-še-em-tum*. For *ešmēla*, probably a plural accusative, cf. HED forms such as *pulḫāta* (En. el. I:86), *šimāta* (*ibid.*, II:46), *mišrāta* (*ibid.*, V:3), and see von Soden, ZA 40 (1931), 215 n. 3.

⁴⁵ For the idiom *kašāru ša dami*, cf. CT 39, 21:151 *damu kašir* 'Blood is coagulated.' Observe that mankind was created with the blood of Kingu (En. el. VI:33; cf. KAR, 4:26).

⁴⁶ En. el. VI:5.

a causeway⁴⁷ toward Sippar and so created an area of dry land";⁴⁸ *Marduk ibtani* [*iḫšurma <ana> u[rpāti mē] ušasbi* 'Marduk created'⁴⁹ . . . he gathered together clouds⁵⁰ and made them surge⁵¹ with water."⁵²

4) From the standpoint of context, a perusal of the Creation stories related to Enūma eliš makes it quite clear that, as a parallel to *kašāru*, a verb denoting 'to form, shape, create' is called for. The following opening lines from one such story are particularly relevant: *enūma ilū ina puḥrīšun(u) ibnū [šamāmi]*⁵³ *ubaššimū*⁵⁴ *burūmī iḫšurū [ammata]*⁵⁵ *ušāpū šiknāt napīšti*⁵⁶ 'When the gods in their assembly created [the heavens], fashioned the firmament, formed [the earth], brought forth the living beings.'⁵⁷ This usage of *kašāru* with *ammatu* (or, perhaps, *eršetu*), terms specifically denoting 'earth, land', is significant in light of our usage with *gipāru* 'meadow, grassland'.

5) The parallel to *gipāru* in our text, *šusū* (poetic for *apparū*) is employed with *itlupu* (*šutēlupu*)⁵⁸ and *itlulu*⁵⁹ 'to grow vigorously, to be entangled'. Note the following examples: *qīšāti magal iṣmuḫā apū šusē*

⁴⁷ See CAD A/2, p. 189a; cf. AHw., p. 60b.

⁴⁸ VAB 4, p. 118:16-17.

⁴⁹ The text is problematic, but the parallelism of *banū-kašāru* can hardly be in doubt. Cf. the idioms *luqunta banū* 'to incite warfare' || *tāḫāza kašāru* 'to prepare for battle' in En. el. VI:23-24 and 29-30.

⁵⁰ For the idiom *urpāti* (*erpēti*) *kašāru* 'to gather clouds', cf. Maqlū V:84 *urpāti iḫšuramma izzizza yāši* 'She (the sorceress) gathered clouds against me, and confronted me'; note also Biggs, Šaziga, p. 35:13; ACh Supp. 2, Adad 105:10, 11; CT 38, 7:21; 39, 31b:8, 11.

⁵¹ A perusal of the material recently studied by von Soden (AHw., p. 999; cf. *idem*, ZA 51 [1955], 152) reveals that *sabā'u* may denote 'the surging of waters' as well as 'the rolling or tossing of the sea' (e.g., Cagni, Erra IIIc:67; Iraq 24 [1962], 93:3, 6), 'chariots' (e.g., ZA 51 [1955], 138:66), 'sick people' (CT 16, 24 i:13-14), and 'heaven and earth' (e.g., Cagni, Erra IV:123; AFO 17 [1954/56], 358 D:13-14). For the former meaning, cf. particularly OECT 6, p. 71:9 *ša . . . abūbu našpanti elīšunu ušāšba'u* 'Who causes a devastating flood to surge against them.' Compare also the idiom *sabā'u ša agī* 'the tossing about of the waves', for which see Ebeling, Handerhebung, p. 132:62 *asabbu'u kīma agī ša uppaqu šāru lemna* (for *lemnu*!) 'I toss about like a wave which an evil wind makes massive.'

⁵² En. el. V:48-49; see Landsberger-Kinnier Wilson, JNES 20 (1961), 158-159.

⁵³ The restoration *šamāmu* (|| *burūmū*) is not absolutely certain but appears to be the only one to recommend itself. For *burūmū* 'firmament (of the heavens)' as a synonym of *šamū* (NB and NA), see already Schott, ZA 42 (1934), 217. Though *šamū* and *burūmū* are equated in the lexical texts (Malku-Šarru II:99), the fact remains that, as far as can be ascertained, the two vocables are not attested in synonymous parallelism. The following list of juxtaposed idioms, however, establishes their synonymity:

- 1) *kakkab šamē* (*šamāmi*) 'the stars of heaven' (e.g., En. el. VII:130) = *kakkab burūmī* (e.g., VAB 4, p. 156:27);
- 2) *šitir šamē* (*šamāmi*) 'constellations' (e.g., BBS, 5, ii:27; cf. VAB 4, p. 74 ii:2) = *šitir burummē* (e.g., Borger, Esarh., p. 5, v:39);
- 3) *šupuk šamē* 'the vault of heaven' (e.g., Gilg. IX, ii:4) = *šupuk burūmē* (CAD B, p. 344b, lex. section);
- 4) *kippat šamē* 'the circuit of heaven' (e.g., Schollmeyer, p. 94:3) = *kippat burummē* (e.g., KB 6/2, p. 108:8);
- 5) *markas šamē* 'the band of heaven' (e.g., Unger, Babylon, p. 231:6) = *markas burummē* (AAA 20 [1933], 80:4).

⁵⁴ For *banū* || *bašāmu*, cf. e.g., VAB 4, p. 122 i:23-25; BHT, p. 84 ii:4, 12.

⁵⁵ The restoration *danninu* (Jensen, KB 6/1, p. 42) is improbable here since the latter, though a poetic synonym of *eršetu* (CT 13, 32 r. 10) denotes not simply 'earth' but 'netherworld'. In fact, the lexical texts (see CAD G, p. 43b, sub *ganzir*) equate *danninu* not only with *eršetu* but also with such vocables as *ganzir* and *arallū*, both poetic designations of the netherworld. Note also that the *āšir dannina* 'the organizer of Dannina' (Böllenrucher, Nergal, No. 8:4) is none other than Nergal.

⁵⁶ See above, n. 16.

⁵⁷ CT 13, 34:1-3 (= KB 6/1, p. 42).

⁵⁸ CAD E, pp. 86ff.; cf. AHw., pp. 199-200. The Arabic etymology for *elēpu* proposed by Jensen (KB 6/1, pp. 326-327) is not without merit. Note, however, that here may also belong the Aramaic and Late Hebrew *lbb* 'to sprout, to send forth shoots' (Jastrow, Dict., p. 689). The latter would appear to be a secondary formation related to the Akkadian *līpu-liplippu* (= Aramaic *lbb*) denoting 'offshoot, offspring, descendant'.

⁵⁹ CAD A/1, p. 331; cf. Landsberger, Date Palm, p. 29 n. 82.

*uštēlipū*⁶⁰ "The forests grew luxuriously, the reed thickets (and) canebrakes grew vigorously;⁶¹ *iḫtarpūni*⁶² *mīl kišṣati ittagpušū*⁶³ *mē naqbi šuṣū itlulū*⁶⁴ *šīpa*⁶⁵ *iltaknū* "The crest of the flood waters has arrived early, the subterranean waters have amassed, the canebrakes have become tangled, have become soaked ground."⁶⁶ While it is true that *šuṣū* is, outside of our text, nowhere attested alongside *kašāru*, it should be borne in mind that the latter is semantically akin to *itlupu* and *itlulu*, respectively.⁶⁷ Suffice it to call attention to the fact that the idiom *kašāru ša lišāni* 'to tie the tongue'⁶⁸ is in no way different in meaning from *itlulu ša lišāni*.⁶⁹ Similarly the idiom *tuqumātu itlulu* 'to be clad in warfare'⁷⁰ can hardly be separated from *pulḫātu/melammū kišṣuru* 'to be clad in awe/splendor'.⁷¹

A word must be said concerning the difficult *še-u*. Though no easy solution seems to recommend itself, it is not excluded to derive our form from the root *šē'u* denoting 'to mat, to stuff, to lay out'. This vocabulary is attested in the lexical texts where *giš-na ša-ta g-sí-g-ù-z-a g-a = eršu ša šarti enzi šē'at* "A bed stuffed with goat hair."⁷² So too, in OB there is attested *eršum šēḫitum* (= *šē'itum*) 'an upholstered bed', i.e., one provided with a mattress or cushion.⁷³ Thus, Enūma eliš I:6 may be rendered: "When no grassland had been formed, no reed thicket laid out." From the standpoint of meter, context, and especially parallelism,

⁶⁰ Cf. particularly Gilg. V i:8-9 where we should in all probability read and render as follows: *šābu šillašu mali rīšati* [*šut*]ēlup *giššu ḫitlupāt* [eddetu] "Sweet was its (the cedar's) shade, full of joy; entangled was the thorny bush (= Heb. *qōṣ*), intertwined [the boxthorn]"; note also KB 3/1, p. 150:24-27 (said of *inbu* 'fruit'); Borger, Esarh., p. 5, vi:20-23 (said of *šuršu* 'root').

⁶¹ Streck, Asb., p. 212 r. 3 (= Bauer, Asb., p. 87 r. 3).

⁶² See Landsberger, AfO 3 (1926), 164ff. (note p. 166 § 6a); cf. idem, JNES 8 (1949), 276. Note the idiom *mīlu ḫarpu* 'early flood' (e.g., ACh Sin 35:22), the antonym of which is *mīlu uppulu/uḫḫuru* 'late flood' (e.g., CT 39, 21:153-154; CT 40, 40 r. 61); cf. *še'u ḫarpu* 'early barley' (e.g., Lambert, BWL, p. 244:34) – *še'u uppulu* 'late barley' (ibid., l. 38); *zunnu ḫarpu* 'early rain' (e.g., ACh Sin 35:22) – *zunnu uppulu* (e.g., ACh Ištār 20:86), and others. It may be noted in passing that the antonym of Hebrew *špāl* 'late' (Exod. 9:32) is *bakkār* 'early' (e.g., Mishnah Shebi. 6:4). Aramaic, however, is much closer to Akk., employing the pair *ḫrp* 'early' – *pl* 'late' (e.g., Targum to Qoh. 11:2), which is both semantically and etymologically the equivalent of the Akk. pair *ḫarpu* – *uppulu*.

⁶³ Cf. Lambert, BWL., p. 177:11-12.

⁶⁴ See CAD A/1, p. 331a; ibid., §, pp. 205a, 262b; cf. Lambert, BWL, p. 160:23, where the Date Palm boasts that *lipippiya ētallatū* "My offshoots are intertwined"; ibid., p. 155 b:3, for which see Landsberger, Date Palm, p. 29 n. 82.

⁶⁵ For *šabū/šapū* 'to soak, irrigate (a field)' (= *mē lapātu*) see Landsberger, MSL 1, p. 255; idem, JNES 8 (1949), 276 n. 90, and 279; cf. CAD §, p. 205.

⁶⁶ Lambert, BWL, p. 178:27-28.

⁶⁷ Note the lexical equation of *elēpu* and *kašāru* quoted in CAD K, p. 258a, lex. section.

⁶⁸ Cf. e.g., Maqlū I:27-28 *tūša ša kašṣapti lemutti turrat amassa ana pīša lišānša kašrat* "It is as if the word of the evil sorceress had been turned back into her mouth (and) her tongue had been tied" (see JCS 15 [1961], 22b; contrast AfO 21 [1966], 71); note also ZA 45 (1939), 26:7-8; Maqlū VII:110, 117; Labat, TDP, p. 62:18, 19; ibid., p. 232:9; AfO 11 (1936-37), 224:66.

⁶⁹ Labat, TDP, p. 62:21, 22 (see CAD A/1, p. 331a).

⁷⁰ AKA, p. 256 i:6 *šar tamḫāri ālilu ša tuqumātu itallu* "King of battle, the brave one, who is clad in warfare"; cf. *tuqunta labāšu/ḫalāpu* (e.g., Ebeling, Handerhebung, p. 130:12; RA 13 (1916), 107:4).

⁷¹ Cf. e.g., Ebeling, Handerhebung, p. 118a:4-5 *Nergal . . . šūtūr bēlu eli kala Igigi tēdiq melammī . . . kašir* "Nergal, the pre-eminent lord among the Igigi, is clad in a garment of splendor"; note also CT 16, 25 i:49 (*melammū kišṣur*[u]); CT 25, 10:5-6 (*pulḫātu kišṣurat*); cf. *pulḫāti (puluḫta)/melammē labāšu/ḫalāpu* (e.g., Ludlul III:12 [Lambert, BWL, p. 48]; En. el. IV:57-58; Ebeling, Handerhebung, 24:13; Böllenrucher, Nergal, No. 8:9).

⁷² MSL 5, p. 165:159.

⁷³ TCL 10, 120:29.

a form *šē'u* (stat.-subj. of *šē'u*) is called for. It will be readily seen that a creation metaphor involving the laying out of reed marshes⁷⁴ is highly appropriate in a text originating in Mesopotamia.⁷⁵

II

Less problematic philologically, but equally significant from the standpoint of parallelism as a philological tool, is the following passage from En. el.: *iḫēma bēlum qabluš Tiawati ibarri ša Kingu ḫā'iriša*⁷⁶ *iše'e*⁷⁷ *šibqīšu inaṭṭalma eši*⁷⁸ *ma-lak-šu*⁷⁹ *sapiḫ tēmašūma seḫāt(i)*⁸⁰ *epšessu*⁸¹ "The lord drew near, inspecting the insides of Tiamat, looking for the stratagem⁸² of Kingu, her spouse;⁸³ perceiving (him), his *ma-la-ku* is confused, his mind distracted, his activity disorganized."⁸⁴ Speiser translates *eši ma-lak-šu* as follows: "His course becomes upset."⁸⁵ The philological analysis underlying such a rendering seems to be unfounded for the following reasons:

⁷⁴ A detailed study of the semantic spheres of verbs denoting 'to mat, lay out' cannot be undertaken here. It should, nevertheless, be remarked that our *šē'u* would seem to be the exact semantic equivalent of Heb. *rpd* (*rbd*) and *yš'*. While it is true that the primary meaning of these verbs is 'to lay out, spread (a bed)', they may also be employed with substantives other than beds or couches; cf. Job 41:22 (for *rpd*) and Isa. 58:5 (for *yš'*).

⁷⁵ For reed marshes and reed thickets in Babylonian Creation stories, cf. particularly CT 13, 37:25-27 (= KB 6/1, p. 40) *gi-uš gi-ḫenbūr ambar giš-gi giš-tir-su-gá ba-dím ú-šim-edin-na ba-dū* [*kur-ku*]r-ra ambar *giš-gi-na-na*[m]: *uššu ditla appari qanā u qīšu ibtani urqīt šērīm ibtani māṭātum appari apumma* "He (Marduk) created both the mature and immature reed, the reed marsh, the reed thicket, and the reed bed; he created the vegetation of the open country; all lands were indeed a reed marsh"; note also Weissbach, Misc., p. 32:28 (= RAcc., p. 46:28 [creation of reed thickets and forests]); CT 13, 35:2 (= KB 6/1, p. 38 [creation of reeds and trees]).

⁷⁶ Var. *ḫā'irišu*.

⁷⁷ Var. *iše' a*.

⁷⁸ Observe that the most frequent verb in parallelism with *ešū* (mostly in the stative) is *dalāhu* 'to roil (water), to confuse, disturb' (cf. e.g., En. el. I:22-23; Ebeling, Handerhebung, p. 72:20-21; ibid., p. 132:48; ACh Supp. 2 Ištār 62:25-26; TuL, 86:46; UET 4, 163:6; Lugale II:45; BBSt, 36 i:4-5). For the less frequent *ešū* || *sapāhu*, cf. ACh Šamaš 14:3 *mātu innešši milik māti issappaḫ* "The country will fall into anarchy, the counsel of the people will be distracted."

⁷⁹ Var. *ma-la-ak-šu*.

⁸⁰ Var. *saḫāti* (see Gurney, AfO 17 [1954-56], 354a). The writing *seḫāti* (for *seḫāt* || *eši* || *sapiḫ*) calls to mind similar cases in En. el. such as *unāši* (for *unāš*! En. el. II:87), *tēri* (for *tēr*! ibid., 119), *ulāri* (for *ulār*! ibid., IV:71; VII:153), and the like. Some connotations of *seḫū-suḫḫū* are 'to change, alter' (|| *nukkuru*; e.g., Lyon, Sar., p. 38:76), 'to remove' (|| *nasāhu*; e.g., CT 36, 7 ii:19-20), or even 'to destroy' (|| *ḫulluqu*; e.g., BBSt, 36 i:7-8; || *ubbutu*; e.g., VAB 4, p. 254:18; || *šulputu*; e.g., ibid., p. 270:9-13). The rich material recently made available by von Soden (AHw., pp. 1034-35) makes it clear that the basic meaning 'to be disturbed, troubled, confused' (= *ešū* [see below] = *dalāpu* [CT 41, 33:5]) is already well attested in OB (cf. e.g., Kraus, AbB 5, 166 r. 3-6 [*aššum alpm ša tašpuram seḫēkūma ula ušābilakkum ina nēḫtiya lušābilakkum* "Concerning the ox about which you have written to me, I am troubled and so have not sent [it] to you; when I am at ease [again], I'll send [it] to you"; note also ARM 4, 20:5-7; 23:7-10). For the parallelism of *ešū* || *seḫū*, cf. JCS 11 (1957), 85 iii:8-9 (OB); AnSt 5 (1955), 102:88; ibid., 106:154-155 (= KB 6/1, p. 294:28-29; p. 298:13-14).

⁸¹ Note the idiom *epišta suḫḫū*, though in a slightly different connotation, in OIP 2, p. 84:57-58; cf. *epišta sapāhu* in En. el. VII:49, 91. Note also the parallelism of *šibit tēmi* || *epištu* (En. el. III:127-128) = *alaktu* || *epištu* (ibid., I:27-28; VI:122).

⁸² For the idiom *šibqa šē'ū* 'to look for a stratagem', cf. En. el. I:60; II:81; and see Held, JCS 15 (1961), 13b.

⁸³ See above, n. 21.

⁸⁴ En. el. IV:65-68.

⁸⁵ ANET p. 66b.

1) Were it the intention of the poet to inform us that the course, i.e., the path or way (*mālu* < *alāku*) of the god was confused, as Speiser and von Soden⁸⁶ indicate, he would have employed, in all probability, the idiom *ešāt alkassu* or *ešāt alaktašu*, as is clearly indicated by the idiom *alkatu ešitu* in En. el. I:49.⁸⁷ Observe that a lexical text⁸⁸ equates *tēmu* with *šibqu*, *urtu*, *mūrtu*, and *alaktu*, but is careful not to include the maqal *mālu*. There is no denial of the fact that the idiom *urham ešum* 'to confuse the way' is attested in the Epilogue to the Code of Hammurabi.⁸⁹ Note, however, that in the Epilogue the idiom appears alongside *išdī šuḥešum* 'to cause the foundation to collapse'⁹⁰ and not *tēma sapāhu*, as is the case in our text.

2) The maqal *mālu* 'way, course'⁹¹ is employed in such idioms as *mālak nāri* 'river course',⁹² *mālak mē* 'water course',⁹³ *mālak bīti* 'road to a temple',⁹⁴ *mālak ummāni* 'course of an army',⁹⁵ *mālak girri* 'course of a campaign',⁹⁶ and the like. Hardly to be encountered, however, is such an idiom as *mālak ilī*, which might denote 'plan/reasoning of the gods'.⁹⁷ To put it differently: under no circumstances could the famous statement *alakti ilī mannu ilammad* 'Who can comprehend the ways of the gods'⁹⁸ be replaced by **mālak ilī mannu ilammad*!

3) The problem under consideration constitutes a case in which parallelism must be viewed as a philological tool to be reckoned with. Thus the idiom *malāka* (!) *ešū*, parallel to *tēma sapāhu* in our text, is in no way different from the idioms *milka sapāhu* 'to disorganize one's counsel'⁹⁹ and *tēma ešū* 'to confuse one's reason-

⁸⁶ AHw., p. 259b; *ibid.*, p. 594a, sub *mālu*(m). For this interpretation see already Delitzsch, *Das babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 82, 105. Note however, that Jensen (KB 6/1, p. 335) wavers between *mālu* and *malāku*, clearly showing preference for the latter (*ibid.*, p. 25).

⁸⁷ Cf. the idiom *alakta sapāhu* in En. el. I:39 = *epišta sapāhu* in En. el. VII:49, 91 (see above, n. 81).

⁸⁸ Malku-Šarru IV:111ff.

⁸⁹ CH 27:23; see my remarks in JCS 15 (1961), 15b.

⁹⁰ CH 27:24-25; for this idiom, cf. MSL 1, pp. 65-66:22-23 *iz-zī-dal-ba-a-n-na úr-bi-ba-a-n-zé-ir* = *igār bīrti išissu itteḥḥu* "(If) the foundation of the common wall collapsed."

⁹¹ AHw., p. 594a. A perusal of the references collected by von Soden leads to the conclusion that unlike *alaktu*, the maqal *mālu* is evidently restricted to usages relating only to the physical sphere. It is significant that the sole reference adduced by von Soden allegedly relating to the behavioral sphere is drawn from our very passage (En. el. IV:67).

⁹² Cf. e.g., CT 22, 233:4-7 *qēme ana PN ana šābē ša mālu ša nāri iḥerrū idin* "Give flour to PN for the contingent of workers who dig the river course"; note also OIP 2, 96:75; 99:48; 105:85-87.

⁹³ Cf. e.g., VAB 4, p. 212 ii:4-5 *mālak mēšu kīma labīrimma ana itē Esagila uštetēšer* "I directed its water course, as in former times, alongside Esagila"; note also OIP 2, pp. 79:10-11; 80:16; 84:58; 105:88-90; 114:36-38; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 19, No. 18:16-21.

⁹⁴ Cf. e.g., VAB 4, p. 158 vi:36-38 *ina agurri kaspi ebba tallakti papāhu [u] malaku biti ubannu* "I decorated the road to the cella [and] the pathway to the temple with pure silver bricks"; note also CT 37, 9:55; PBS 15, 79 i:62; BRM 1, 85:1; VAB 4, p. 128:54-61.

⁹⁵ Cf. e.g., CT 20, 13 r. 5 *nakru mālak ummāniya išabbatma ummānī idāḥ* "The enemy will block the course of my army and will defeat my army"; note also YOS 10, 18:67; CT 20, 26:5; ARM 4, 24:30-31 (*tēm mālaki* — a report concerning the course of the Turukeans).

⁹⁶ TCL 3:82 *mālak gerriya ana rūqēti iṭṭulma irruṭū širūšu* "He noticed from afar the course of my expeditionary force, and as a result his body trembled."

⁹⁷ As noted by von Soden (AHw., p. 594a) the expression *mālak ilī* (RA 20 [1923], 108:14) refers to a procession of the gods and has nothing to do with *alakti ilī* in the behavioral sphere denoting 'plan/reasoning of the gods'.

⁹⁸ Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 72b:11; note particularly Ludlul II:38 (Lambert, BWL, p. 40) *ēkāma ilmadā alakti ilī apāti* "Where have mortals (ever) comprehended the ways of the gods?" Cf. also Laessle, *Bit Rimki*, p. 53:4 *alakti ilī idū* = *milik ilī lamādu* (e.g., Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 132:39) = *tēm ilī lamādu* (e.g., Lambert, BWL, p. 265 r. 7).

⁹⁹ Cf. e.g., Maqlū V:128-129 *tēnkunu ušanni milikkunu aspuḥ* "I made you lose your mind, confused your reasoning"; note also YOS 10, 31 v:23-24; CT 27, 38:17, 21; ACh Šamaš 14:3 (see above, n. 78); AfO 12 (1937-39), 143:20; Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, p. 124:17 = *tēma sapāhu* (e.g., JCS 11 [1957], 86 iv:5; TCL 4, 41:7-8).

ing¹⁰⁰ respectively. Indeed, *malāku* in parallelism with *tēmu* can be nothing other than an alternate form of the more widely attested *milku*.¹⁰¹ Not only is the hendiadys *tēmu (u) milku* well attested in all periods of Akkadian,¹⁰² but the vocables are likewise employed as a pair in poetic texts. It will suffice to quote here the two most celebrated occurrences:¹⁰³ *ayyu tēm ilī qereb šamē ilammad*¹⁰⁴ *milik ša anzanunzē*¹⁰⁵ *iḥakkim mannu* "Who can understand the reasoning of the gods in heaven, who can comprehend the counsel of the gods of the deep?";¹⁰⁶ *iltānu tēnka manīt niši tā[bu] illu nussuqu milikka d[amqu]*¹⁰⁷ "Your reasoning is the north wind, a pleasant breeze¹⁰⁸ for everyone; most distinguished partner,¹⁰⁹ your counsel is excellent."¹¹⁰

4) The equation of the substantive *malāku* (inf.; cf. *balātu*) with *milku* becomes self-evident when it is borne in mind that the OB *Ea eršu ša šūturu malākšu* "Ea, the wise one, whose counsel is supreme"¹¹¹ is replaced in our Epic by *Marduk . . . ša ina . . . milki atru* "Marduk, who is supreme in counsel."¹¹² More significant is the fact that *malāka lamādu* is but a variant of the well attested idiom *milka lamādu*.¹¹³ The former is attested in a bilingual wisdom text, the pertinent line of which reads as follows: *muttaššibat askuppāt awīlē bīt awīlim malākšu talammadī* "You who sit around on the thresholds of men, will comprehend the counsel of a man's household."¹¹⁴ That *malāku* denotes here 'counsel, reasoning' is beyond any shadow of a doubt since the Sumerian version clearly has here: *ga lga ba-e-zu*.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁰ Cf. e.g., UET 1, 146 iv:1-12 GN₁ GN₂ GN₃ *ša šadūšunu nesū lišānšunu egru . . . tēmšunu ešeam anākūma [lū] uštetēšer* "As to Gutium, Subartu, and Tukriš, whose highlands are remote, whose languages are contorted, I alone put their confusion in order"; note also ABL, 5 r. 16-17 (*tēma šūšū*) = *tēma dalāhu* (e.g., CT 27, 25:9!).

¹⁰¹ See the numerous references in AHw., p. 652.

¹⁰² Cf. e.g., RA 27 (1930), 153:30 (= ZA 57 [1965], 132) *tēmum u milikum išanni ešitum aḥum aḥāšu idāk* "The faculty of reasoning will change; (there will be) civil disorder; people will kill each other"; note also the expression *milik tēmi* in the Annals of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal (OIP 2, p. 109:5-6 = 122:25; Streck, *Asb.*, p. 112:23). For other references see AHw., p. 652b, sub *milku* 1d.

¹⁰³ For other occurrences note particularly En. el. I:48; cf. also Maqlū V:128-129; Boissier, DA, 47:2.

¹⁰⁴ The most frequent verbs in synonymous parallelism with *lamādu* are *aḥāzu* 'to learn, to understand' (e.g., Šurpu II:64) and *idū* 'to know, to be familiar with' (e.g., Gilg. P, iii:6-9). As far as can be ascertained, the pair *lamādu* || *ḥakāmu* is, outside of our text, not attested. This is somewhat surprising since *ḥakāmu* appears to be a late and dialectal synonym of *lamādu*. Note the parallelism of *malāku-ḥakāmu* in ABL, 46 r. 19-20.

¹⁰⁵ For these gods, who are in many respects reminiscent of *apsū*, see Lambert, BWL, p. 290. Observe that the question of the alternate readings (*Anzanunzū* or *dZanunzū*) remains unsettled. However, since this vocable is close in meaning to *apsū* and the latter is never deified, the reading *Anzanunzū* would seem to be preferable.

¹⁰⁶ Ludlul II:36-37 (Lambert, BWL, p. 40).

¹⁰⁷ For the restoration *d[amqu]* (|| *tābu*) see Lambert, BWL, p. 305.

¹⁰⁸ Cf., with Lambert (BWL, p. 305), the designation of Marduk's propitious north wind (*iltānu*) as *manīt bēl ilāni tābu* "The sweet breeze of the lord of the gods" (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 104 ii:5). Note also the vivid poetic simile in Ludlul I, describing Marduk as one *ša . . . kī manīti šēri zāqū tābu* "Whose blowing is as sweet as the morning breeze" (Lambert, BWL, p. 343:6).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Streck, *Asb.*, p. 256 i:19, and see Bauer, *Asb.*, p. 85 (note on i:19); *idem*, ZA 42 (1934), 167 n. 2.

¹¹⁰ Theodicy:67-68 (Lambert, BWL, p. 74).

¹¹¹ VAS 10, 214 vii:10.

¹¹² En. el. VII:3; cf. Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 114:7; note also AfO 19 (1959-60), 56:24 *Marduk . . . ša milka ruppuša*.

¹¹³ Cf. Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 6:9, 19; *ibid.*, p. 132:39; p. 140b:10; Lambert, BWL, p. 107:5.

¹¹⁴ Van Dijk, *La Sagesse*, p. 92:2.

¹¹⁵ See AHw., p. 593b, sub *malāku* II and CAD A/2, p. 49a, lex. section; contrast CAD L, p. 54a, lex. section, where the reading and translation must be corrected.

Enki's Command to Atrahasis*

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., Chicago

The water god Enki's instructions to Atrahasis, the Babylonian Noah, regarding the leaving of his home, the building of the ark, and the preserving of a portion of human and animal life¹ are succinctly expressed in the Old Babylonian Atrahasis Epic,² tablet III, column I, lines 22-24:³

- (22) *ú-bu-ut bi-ta bi-ni e-le-ep-pa*
(23) *ma-ak-ku-ra ZÉ-e-er-ma* (24) *na-pí-iš-ta bu-ul-li-iṭ*

It is by now well known that the author-editor of tablet XI of the Akkadian Gilgamesh Epic⁴ in his digest of the story of Utnapištim/Atrahasis remodelled these lines in several respects. Gilg. XI 24-27 reads:⁵

- (24) *ú-qur bīta bi-ni eleppa*
(25) *muš-šēr mešrē šē'-i napšāli*
(26) *[m]a-ak-ku-ra ze-er-ma na-pi-š-ti bul-liṭ*
(27) *[š]u-li-ma zēr nap-šá-a-ti ka-la-ma a-na līb-bi eleppi*

Aside from minor and inconsequential differences such as syllabification and case endings the author-editor of Gilg. XI has made the following modifications: (1) replaced the verb *ú-Bu-uT* with *ú-qur*, and (2) added two

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¹ On the question of whether the flood hero saved (human) life from extinction, see W.W. Hallo, JCS 23 (1970), 62 n. 74.

² Hereafter abbreviated (OB) Atr.

³ W.G. Lambert & A.R. Millard, Atrahasis (Oxford, 1969), p. 88; previously A.R. Boissier, RA 28 (1931), 92-95. Translated *inter alia* by E.A. Speiser in ANET, p. 105; R. Labat in Les religions du Proche-orient asiatique (Paris, 1970), p. 34.

⁴ Hereafter abbreviated Gilg.

⁵ R.C. Thompson, The Epic of Gilgamesh (1929), p. 60 pl. 44; translations by E.A. Speiser in ANET, p. 93, A. Schott & W. von Soden, Das Gilgamesch-epos (1958), p. 87, R. Labat in Les religions du Proche-orient asiatique (Paris, 1970), p. 213.

new lines (25, 27), the first of which he may have considered to be synonymous with 24 and the second synonymous with 26. Thus the dismantling⁶ of the house (*uqur bīta*) is expanded and explained as abandoning accumulated wealth (*muššer mešrē*), while the building of the boat (*bini eleppa*) is in the first instance a means for saving his own life (*še'i napšāti*). The accepted translation by modern Assyriologists of line 26⁷ raises problems for considering lines 26 and 27 as synonymous. But we shall return to this question.

Assyriologists who have addressed themselves to the translation and interpretation of line 26 have been influenced by a different parallelism, which they have detected between lines 25 and 26. Thus *muššer mešrē* seems to be echoed by *makkūra zērma*, and *še'i napšāti* by *napišti bulliṭ*. If the parallelism of lines 25 and 26 was intended by the author of Gilg. XI, then it is clear that he understood *makkūra zērma* in the sense of "hate possessions" and specifically in the sense of *muššer mešrē* to leave them behind. The sequence of imperatives in these two lines would furthermore imply that the leaving behind of possessions was in some sense a necessary prerequisite for saving his own life. As hinted above, I do not consider lines 25 and 26 to have been intended as parallel by the author of Gilg. XI, since such a couplet leaves lines 24 and 27 to stand alone, and since an alternative translation of 26 would allow the pattern 24 : 25, 26 : 27, as suggested above. But whether or not the author of Gilg. XI construed 26 with 25 in his own mind, I shall try to show here that the interpretation of *ma-ak-ku-ra ZĒ-e-er-ma* in Gilg. XI's source, OB Atr. III i 23, as "hate possessions" cannot be sustained.

It cannot be doubted that the intention of the author of Atrahasis was to give in the couplet OB Atr. III i 22-24 a compact and programmatic summary of what Atrahasis was to do in the interval between the issuing of the command and the arrival of the promised deadline (*adannu*),⁸ all of which is described in great detail in III i 38-50, ii 9-47. It is true that sections of this description are broken away in the main OB exemplar,⁹ but they can be largely reconstructed on the basis of other exemplars given in Lambert's edition and on the basis of Gilg. XI 32ff.

Two problems for the accepted interpretations of *ubut bīta* and *makkūra Zērma* emerge from an examination of Atrahasis' actions. Nowhere does one find the slightest hint that he dismantles his house or procures the structural materials for his boat therefrom. Although the fragment CBS 13532 rev 7¹⁰ indicates that the entire structure (*binātu*) of the boat was of reeds (*qanē*), as were some houses in southern Babylonia, the text does not connect these building materials in any way with Atrahasis' house. A second problem for this interpretation arises from III ii 30-31 as restored with the aid of DT 42 7 (Lambert - Millard, Atrahasis, p. 128) and Gilg. XI 80-83. If Atrahasis was explicitly commanded to "forsake (or leave behind) riches" (*muššer mešrē*) and "hate possessions" (*makkūra zērma*), why do we find him loading on board all that he possessed in silver and gold (Gilg. XI 81-82),¹¹ and why according to DT 42 7 does Enki command him to load on board the ark his barley, his goods (NÍG . ŠU), and his property (NÍG . GA) *makkūru*? If we had only the testimony of Gilg. XI 81-82, we might (however implausibly) attribute this action to Atrahasis' incomplete obedience and inherent greed. But DT 42 7 attributes the act directly to a command from Enki! Clearly to interpret OB Atr. III i 22-24 in the above manner runs afoul of the remainder of that epic's narrative in both its Old Babylonian and later Assyrian versions. And, although it is patent that Gilg. XI 24 has thus misinterpreted OB Atr. III i 22 (*ú-bu-ut*), it is not certain that the author of Gilg. XI understood *makkūra Zērma* as synonymous with *muššer mešrē*.

⁶ So translated in CAD A/1, p. 45a, note at end of article on *abātu* A.

⁷ See note 5 above.

⁸ See J.J. Finkelstein, "Babel and Bible," Commentary (November, 1958), 434 and 437 for this terminus and how it was understood in subsequent Jewish traditions of the Deluge story. Cf. Atr. III i 36-37 and DT 42 5 and Gilg. XI 86 and 89.

⁹ CT 46,3 (Lambert - Millard's "C").

¹⁰ Lambert - Millard, Atrahasis, pp. 126-127.

¹¹ *mimma išū ešēnši kaspā* || *mimma išū ešēnši ḫurāša*.

What then is the correct interpretation of OB Atr. III i 22-24? Heretofore Assyriologists have assumed that the poetic structure of the couplet was either A B : A' A' or A B : A' C. *ubut bīta* has been assumed to be roughly synonymous with *makkūra zērma*, while *bini eleppa* corresponded approximately to *napišti bulliṭ*. This pattern is attested in couplets not only in Atrahasis, but also in Akkadian poetry in general.¹² In my judgment the true structure, which reveals a threefold program of prescribed activities for Atrahasis, is A B : B' C. Laid out strophically the couplet would appear thus:

ubut bīta bini eleppa
makkūra s/s/zērma napišti bulliṭ

"Flee (your) house! Build a boat! Construct an ark, that you may preserve life!" This pattern, which allows a gradual progression in the description of sequential activities, is to be found in Atr. I 194-197 (Lambert - Millard, Atrahasis, p. 56), III ii 48-55 (p. 92), BE 39099 rev ii 24-27, 40-43 (pp. 119-120), and a variant thereof¹³ in DT 42 13-15 (p. 128). The second and third phases of Atrahasis' preparations for the flood, as represented by *bini eleppa* || *makkūra s/s/zērma* and *napišti bulliṭ*, can be recognized in Atr. III ii 9-21 and III ii 28-47 respectively. It remains only to observe that phase one of the prescribed activity must be described in III i 38-50, wherein Atrahasis takes leave of the men of his city, offering as the reason for his departure by boat that his own personal god Enki and the god of Šuruppak and environs, Enlil, have had a falling out, and that he as a worshiper of Enki may no longer live in the territory of Enlil.¹⁴ I would understand this as a description of how Atrahasis fled house and home (*ubut bīta*). Neither Atrahasis nor the men of his city allude to a destruction of his house, but he is obviously leaving it and must make some explanation. The form *ú-bu-ut* is not what we should expect either for a G-stem (*abut*) or D-stem (*ubbit*) imperative from the root *'bt*. It is not enough, however, simply to reject *ú-bu-ut* in favor of Gilg. XI 24's *ú-qur*, as does CAD A, p. 45a. Obviously, the author of Gilg. XI did not see fit to retain the form, but substituted a verb which to him seemed right. Gilg. XI is hardly a new textual witness to OB Atr. III; at best it is a kind of late commentary. In default of a true variant reading, therefore, we must work with the signs *ú-b/pu-ud/t*. If the verb means "destroy", one will be forced to consider it an incorrect approximation of *ub-bi-it* (or *ú-bi-it*). If the verb means "to flee", one may deem it an incorrect approximation of *a-bu-ut* (CAD A/1, *abātu* B) or a correct writing of the G imperative of *napādu*. The latter verb was employed in lexical texts to translate Sum. *kud* and KUL (read *nigū*?).¹⁵ As von Soden has observed (AHw, s.v.), the common denominator of Sum. *kud* and *kul* would seem to be "to separate", perhaps even "branch off, bifurcate". More suggestive of the verb's flavor when its subject is human is the passage from Sargon II of Assyria: (people) *ša ana Kakmî idbubū na-pa-di-iš* "who declare their intention to secede from Kakmî". Thus the verb could be used to describe someone who withdraws himself from a larger community. AHw interprets the *-iš* ending as goal, *napādiš* being synonymous with *ana napādi*. Others, such as Lie¹⁶ and Luckenbill,¹⁷ would read *na-bā-ṭi-iš* "openly(?)". The form *ni-ip-du* cited by AHw, p. 791 from ABRT 1 75:2 may mean "separation", but is at least problematic. In summary two analyses of *ú-p/bu-ud/t* are possible which would lead to a translation "depart from, flee". And since only such a translation fits the first stage of Atrahasis' activities, as described in Atr III i 38-50, one of these two should be preferred to the translation "destroy". CAD's *abātu* B in the G-stem is thus far attested only for the Old Assyrian texts. It meets the requirements for Atr III i 22 in that it can be used transitively with the person or place from which the subject flees expressed by the accusative: *emiqtum tābutannima* (BIN 6 20:13), *ṣuḫrum* . .

¹² From Atr. I 291-2 (p. 63), I 358-9 (p. 67), I 376-381 (p. 69), II i 7-19 (p. 73).

¹³ If correctly restored by Lambert - Millard, this section would appear to be A B : B' A'.

¹⁴ On Atrahasis/Utnapištim's explanation of his departure see J.J. Finkelstein, "Babel and Bible," Commentary (November, 1958), 434 and 437. For conflict between Enki and Enlil see also S.N. Kramer, "Enki's Inferiority Complex," Or NS 39 (1970), 103-110 (latter reference courtesy of W.W. Hallo).

¹⁵ Cf. AHw, p. 732a s.v. *napādu* II; and MSL 13, p. 192:245b.

¹⁶ Inscriptions of Sargon II, Part I: Annals, p. 12:77.

¹⁷ ARAB II ¶9 and 118.

ētabtanni (CCT 3 39b:10), *surramma lā tabbatanni* (CCT 2 49a:5), just as indeed the corresponding N-stem forms do: *u ḥilū ittabtūši ina ḥalēša* (Thompson Gilg. pl. 54 Sm. 157:6).

Since Atrahasis is described as taking his family with him on board the ship (*kimtašu*, III ii 42) [*aššatka*] *kimatka salātka u mārī umm[ānī]*; DT 42 8), they cannot be described by the word *bīta* "house".¹⁸ It is the physical house or home of Atrahasis and the urban community as represented by its elders (*šībūtum*, III i 39; *ālu ummānu u šībūtu*, Gilg. XI 35) which he must leave. In the command *bīta* probably refers primarily to his own house or home, but in leaving that home it was necessary that he give some explanation to his city elders.

As noted above, phase two was the building of the boat. Misled by the apparent parallelism of *muššer mešrē* and *makkūra s/s/zērma* in Gilg. XI 25-26, interpreters of both Gilg. XI and Atr III i 23 have failed to recognize in *ma-ak-ku-ra* the term for a type of boat borrowed from the Sum. *má-gu_r* and have confused it with the word *makkūru* "property, possessions". The writing with the doubled *k*, although not the usual writing for *mak(k)ūru* "ark", is attested in ArOr 21, 376:42.¹⁹ Indeed a doubling of the first consonant following *ma* in the Akkad. form of the Sum. loanwords for boat types is not isolated: *makkītu* (*má-gí_d-da*), *makkūtu* (*má-gu_d-da*), notably all examples contain the Sum. phoneme *g*. It is possible that the doubling in these few instances is a rare relic of the assimilation of the glottal catch which may originally have closed the syllables represented by the sign *MÁ* (cf. Gelb, MAD 2, pp. 26f "final release").

If *makkūra* denotes the boat, then what verb is intended by the writing *ZĒ-e-er-ma*? The plene writing of the vowel would seem to require a middle weak or "hollow" verb. The initial sibilant could be either *s*, *š* or *z*. CAD E, p. 349 lists as *ešēru* B a verb which occurs in two Old Assyrian literary texts in the writing *i-šī-ir-ma*, and which by context ought to mean "to construct (a wall: *dūram*)". As admitted s.v., "neither the spelling nor the form indicate whether the verb used is *ešēru*, *as/s/zāru* or *s/s/zēru*." If the form in Atr III i 23 belongs to this verb, it would eliminate the first two possibilities but not resolve the problem of the exact nature of the sibilant. It is barely possible that another occurrence of this verb can be found in Gilg. XI 59: *addi lānši šāši e-ši-ir-ši*.²⁰ Professor W. Moran has kindly shared with me his own interpretation of Gilg. XI 59: *addi lā anši šāši eširši* "I laid it, I did not forget, I had traced (drawn) its plans," or possibly "I laid it, I did not forget, (for) he (i.e., Ea; Assyr. forms of 3 ms verbal prefix) had drawn its plans." One might entertain the possibility of deriving the form *ZĒ-e-er-ma* from the verb *sēru* "to cover, smear" in the special sense of making a boat with a roof to protect it from rain. Indeed one finds in the lexical texts an entry *giš-má-sa-bí_l-a-ka-a = sēru ša eleppi*.²¹ But from a study of the uses of this Akkadian verb it would appear that it describes the coating or plating of a surface with a metal foil, a liquid or a paste, and not the construction of a roof. Reluctantly, therefore, I conclude that the verb here is probably not *sēru* "to coat, besmear, cover", but rather *s/s/zēru* "to build, construct", elsewhere attested only in the Old Assyrian literary texts cited above.

Phase three of Atrahasis' pre-flood activities is described by the words *napišta bulliṭ* and depicted in detail in III ii 9-47. Those who understand Gilg. XI 25 and 26 to be in synonymous parallelism would see in *še'i napšāti* and *napišta bulliṭ* the very same action. *napšāta še'ū*, however, in its only other attestation — *innab-tūma napšāta iše'ū* (TCL 3 [Sarg. 8], 193) — means "they fled in order to save (their own) lives." But the *napištu* which is to be kept alive in Atrahasis clearly the humans and animals which were brought on board the ark, as seen both in III ii 28-47, in Gilg. XI 27 and 83 (*zēr napšāti kalāma*), and in the name given to the ark in CBS 13532 rev 8 (Lambert - Millard, Atrahasis, p. 126): *šī lū makurkurumma šumša lū nāširat napištim* "let it be a huge boat with the name The Life Saver!" A survey of all the passages cited in CAD B, pp. 58ff

¹⁸ CAD B, p. 293 ad meaning 6.

¹⁹ Cited in AHW, p. 591 s.v. *mākūru/makurru* I.

²⁰ Hardly (with CAD E, p. 347b) "I painted it (the ark)"! Cf. now CAD L s.v. *lānu*.

²¹ VAT 8755 IV 16-18, cited in AHW, p. 1038 s.v. *sēru*.

(*bulluṭu*) confirmed my suspicion that *napišta bulluṭu* is not used of saving one's own life. It is therefore all the more likely that even in Gilg. XI 24-27 the couplets are 24/25 and 26/27. The second couplet is chiasmic: *makkūra s/s/zērma* "build an ark" is resumed by *ana libbi eleppi*, *napišti bulliṭ* (26) is resumed by *šūlīma zēr napšāti kalāma* (27). It is therefore possible that the misunderstanding of *makkūra* as "property" may not be due to an ancient misunderstanding on the part of the author of Gilg. XI but only to modern scholarly error. But even if the author of Gilg. XI intended *makkūru* "property", it is certain that such was not the original intent of Atr III i 22-24.

In summary we may note that, when the correct meanings of *ú-b/pu-ud/t* "flee" and *makkūra s/s/zērma* "construct an ark" are recognized in Atr. III i 22-24, a couplet with the pattern A B : B' C emerges, which contains Enki's three-stage program of activities for Atrahasis. And because the poet immediately proceeds to describe just how Atrahasis carries out this threefold command in the lines which follow, it is possible to check our interpretation of the command itself. It has been found that the command was to leave home (*ú-b/pu-ud/t bīta*), build a huge boat (*bini eleppa* || *makkūra s/s/zērma*), and preserve thereby living creatures (*napišta bulliṭ*). This couplet as originally conceived by the author of the Atrahasis Epic may have been misunderstood subsequently by the author of Gilg. XI (certainly misunderstood *ú-bu-ut*). But whether or not the Gilg. XI wording represented a serious misunderstanding of OB Atr., it is sure that Assyriological exegesis based largely on Gilg. XI 24-27 has seriously missed the mark of the prototype OB Atr. III i 22-24.

The Stele of the Vultures Col. I - X

Thorkild Jacobsen, Cambridge (Mass.)

Attempts at reconstructing damaged passages in Sumerian literary texts will as often as not prove a waste of time and effort, for, as Kramer has so well shown, duplicates preserving the passages intact may turn up at any moment.

Rather different is the case with historical inscriptions, where the probability of duplicates turning up, while not excluded, is on the whole decidedly less likely. It may accordingly not be amiss, considering the importance of the monument, to attempt a restoration of the beginning of the Stele of the Vultures,¹ much as one would have preferred to see a further fragment turn up or, failing that, a diligent copy by a historically minded ancient scribe. It goes without saying that restorations such as are here suggested will of necessity be hypothetical, and are offered mainly as a challenge to the reader to do better.

Ningirsu's Hungry Lion.

Consideration of what the early parts of the inscription of the Stele may have dealt with may reasonably begin with the relatively well preserved section Col. iii.23-iv.3, which we would read and restore (ii.23) *p i r i ḡ - z a g - [e] ṣ* (24) *Ú l - n u n - ṣ ā - g a - k e₄* (25) *^dN i n - ḡ í r - s ú - r a* (26) *k a - n a* (27) *k a l í l - a m u - n i - k í d* (28) *U m m a^{k i}* (29) *ú - d ú r - d ú r u - n a - ḡ u₁₀* (30) *n i n d a - n í - ḡ á* (31) *[a - ṣ a] ḡ₄ - ḡ á n a* (iv.1) *[G] ú - [e d i] n - n a - [k a - k] a* (2) *[L a g a] ṣ a^{k i}* (3) *[g a b a] - b é [ṣ u n a - m] a - [n i - ú s] - è n* "(ii.23) The triple lion of the innermost Ulnun (27) opened ahungered the maw in a (dream)vision (25) toward Ningirsu saying) (26) in gloom: (28,iv.3) "May you have Umma not repel (iv.2) Lagash (29) in my hay (? fields) (30) and my personal bread (portion fields) (31) in the fields and acreage (iv.1) of Guedinna."²

¹ We have used as basis the publication of the text by Thureau-Dangin in Leon Heuzey and F. Thureau-Dangin, *Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours* (Paris, 1909) abbreviated in the following as RMSV, and the edition by Sollberger in his *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagaš* (Genève, 1956).

² The restoration of i.23 is based on MSL 8/2, p. 16:132 *p i r i ḡ - z a g - e ṣ*: *ṣul-lu-ṣu* "triple lion". The fact that the term occurs as an entry in Hh. suggests that it is a general term, perhaps designating a ceremonial mace or a sculptured base or stand formed of three lions. The thought that most immediately comes to mind is of Gudea's macehead A, presented to Ningirsu, and consisting of three sculptured lion heads (*u r - s a ḡ - e ṣ*). The triple lion of the Stele of the Vultures may have been an earlier version personified, as is the rule with Ningirsu's weapons, and receiving an income assigned to it from the temple holdings — in this case from holdings in Guedinna. Note, as a parallel; that the 5 fields in Guedinna listed in Boulder E ii.9-13 are designated in Boulder F.i'1-2 (= the broken ii.14-15 of Boulder E) as *[. . . ba]laḡ [U]ṣum[-gal-kalam] [^dNin]-ḡur-[sú-ka-ka]* ". . . of Ningirsu's harp Ushumgal-kalamma". Consideration deserves also Thureau-Dangin's suggestion to read the numeral as 2 in view of the fact that in Gudea's dream (Cyl. A iv.29) Ningirsu appeared with a lion to his right and one to his left (RMSV p.43 iii.

The complaint of the triple lion directly to Ningirsu that Umma denied Lagash access to its fields and grazing lands in Guedinna would appear to have been a last resort after everything else had failed, for the preceding sections fairly clearly deal with repeated attempts to arrive at workable diplomatic solutions. We would restore and read ii.22-23 as one line [lú h é-š è-g i₄-g i₄! -a-k a, assuming that the engraver slipped too far down with one of the upper oblique lines of [g] i₄ and comparing Urukagina, Oval Plaque iv.1-2 b a r-š e-b a-k a lú h é-š i-g i₄-g i₄-a-k a. Cf. also Entemena, Cone A and B iv.8 v.6 lú h é-š è-g i₄-g i₄-a. In this we follow Poebel, who read thus as early as 1923 in GSG par. 498.

The diplomatic attempts were made by Akurgal and a predecessor, probably his father Ur-Nanshe, and concerned the fields of the triple lion to judge by iii.20 b a r n i n d a-n í-b a-k a-k a "about (b a r-a k-a lit. 'in behalf of . . .') its personal bread (portion fields)." They were regularly rebuffed.

Assuming that the account of these rebuffs was preceded by a statement of Umma's debarring Lagash from the disputed fields we may then restore and read Col. ii.2-iii.22 as follows: (ii.2) [U m m a^k i] (3) [ú-d ú r-d ú r-u-n a] (4) [n i n d a-n í] (5) [p i r i ġ-z a g-e š] (6) [Ú l-n u n-š à-g a-k a-k a] (7) [a-š a g₄-g á n a] (8) [G ú-e d i n-n a-k a-k a] (9) [L a g a š a^k i] (10) [g a b a-b é] (11) [š u e-m a-ú s] (12) [U r-d N a n š e] (13) [l u g a l] (14) [L a g a š a^k i] (15) [d u m u G u-n i-d u] (16) [d u m u G U R-S A R-k a-k e₄] (17) [b a r ú-d ú r-d ú r-u-n a] (18) [n i n d a-n í] (19) [p i r i ġ-z a g-e š] (20) [Ú l-n u n-š à-g a-k a-k a] (21) [U m m a^k i-š è] (22-23) [lú h é-š è-g i₄-g i₄-a-k a] (24) lú U m m a^k i-ke₄ (25) š u-UL-t ú m (26) e-m a-d a-d u g₄ (27) L a g a š a^k i (28) g a b a-b é (29) š u e-m a-ú s (30) A-k u r-g a l (31) d u m u U r-d N a n š e (iii.1) [l u g a l] (2) [L a g a š a^k i-k a-k e₄] (3) [b a r ú-d ú r-d ú r-u-n a] (4) [n i n d a-n í] (5) [p i r i ġ-z a g-e š] (6) [Ú l-n u n-š à-g a-k a-k a] (7) [U m m a^k i-š è] (8-9) [lú h é-š è-g i₄-g i₄-a-k a] (10) [lú U m m a^k i-ke₄] (11) [š u-UL-t ú m] (12) [e-m a-d a-d u g₄] (13) [a-š a g₄-g á n a] (14) [G ú-e d i n-n a-k a-k a] (15) [L a g a š a^k i] (16) [b a r ú-d ú r-d ú r-u-n a-b a] (17) [g a b a-b é] (18) [š u] 'e'-'m a'-'[ú s] (19) L a g a š a^k i (20) b a r n i n d a-n í-b a-k a-k a (21) g a b a-b é (22) š u e-g a-m a-ú s.

"(ii.2) Umma (10-11) repelled (9) Lagash (3) in the hay (? fields) (4) and the personal bread (portion fields) (5) of the triple lion (6) of the innermost Ulnun (7) in the fields and acreage (8) of Guedinna. (12) Though³

23 and note 2. See also SAKI p. 10 note g.)

The phrase Ú l-n u n-š à-g a-k e₄ of iii.24 we analyze as a genitive in -a k with agentive -e of a participial apposition U l n u n-š a g "the heart of the Ulnun" (On the partitive apposition see Poebel, ZA 37 [1927], 248). Ú l-n u n, the holy of holies of Ningirsu in Eninnu is traditionally read Ĝ í r-n u n. We prefer Ú l-n u n "The lofty vault of Heaven" (Cf. Ĝ í r:š u-p u k A N-e, Ĝ í r-g a n: M I N b u-r u-m e, antagal G 223f. See CAD B p. 344 s.v. *burūmū*. For reading Ĝ í r as *úl* here speaks the variant u l-g a n:š u p u k š a m ē Deimel ŠL 441:42a), an apt name for the cella of a god who was the thundercloud personified. Col. ii.26 k a-n a we interpret as a phonetic writing of k a-a n: S A Ĝ x M I: a-d i r-t u Š b I 250 followed by inessive -a "in gloom". iii.27 k a . . . k í d, literally "to open (cf. ŠL 63:10 k i d: p e t ū the mouth)" appears to have overtones of to open the mouth hungrily. See ŠL 15:95 k a-k í d: t e-k i-t ū. The sign following k a has verticals throughout its length which makes it l í l rather than é as the text distinguishes them. For l í l: z a q ū "spirit", "afflatus", "inspiration" see CAD Z s.v. *zaqū*. It denotes specifically an "inspiration", a spiritual projection of a god or a man into somebody else's consciousness to convey a message or a prayer. See especially the Assurbanipal passage Craig ABRT 16:23 quoted there in l.2' and the *bīt rimki* passage LKA 75. 10f. quoted in the lexical section. Note also Zimmern SK 26 rev. i.22-23 where the dead Damu wishes that such a projection of him may tell of his plight to his mother: a m a u-g ū-m u á m-l í l-l í l-l a d è-m a-m a-d a, á m-l í l-l a-d i b-m u á m-l í l-l í l-l a u m u š-m à r d a-a n-n a-a n-m à-m [à-d a]. "O that afflati would occur to my mother, O that my passing afflatus — that afflati — would command her!". iii.29. In the interpretation of ú-d ú r-d ú r-u-n a as "hay" we follow tentatively Deimel, ŠL 318.173 iii.30 n i n d a-n í-š á literally: "the bread of my self" i.e. my own personal sustenance, we take to refer to fields the produce of which provided the daily offerings to the triple lion. The verb in iv.3 we have restored as a causative. See AS 16 p. 93 note 16.

³ See Poebel, GSG par. 439.

Ur-Nanshe, (13) king (14) of Lagash, (15) son of Gunidu, (16) son of GUR-SAR (22-23) sent a man repeatedly (21) to Umma (17) about⁴ the hay (fields) (18) and the personal bread (portion fields) (19) of the triple lion (20) of the innermost Ulnun (24) the ruler of Umma (26) (merely) argued⁵ with him (25) laying hand upon (him) belligerently⁶ (28-29) and repelled (27) Lagash. (30) Though Akurgal⁷ (31) king (32) of Lagash (33) son of Ur-Nanshe (iii.1) king (2) of Lagash (8-9) sent a man repeatedly (7) to Umma (3) about the hay (? fields) (4) and personal bread (portion fields) (5) of the triple lion (6) of the innermost Ulnun (10) the ruler of Umma (12) (merely) argued with him (11) laying hand upon (him) belligerently, (13) in the fields and acreage (14) of Guedinna (17-18) he repelled (15) Lagash (16) in respect to its (i.e. the triple lion's) hay (? fields) (21-22) and he also⁸ repelled (19) Lagash (20) in respect to its personal bread (portion fields)".

Before the section of text which we have here tried to restore, some six lines at the end of col. i are preserved. They may be restored and read as (i.21) [n i m g i r]-r é [k u g-p] a d-b é (22) 'e'-'l á (23) š e-g u b-b a-b é (24) b a-t ú m (25) l u g a l (26) L a g a š a^k i-[r a] (ii.1) [n u-m u-n a-s u m] "(i. 21-22) The sheriff weighed their silver-bits (24) and carried off (23) their grain tax, (25) to the king (26) of Lagash (ii.1) he did not give it". We restore [n i m g i r]-r é rather than [k a-g u r₇]-r é in line i.21 because the term k a-g u r₇ seems to have been a genitival compound k a-g u r u-a k.⁹

As suggested by Urukagina Cone A iv.11-v.6, Cone B and C iii.15-iv.8 (= iii.14-iv.8), viii.2-10 (= viii.24-ix.1), and Oval Plaque i.5'-21' (restore perhaps [z ú] -'s i' -g a "at the sheepshearing" in line 10) the taxes paid in silver were taxes on sheep and were collected by a m a š k i m, the grain taxes were taxes on fields and were collected by a granary manager, the k a-g u r u₇. Both the m a š k i m and the k a-g u r u₇ were government officials. That in this case — if we restore correctly — a single official, the n i m g i r, collected both kinds of taxes, may be due to the special circumstances of Umma encroaching upon Lagash territory; for the n i m =

⁴ See Poebel, GSG par. 383-384.

⁵ Lit. "talked".

⁶ That š u-UL-DU expresses a negative attitude was seen already by Thureau-Dangin who translated it tentatively as "avec arrogance" in RMSV p. 42. He was followed by Poebel who rendered it "hochmütig(?)" in GSG par. 499. Thureau-Dangin also noted the similar š u UL e-m a-d a-d u g₄ in Urukagina Oval Plaque iv.6 in similar context. Trying to analyze the phrase one would most naturally see it as a participial phrase with š u direct object and UL a zero-case (Concessive) adverbialis of modal force. Since š u-t ú m "to lay hand upon" (see e.g. Urukagina, Clay tablet rev. iii.4) and š u-d u g₄ "to poke" (cf. š u-d u g₄-d u g₄: l a-p a-t u m ŠL 354:48) are both basically neutral in meaning, the negative, hostile implication of the phrase is likely to be carried by the adverbialis UL for which a possible meaning "belligerently" is suggested by the entries UL-UL:š a-b a-h u-u m MSL 4 p. 117:10' and UL-UL:š a-b a-h u-u m MSL 4 p. 121:17 if these entries, with CAD Š p.41, are to be listed with š a b ā' u "to go to war" rather than with š a b ā' u "to go high (waves)". In favor of reading ZA as š a rather than as š a is the Northern Babylonian orthography of the texts. Also the meaning expected in our passage seems to bear out interpretation as š a b ā' u.

⁷ We retain the traditional reading of this name which most likely should be rendered E₄-K u r-g a l(.a k) . . . "The semen of 'The great Mountain' . . ." i.e. "Ningirsu . . .".

⁸ Cf. Poebel GSG par. 499.

⁹ See e.g. E. Sollberger, The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur (New York, 1966) no. 361:7 k a-g u r u₇-k e₄ h é-m u-g i₄-g i₄ "may the granary-manager send to me" and UET 3 1781 ġ á-d u b-b a n í ġ-Š I D-a k ù k i š i b-r a-a š e-s i l a-a-g a l-l a m a-d N a n n a k a-g u r u₇-k a ì-i n-š á l "In the tablet box are accounts and receipts (records of) grain (in stock) in the souq and (records of payments connected with) the barge of Nanna of the granary managers" where k a-g u r u₇-k e₄ is to be analyzed as k a-g u r u-a k.e, a genitive phrase followed by agentive case-mark -e and k a-g u r u₇-k a stands for k a-g u r u-a k.a k, a genitive phrase, k a-g u r u-a k, followed by a second genitive element -a k: "of the k a-g u r u-a k". The reconstructed Akkadian loan word *kagurrū* given by CAD K p.35 as well as *kug(u)rum* given by von Soden, AHW. p. 500 should thus probably be emended to *kag(u)rukkum* or *kag(u)rikkum*. The final -k of the word was traditionally not rendered in the phonetical transcriptions k u-g i-r i, k u-g u r u₇, and k u-u g-r i of the lexical texts.

gir was a highranking police officer¹⁰ and therefore able to apply police powers to bring taxpayer's loyal to Lagash into line.¹¹ That the taxes went to Umma, rather than to Lagash is clear from the prefix *ba-* of *ba-túm* in line ii.24 which indicates direction into regions other than that of the narrator.¹² Accordingly we have restored a negative form in ii.1 and a personal dative case-mark *-ra* in line 26. This line touches upon the edge of the Stele and is partly broken in its lower part. See Thureau-Dangin's copy in Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, RMSV, pl. 111 Fragment A i.6'.

What may have preceded this account of encroachment by Umma in i.21-ii.1 is anybody's guess. One expects the text would have had a statement of Lagash's rights in the disputed territories designed to make clear that Umma was encroaching, such as the one given at later date by Entemena in the beginning section of his Cone A and B. Since Entemena probably drew on the same historico-legal tradition that Eannatum's scribes had available to them at an earlier point in time, it is even possible that the wording may have been similar, or even identical.

As to space available it should be noted that Urukagina speaks of the various taxes, silver and grain, as taxes on individuals, or rather on occupations, and not as taxes on property. When St. o.V. col. i.21 and i.23 mentions *[kug-p]ad-bé* and *še-gub-ba-bé* it is therefore likely that *-bé* "theirs" refers back to classes of people mentioned earlier, most likely — following the lead of the Urukagina passages — to shepherds (*sipa*) and temple personnel (*gudu-priests*). It is thus likely that four lines: (18) *[edin Lagashak i. ka]* (19) *[sipa-dè-ne]* (20) *[gudu-ge-ne]* "In the plain of Lagash for the shepherds and the *gudu*-priests (their silver-bits and grain payments)" are to be restored, which leaves only seventeen lines for stating Lagash's rights and Umma's encroaching on them. Assuming, in default of anything better, that the wording was similar to Entemena's Cone A and B one might tentatively restore: (i.1) *[dEn-líl]* (2) *[lugal-kur-kur-ra]* (3) *[ab-ba dingir-dingir-re-ne-ke₄]* (4) *[inim-ge-na-né-ta]* (5) *[dNin-ǵír-sú]*

¹⁰ The *nimgir* — Akkadian *nāgīru* — policed the city at night insuring peace and quiet. Note the function of *Ĝišdursāga* as night watchman (*nimgir ge₆-ù-na:na-gir mu-ši*) in CT 16 49:304/305 and enjoiner of quiet: "Night watchman of the quiet street" (*nimgir-sila-a-sìg-ga-ke₄:na-gir su-qí šá-qu-um-mi*) *ibid.* 15:21/22. As enjoiner of quiet he is mentioned also in SBH 14:1-2 *urú nimgir-ra nu-mu-un-na-ab-sì-ga-ri ní-bi* «*nu*» (dittography) *mu-un-na-ab-sì-g[a-àm]:šlu šá na-gi-ri la ú-saḫ-ḫi-ru-šu ina ra-ma-ni-šu uš-taḫ-ri-ir* "The city, after it would not quiet down for the night watchman, has quieted down for him of it self (Akkadian: "the city where the night watchman made not his rounds"). Probably, though, *ú-saḫ-ḫi-ru-šu* was misheard for an Assyrian *ussahrirušu* < *uštahrirušu(m)* translating *mu-un-na-ab-sì-ga*). Note also his function in the Atrahasis story *na-gi-ru ri-ig-ma ú-še-eb-bu-ú ina ma-tim* "the night watchmen held down the noise in the land" cf. W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs* (Oxford, 1969) p. 74:21-22 cf. *ibid.* p. 68:376-377, 403-404, p. 74:15'8. For *šubbū* "suppress" see v. Soden, ZA 41 (1933), 170, Falkenstein LKU p. 13. Not only preserving quiet in the night but also protection of people who, as strangers, had no natural shield in relatives and friends is the role of the *nimgir* in Fara, where visitors to the city sort under him (see ZA 52 [1957], 121 and note 69 = TIT p. 148 and note 69 on p. 384). The protective police function of the *nimgir* is also clear in the Fable of the Fox where the dog proudly considers itself, *qua* watchdog, "the night watchman of my city" (*na-gi-ir āli-ia*) BWL 196 c.4. Outside the city, in the open country the *nimgir*'s police functions may aim at preserving wildlife. As such, as game warden, he occurs in Gudea Cyl B. xii. 7-18. In the city a second aspect of his functions is that of official organ of publicity: town crier and notary public. He publicly calls for runaway slaves in CH VIII.45 and in early Girsu texts he acts as notary public at sales of slaves (RTC 17 rev. iv) and houses (DP 31b. vi.13-18), driving in the peg that symbolizes ownership. Lastly, but important for the character of his office is his function as sheriff, as mobilizer and recruiter who calls up personnel liable to service on public works. As such he appears in the Dumuzi texts, especially in *Edin-na ú-sa ḡ-ḡá* as the sheriff (Emesal *libir* = Eme-KU *nimgir*) in charge of a posse of deputies or "gendarmes" (*gal₅-lā*) who act as a pressgang taking Damu away from his mother. This function of the *nimgir*: *nāgīru* continued into late time cf. BWL 112:25 warning kings against exacting "corvé at the summons of the sheriff" (*il-ki šī-si-it LÚ na-gi-ri*) from citizens of Sippar, Nippur and Babylon.

¹¹ It is also possible, of course, that the ruler of Umma operated these lands as royal — i.e. city-ruler — domains with serfs, which would explain the controlling role of the *nimgir* equally well.

¹² Thus already Thureau-Dangin RMSV p. 42 note 4. See also AS 16 pp. 82f. (= TIT p. 255).

(6) *[dšara-bé]* (7) *[ki e-ne-sur]* (8) *[Me-salim]* (9) *[lugal Kišik₄ke₄]* (10) *[inim-dīštaran-na-ta]* (11) *[éš gána bé-ra]* (12) *[ki-bé na bí-ru]* (13) *[Uš]* (14) *[ensi]* (15) *[Umma₄ki₄ke₄]* (16) *[edin Lagashak₄i.šè]* (17) *[i-ḡen]* "(1) Enlil, (2) the king of all sovereign countries, (3) the father of all gods, (4) according to his just verdict (7) drew the boundary (5) for Ningirsu (6) and Shara. (8) Meshalim (9) king of Kish (10) at the command of Ištaran (his personal god) (11) snapped the (measuring) cord on the field (12) and implanted a stele at that place. (13) Ush, (14) ruler of Umma, (17) went into (16) the plain of Lagash". This would be followed, then, by the lines telling of the loss of taxes and of the negotiations about the fields of the triple lion.

Birth of the Hero.

Ningirsu's response to the plea of the triple lion was a radical one: he decided personally to engender a hero who would be able to cope with Umma. The relevant sections of text, partially destroyed partially preserved, may be restored as follows:¹³ (iv.4) *[e n dNin-ǵír-sú]* (5) *[ur-sa ḡ dEn-líl- [ke₄]]* (6) *[é-du₁₀]-ga]* (7) *[nī ḡ al]* (8) *[na]-e]* (9) *[dNin-ǵír-sú-[ke₄]]* (10) *[e₄]-[É¹-[an]-na-túm-[ma]]* (11) *[šā-ga]* (12) *[šub₄ba-ni-du₄ga]* (13) *[dBa-ba₆]* (14) *[unú-a ì-dú]* (15) *[É-an-na-túm-da]* (16) *[ama^d B a¹-[ba₆]]* (17) *mu-da-húl* (18) *dInanna-ke₄* (19) *da mu-ni-dib* (20) *É-an-na-* (21) *dInanna-* (22) *Eb-ḡal¹-ka-ka-a-tum* (23) *mu mu-né-sa₄* (24) *dNin-ḫur-sa ḡ-ra* (25) *dùg-zi-da-na* (26) *mu-ni-tuš* (27) *dNin-ḫur-sa ḡ-ke₄* (28) *ubur-zi-da-né* (29) *'mu¹-[né-gu₆]]* "(iv.4) The lord Ningirsu (5) the warrior of Enlil (7-8) decided to make (marital) demands¹⁴ (6) in the bedroom. (9) Ningirsu (12) inserted (10) the germ of Eannatum (11) into the womb. (13) Baba (14) gave birth to him through the vulva.¹⁵ (15) At Eannatum (16) Mother Baba (17) rejoiced. (18) Inanna (19) took him on (her) arm (23) and named him (20-22) 'Worthy of the Eanna of Inanna of the Oval'.¹⁶ (26) She set him down (24) for Ninhursaga (25) on her (i.e. Ninhursaga's) right knee (27) and Ninhursaga (29) fed him (28) at her right breast".

¹³ See our earlier discussion of iv.9-18 and v.1-5 in JNES 2 (1943), 119-121. We now consider it more likely that Baba figured as mother of Eannatum. The traces in iv.16 (thus rather than iv.17 of JNES 2, 121) are as compatible with a reading *[d]B a¹-[ba₆]* as with *[d]Nin-ḫur-sa ḡ-ḡá* and the title *ama-[ḡu₁₀]* given to Ninhursaga in obv. xviii. 8-9 may well be honorific only. Moreover, it would seem likely that Eannatum should have been engendered and born as a legitimate son of Ningirsu by his wife Baba.

¹⁴ Cf. the same connotations of this phrase in the Shulgi hymn CT 36 pl. 26:17 dealing with the engendering of Shulgi by Nanna: *é-du₁₀-ga dNanna-dumu-nun-né nī ḡ-al ba-ni-du₄ga* (gloss *um-te-a-ar*) "in the bedroom the (marital) thing was demanded (Akk. gloss: 'was indicated') by the princely son, Nanna". See our discussion of that passage in ZA 52, 126 note 80 = TIT p. 387 note 80.

¹⁵ Our restoration of iv. 9-14 is guided by Gudea Cyl. A iii.8 in which Gudea's own conception and birth is — figuratively — related. The term *un_ux* (TE + UNU_x i.e. AB which stands for UNU according to the rule discovered by Poebel that the simple signs also have the values of signs elaborating them. See Hallock AS 7, p. 10 note 13) = *unú* (TE + UNU) is listed in the Hh XV (MSL IX p. 6) 23 as *uzunú:MÍN* (= *pu-ú*) "mouth", "body-opening". It follows *uzum uru b_x* (SAL.LAGAB) and is in turn followed by that term (24b-24d) which seems to be applicable to any body-opening whatever from mouth (*pū*) to anus (*qinnatu* l. 24b) and vulva (24d. *uru*). The word *unú* would appear to have had a similar range to judge from the fact that it forms part of the terms *uzunú-a_k* and *uzunú-gu* (lines 226-227) both translated *šī-šī-tum* "womb". In the Gudea passage on which we base our restoration the statement *un_ux-a ì-dú-dè* "(as mother) you gave birth to me (-e(n)) from in (-a) the *un_ux* "stands parallel to *e₇-ḡu₁₀ šā-ga šu ba-ni-du₄ga* "(as father) you inserted the germ of me into the womb", which very clearly suggests that *unú* denotes a bodily part connected with birthgiving and a translation "vulva" imposes itself.

¹⁶ The meaning of Eannatum's name was first elucidated by Poebel in OLZ 1911 col. 198-200. As for the meaning of *Eb-ḡal* "the great inner corner" Donald Hansen has plausibly suggested that it is the Sumerian name for the type of structure known to us as an "Oval".

The Call to Action.

Ningirsu, having engendered Eannatum, also fitted him for his task by giving him a large frame and naming him with a name implying military prowess. Then he was ready to proceed against Umma and gave Eannatum orders to attack in a dream. (v.1) É-an-na-túm (2) e₄-šà-ga-šū-du₁₁-ga (3) dNin-šir-sú-ka-da (4) dNin-šir-sú (5) mu-da-ḥúl (6) dNin-šir-sú-ke₄ (7) šu-bad-né (8) mu-né-ra (9) 'kùš'-5-am₅ (10) kùš-a-né (11) mu-né-ra (12) kùš-5-šū-bad (13) dNin-šir-sú-ke₄ (14) nam-gal-ḥúl-da (15) [nam]-'luga₁ (16) [Lagašak₁] (17) [mu-na-sum] (18) [mu-pà-da] (19) d[Nin-šir-sú]-ka- (20) É-an-na-túm (21) a_x (DA)¹⁷ -tuku-e (22) kur-a-DÈ-éš na-e (23) É-an-na-túm-ra (24) mu dInanna-ke₄ (25) e-né-sa₄-a-né (26) É-an-na- (27) dInanna- (28) Eb-gal-ka-ka-a-túm (29) mu mu-né-[sa₄] (30) mu-[né an]-ki-[a] (31) n[a-mu-pà-dè] (32) [É-an-na-túm] (vi.1) á-tuku-e (2) mu-pà-da (3) dNin-šir-sú-ka-ke₄ (4) É-an-na-tù-me (5) kur-a D[È]-éš h[é-e] (6) níḡ-du₇-zal-a-'da' (7) gù-nam-mi-dé (8) ensi (9) Umma^{k_i} (10) me an-ni-ḥuḡ (11) 'du_x'(LÚxNE)-da 'ú' (12) Gú-edin-na (13) a-šag₄-gá-na ki-áḡa (14) dNin-šir-sú-ka (15) e-da-gu₇ (16) ḥé-šub-bé (17) dingir-ra-né [ír d]ùg (18) [hé]-[p]à-[dè]. (v.1) Over Eannatum, (2) the germ inserted into the womb (3) by Ningirsu, (4) Ningirsu (5) rejoiced.¹⁸ (6) Ningirsu (8) laid against him (to measure him) (7) his span, (9) and (up to) five cubits (10) his forearm (11) he laid against him (12) (totaling) five cubits and a span.¹⁹ (13) Ningirsu (14) in great joy (17) gave him (15) the kingship (16) of Lagash (18) (and) 'The-one-made-renowned- (19) by-Ningirsu- (20) Eannatum, (21) the-possessor-of-strength, (22) will have it in him to breathe fire and fury²⁰ in-the-(enemy)-land' (29) he named (as) name (23) for Eannatum (24) — the name Inanna (25) had called him (26) (namely) (26-28) 'Worthy-of-the-Eanna-of-Inanna-of-the-Oval' — (30) (and) was making him renowned in Heaven and on Earth (saying:) 'Let Eannatum, (vi.1) the possessor of strength, (2) (let) the one made renown-

¹⁷ DA stands for á (DAxŠE) consonantly with Poebel's rule mentioned above in note 15 that the simple signs also have the values of the signs elaborating them. Note here that the later mention of the name in vi. 1 writes it more conventionally with á.

¹⁸ See for details JNES 2 (1943), 120.

¹⁹ For the meaning of ra "to lay (a measure) up against something to measure it" see JNES 2 (1943), 120 note 12. A translation of the section iv.16-v.13 based on an unpublished manuscript of Poebel's is given by Kramer in his book *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963) p. 310:11a. It differs only in minor points from the one suggested here. That Eannatum was unusually tall is suggested by the representation of him on the Stele of the Vultures where he is depicted as larger than his soldiers — a mode of presentation that may be realistic rather than a mere indication of his greater importance. The measurements given here, however, five cubits and a half would, if the Sumerian cubit is set at the traditional length of twenty inches, result in a total height for Eannatum of 110 inches or 9 feet two inches which is hardly credible. More likely, perhaps, Ningirsu's cubit, the length of his forearm was well below that of the ordinary measure of that name.

²⁰ We tentatively interpret DÈ in the light of DÈ = MIN (= ša-ra-ḥu) [šá] lùb-bi Nabrîtu x.19, see CAD s.v. šarāhu A and Deimel ŠL 172:26, and we see the following -éš (or -šè) as mark of the directive case used with modal adverbial force. The verb e is the durative root of e/du_g and may well have here the meaning "to speak": "will have it in him to speak hotly" or it may have the more general meaning "to make", "to do", "to perform" discussed by Poebel AS 14, p. 100: "will act in the direction of hot anger i.e. angrily". Our translation "will have it in him to breathe fire and fury" seeks to render the overtones of fire and hot anger in DÈ and šarāhu. On the force of the prefix na- as presenting the action from inside as urged by will or wish or whim "he will have it in him to", "he will feel the urge to" see AS 16, p. 73. It was for that he was engendered.

Besides connecting DÈ with DÈ: šarāhu one could consider also reading DÈ as gir₁₀: uzzu "wrath". This reading seems to underlie Sollberger's translation "parle avec colère au pays (ennemi)" in his *Corpus des Inscriptions Royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes*, p. 48 which we saw after the above was written. Possible is perhaps also a reading du₁₇ as phonetic for du₁₄ (LÚxNE): šaltu to be translated: "will choose to act/speak bellicosely". As far as meaning is concerned it would come to much the same thing.

ed (3) by Ningirsu, (4) (let) Eannatum, (5) breathe fire and fury in the (enemy) land. (7) I have dedided to call for (6) the proper things, which are getting overdue.²¹ (8-10) Where did the city-ruler of Umma (ever) stay appeased?²² (11) (By) threatening hostilities²³ (15) he is able²⁴ to pasture (12) in Guedinna (13) the beloved fields and acreage (14) of Ningirsu, (16) let him be cast down, (17-18) and let his (personal) god have a good cry over him".²⁵

Ningirsu's decision to take the offensive was conveyed to Eannatum in a dream, and since the account of that dream uses the technical language of oneiromancy such as we know it from Cylinder B of Gudea and elsewhere, it seems probable that the dream was one deliberately sought by Eannatum in established fashion. In restoring the account of it we have therefore based ourselves on Gudea's language in recounting similar dream messages from Ningirsu in Cylinder A xx 7-8 and ix 5-6, xii 12-13 and restore and read tentatively: (vi.19) [É-an-na-túm] (20) [saḡ-šè-ná mu-ná] (21) [luga₁-a-né] (22) 'á'-[nù-da-šè] (23) ege[r-ra]-né (24) e-ma-[ab-]ús (25) ná-a-ra (26) ná-a-ra (27) saḡ-ḡá mu-na-gub (28) É-an-na-túm (29) ná-a-ra (30) luga₁-ki-áḡa-né (31) [dNin-šir-sú] (32) [saḡ-ḡá mu-na-gub] (33) [ḡír mu-tag-tag-e] (34) [ma-e-na ma-e-na] (35) [kur-a DÈ-éš ma-e-na] (vii.1) Umma^{k_i} (2) Kišik₁am₅ (3) šu šè-dag-ge (4) libiš-ge-dab₅-ba-ta (5) nam-[m]a-da-gub (6) á-zi-da-za (7) dUtu (8) ere-è (9) saḡ-ki-za (10) NE-DU-GE-UŠ (11) ere-kés (12) É-an-na-[túm] (13) [i-zi ma-mú-dam] "(vi.19) Eannatum (20) lay down (as) an oneiromancer.²⁶ (21) His master (24) followed (23) behind him (22) to the side of the bed; (25) to the sleeper (26) to the sleeper (27) at the head he stepped up; (29) to the sleeping (28) Eannatum (31) Ningirsu (30) his beloved master, (32) at the head stepped up, (33) was prodding him with a sword: (34) 'You who will breathe for me, you who will breathe for me (35) you who will breathe fire and fury for me in the (enemy) land.'²⁷ (vii.2) Even Kish (1) is letting Umma (3) roam on its own (4) and out of anger (5) may not come to assist it. (6) At your right (7) Utu (8) will rise for you (9) on your forehead (10) a diadem(?) (11) he will tie²⁸ (12) Eannatum (13) rose, it had been a dream".

²¹ Cf. Gudea Cyl. A viii.20 ur-saḡ níḡ-du₇-e gù ba-c₄-d é "warrior, you have called for the proper things". For zal-a-'da' cf. zal: uḫḫuru "to fall behind", "become overdue". The form is that of a prospective participle.

²² We interpret me as standing for m.e.e "at where", "at which point", and see the adessive as resumed in the verb by the infix -ni-. The use of the prefix a- which implies lasting conditioning of the subject by the action (see AS 16, p. 76) shows that Ningirsu is speaking of an actual change of heart in the Ummean.

²³ Prospective participle of du₁₂ "to fight", "to be hostile". The scribe's use of the complex sign LÚxNE here makes it perhaps less likely that he would have written just du₁₇ (NE) in v. 22 above as tentatively considered in note 20, but his alternating between DA in v.21 and á in vi.1 weakens the force of the argument.

²⁴ -da- of Potentialis. See AS 16 p. 92.

²⁵ See ZA 52 (1957), 133 note 90 (= TIT p. 393 note 90). We assume dèg in this phrase refers to the emotional release tears may be felt to bring.

²⁶ Cf. Oppenheim, *Dream-book*, pp. 223-224.

²⁷ Restoration patterned on Gudea Cyl. A ix 7-8 ma-dù-na ma-dù-na, ensi é-ḡu₁₀ ma-dù-na "You who will build, you who build, ensi who will build my house for me?", but with Ningirsu's name for Eannatum, — which expresses why he was engendered — as theme for the address.

²⁸ The cryptic lines vii.6-11 with their unique orthography were elucidated by Poebel in ZA 36 (1925), 5-7. For the unexplained NE-DU-GE-UŠ of line 10 we have guessed at a meaning such as "diadem" since wigs, and perhaps headbands, seem the natural things to be tied on someone's brow. Sollberger, *Inscriptions Royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes* (Paris, 1971) p. 49 similarly translates "le bandeau royal (?)". Presumably the term is used metaphorically and some natural phenomenon at sunrise is meant. Could it be a rainbow over his head? The general purport of the passage would appear to be to give Eannatum a sign to tell him when to act. The parallel passage in Gudea's dream is clearly Cyl. A xii. 10-11 containing Ningirsu's "sign" (ḡišk₁im) for Gudea.

The War with Umma as Mytho-history.

The account of the dream seems to have been followed directly by a statement of the clash with Umma couched in mythological terms. Basing ourselves on Entemena Cone A and B i. 28-29, which deals with this same battle, noting the suggestion of parallelism between St.o.V. vii 19-20 and 22-23, and the closeness of wording between St.o.V. viii. 1-3 and Entemena Cone A and B vi. 26-29 we may read and restore: (viii.15) [u d - b a] (16) [dNin-ḡír-sú-k e₄] (17) [Umma^ki-a] (18) [sa-šuš-gal b í-šuš] (19) [ḡír mu-né-lá] (20) ḡiš m[u]-né-ra (21) ad_x(LÚxÚŠ)-b é 3600 (22) ḡír ḡé-b é-lá (23) [ḡiš ḡé-b é-ra] (24) [SAHAR-DU₆-TAG₄-b é] (25) [b í-dub] (26) [e n s i] (27) [Umma^ki-ra] (28) [š u-mah-ḡír-mah-n é] (29) [an-ta e-né-ḡar] (30) [nam-lú-u_x uru-na] (viii.1) š u e-na-zi (2) šaḡ₄-Umma^ki-ka (3) ḡ-gaz (4) Nanga^ki (5) mu-né-[ná] "(vii.15) On that day (16) Ningirsu (17) threw the great throw-net (17) over Umma, (18) stabbed it with the sword, (19) smote it with weapons²⁹ (20) On its corpses, 3600, (22) be they stabbed with the sword (23) or be they smitten with weapons, (25) he heaped up (24) their burial-mounds. (27) Upon the city ruler of Umma (29) he put from heaven (28) his great hands and great feet, (30) and in his city the populace (viii.1) raised hand against him (3) and he was killed (2) inside Umma. (5) He was laid to rest (4) in Nanga." Except for the addition of u d - b a "on that day" in vii.15 and Umma^ki-a in vii.17 the restoration of col. vii 15-18 and 24-25 follows the text of Ent. Cone A+B word for word as follows: St.o.V. vii.15 = Ent. Cone A+B i.22, St.o.V.vii.16 = Ent. Cone A+B i.28, St.o.V.vii.24 = Ent. Cone A+B 30. In restoring the verb to go with SAHAR-DU₆-TAG₄-b é as b í-dub we have followed St.o.V.obv.xi.15. The restorations in vii.19 parallels vii.22, that in vii.23 is parallel to vii.20. For the restoration of the section vii.26-viii.3 the similarity of the preserved viii.1-3 š u e-na-zi, šaḡ₄ Umma^ki-ka, ḡ-gaz, to Ent. Cone A+B 27-29 š u ù-na-zi, šaḡ₄-uru-na-ka, ḡa-né-gaz-e, has been guiding.³⁰ It seems not unlikely that the fate with which Entemena threatens rulers of Umma if they break the peace is one which actually came to pass on an earlier occasion. The full relevant section in Ent. Cone A and B reads: dNin-ḡír-sú-k e₄, sa-šuš-gal-ni, ù-ni-šuš, šu-mah-ḡír-mah-n é, an-ta ḡé-ḡá-ḡá, nam-lú-u_x-uru-na, š u ù-na-zi, šaḡ₄-uru-na-ka, ḡa-né-gaz-e (var. Cone A: ḡa-né-gaz lipiš-ge). "When Ningirsu has thrown his great throw-net over him may he put his great hands and his great feet on him from heaven, and when in his city the populace has raised hand against him, may he be killed (var. adds 'angrily') inside his city."

The War with Umma as History.

The remainder of col. viii, some eighteen lines, is unfortunately lost and there is little to suggest what they may have contained. To judge by the content of viii.1-5, the death of the enemy ruler in a revolt fomented

²⁹ The form mu-ni- is preferred with personal goal b í- with neutra. Here Umma seems to be personified and treated as personal while later on its corpses are considered neutra in 22-23.

³⁰ We noticed later that the same interpretation of the passage as referring to a rebellion in Umma is proposed by Poebel in the Paul Haupt Anniversary Volume (eds. C. Adler and A. Ember, Baltimore 1926) p. 224 as also — with clear reference to the Entemena passage — by Sollberger, *Inscriptions Royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes* (Paris, 1971) p. 49.

by Ningirsu, it would appear that on the divine level victory was complete so that perhaps no more needed to be said on that score. This leaves the human aspect of events to be dealt with and just as the pictorial representation on the Stele has the mythological statement of the victory — Ningirsu clubbing the Ummeans caught in his net on the obverse — followed by a historical one — Eannatum at the head of his troops on the reverse — so the preserved fragments of text in cols. ix and x suggest a change to historical narrative with Eannatum rather than Ningirsu as central figure.³¹

Following a suggestion of Poebel's³² it seems reasonable to assume that Eannatum took advantage of the disturbed conditions in Umma to launch his attack. One may assume further, perhaps, that in telling about it he would make reference to the sign promised him by Ningirsu in the dream as signal for him to set out. At the beginning of col. xi when the text resumes we seem to be still at the early state of the battle, ḡiš...lá, Akkadian *anantu* "skirmishing", which involves a preliminary exchange of arrows³³ and long range missiles; accordingly only the meeting up of Eannatum with the forces of Umma is likely to have been recorded and the close similarity of wording of ix.1-2 with Entemena's later account of a similar encounter in his Cone A+B iii. 10 = iv.1 suggest that the place of the battle may also have been stated. Very tentatively one may thus venture to restore: (viii.6) [ud-ba] (7) [É-an-na-tú-m-ra] (8) [á-zi-da-na] (9) [dUtu] (10) [mu-na-né-è] (11) [saḡ-k-i-na] (12-13)³⁴ [NE-DU-GE-UŠ] (14) [mu-na-né-k é s] (15) [É-an-na-tù-me] (16) [ḡiškim] (17-18) [dNin-ḡír-sú-ka-ta] (19) [ḡá na...] (20) [a-šaḡ₄-ḡá na-k i-á ḡa] (21-22) [dNin-ḡír-sú-ka-ka] (23) [Umma^ki-da] (ix.1) ḡiš-urbingu e-da-lá-e "(vii.6) On that day (9) Utu (10) rose (7) for Eannatum (8) at his right, (14) and tied (12-13) a diadem(?) (11) on his forehead. (16) At the sign (17-18) of Ningirsu (15) Eannatum (ix.1) was ferociously skirmishing (viii.23) with Umma (19) in — — —³⁵, (20) the beloved field and acreage (21-22) of Ningirsu."

The preserved lines in col. ix.1-7 have been discussed by us in ZA 52 (1957), 91-140 note 90 (= TIT p. 393). We read: (ix.2) É-an-na-tú-m-ra (3) lú ti mu-né-ra (4) ti-ta e-ta-si (5) mu-ḡaš (6) iḡi-ba 'l i' -b í-KA-[xER(N)-KAxER(N)(?)] (7) lú e-líl (8) ... "(ix.2) Against Eannatum a man shot an arrow (4) and he grew weak from the arrow. (5) He broke it off, (6) but could not continue fighting in the front rank. (lit. 'before them'). (7) The man burst into a triumphal song ... " What happened next is lost in the lacuna stretching from ix.8-19 and we are unable to suggest any restorations for the remnants of signs preserved in the last five lines of the column. Clearly, however, the battle turned into a decisive victory for Eannatum, who seems to have fought his way into the city itself, for the preserved lines at the beginning of col. x read (x.1) É-an-na-tù-me (2) Umma^ki-a (3) tumu-ḡul-im-ma-gim (4) a MAR(?) mu-né-KÍD (x.1) "Eannatum (3) like an evil rainstorm (4) blew ... (2) into Umma". When, after a new lacuna, the text resumes at x.12 it is concerned with the boundary established after the victory.

³¹ The distinction between events to be presented mytho-historically and such as should be told as history simply, may well have been the measure of human control allowed to them. A fortunate revolt in Umma — presumably due to internal dissensions — would be outside the control of Eannatum and so would naturally be attributed to a supernatural intervention by Ningirsu. The following armed attack on Umma led by Eannatum in person could more obviously be seen, and told, in terms of his human actions.

³² In the article cited above in note 30.

³³ Note, among other things the term ti-sa ḡ_x (SUḡ) for *anantu* in Erimhuš II 241 f. which implies arrows crossing each other (in flight).

³⁴ The inclusion of two line numbers in a parenthesis indicates here and in the following that we assume the long line after such a parenthesis to have occupied the space of two normal size lines.

³⁵ The fields in which the battle took place may have been mentioned again in Col. xi. 13. That and the following lines deals with a place renamed for the fact that 20 burial mounds were heaped up and that Eannatum was cried over by his personal god Shulutulla. This seems to fit the battleground where Eannatum was wounded — thus giving his personal god cause for grief — and where the slain were subsequently buried.

For the reader's convenience we add a consecutive text and translation of the sections discussed:

Text

COL. I

¹[dEn-líl]- ²[lugal-kur-kur-ra]- ³[ab-ba dingir-ré-ne-ke₄] ⁴[inim-ge-na-né-ta] ⁵[dNin-šír-sú]- ⁶[dŠará-bé] ⁷[ki-e-ne-sur] ⁸[Me-salim]- ⁹[lugal Kišiki-ke₄] ¹⁰[inim-dīštaran-na-ta] ¹¹[éš gána bé-ra] ¹²[ki-ba na bí-rù] ¹³[Uš]- ¹⁴[ensí]- ¹⁵[Umma-ki-ke₄] ¹⁶[edin-Lagaš-ki-šè] ¹⁷[i-šen] ¹⁸[edin-Lagaš-ki-ka] ¹⁹[sipa-dè-ne]- ²⁰[gudu-ge-ne] ²¹[nimgir]-ré [kug-p] ad-bé ²²re¹-lá ²³še-gub-ba-bé ²⁴ba-túm ²⁵lugal- ²⁶Lagaš-ki-[ra]

COL. II

¹[nu-mu-na-sum] ²[Umma-ki] ³[ú-dúr-dúru-na]- ⁴[ninda-ní]- ⁵[piriḡ-zag-eš]- ⁶[Úl-nun-šà-ga-ka-ka] ⁷[a-šag₄-gána]- ⁸[Gú-edin-na-ka-ka] ⁹[Lagaš-ki]- ¹⁵[dumu-Gu-ni-du]- ¹⁶[dumu-GUR-SAR-ka-ke₄] ¹⁷[bar-ú-dúr-dúru-na]- ¹⁸[ninda-ní]- ¹⁹[piriḡ-zag-eš]- ²⁰[Úl-nun-šà-ga-ka-ka] ²¹[Umma-ki-šè] ²²⁻²³[lú h é-še-gi₄-gi₄!]. ²⁴ka- ²⁵lú-Umma-ki-ke₄ ²⁶še-Ul-túm ²⁷e-ma-da-du₄ ²⁸Lagaš-ki ²⁹gaba-bé ³⁰še-Ul-ús ³¹A-kur-gal- ³²dumu Ur-dNanše

COL. III

¹[lugal]- ²[Lagaš-ki-ka-ke₄] ³[bar-ú-dúr-dúru-na]- ⁴[ninda-ní]- ⁵[piriḡ-zag-eš]- ⁶[Úl-nun-šà-ga-ka-ka] ⁷[Umma-ki-še] ⁸⁻⁹[lú h é-še-gi₄-gi₄-a-ka] ¹⁰[lú-Umma-ki-ke₄] ¹¹[še-Ul-túm] ¹²[e-ma-da-du₄] ¹³[a-šag₄-gána]- ¹⁴[Gú-edin-na-ka-ka] ¹⁵[Lagaš-ki] ¹⁶[bar-ú-dúr-dúru-na-ba] ¹⁷[gaba-bé] ¹⁸[šur] ¹⁹re¹-ma¹-[ús] ²⁰Lagaš-ki ²¹bar-nin-da-ní-ba-ka-ka ²²gaba-bé ²³še-e-ga-ma-ús ²⁴piriḡ-zag-[e]š- ²⁵Úl-nun-šà-ga-ke₄ ²⁶dNin-šír-sú-ra ²⁷ka-na ²⁸kalí-la mu-ni-kíd ²⁹Umma-ki ³⁰ú-dúr-dúru-na-šur- ³¹ninda-ní-šà ³²[a-šag₄-gána]-

COL. IV

¹[G]ú-[edin-na-[ka-ka]a] ²[Lagaš-ki] ³[gaba]-bé [šur-na-m]a-[ni-ús]-èn ⁴[c]- ⁵[Nin-šír-sú]- ⁶[ur-s]aḡ-[dEn]-líl-[ke₄] ⁷[e-du₁₀]-ga₁₁ ⁸[nig¹al] ⁹[na]-e ¹⁰[dNin-šír-sú]-[ke₄] ¹¹[e₄]-[é¹]-[an]-na-túm-[ma] ¹²[šà-ga] ¹³[šur] ¹⁴ba-ni-du₄ ¹⁵[dBa-ba₆] ¹⁶[unux-a]-dú ¹⁷[É-an-na-túm-da] ¹⁸[ama-d]Ba¹-[ba₆] ¹⁹mu-da-hú ²⁰dInanna-ke₄ ²¹da mu-ni-dib ²²É-an-na- ²³dInanna- ²⁴Eb-²⁵gal¹-ka-ka-a-túm ²⁶mu-mu-né-sa₄ ²⁷dNin-šur-saḡ-ra ²⁸dùg-zi-da-na ²⁹mu-ni-tuš ³⁰dNin-šur-saḡ-ke₄ ³¹ubur-zi-da-né ³²mu¹-[né-gu₇]

COL. V

¹É-an-na-túm- ²e₄-šà-ga-šur-du₁₁-ga- ³dNin-šír-sú-ka-da ⁴dNin-šír-sú ⁵mu-da-hú ⁶dNin-šír-sú-ke₄ ⁷šur-bad-né ⁸mu-né-ra ⁹[kùš]-5-am₅ ¹⁰kùš-a-né ¹¹mu-né-ra ¹²kùš-5-šur-bad-l ¹³dNin-šír-sú-ke₄ ¹⁴nam-gal-hú-da ¹⁵[nam]- ¹⁶lugal¹- ¹⁷[Lagaš-ki] ¹⁸[mu-na-sum] ¹⁹[mu-pà-da]- ²⁰dNin-šír-sú-ka- ²¹É-an-na-túm- ²²a_x(DA)-tuk-u-e- ²³kur-a-DE-éš-na-c ²⁴É-an-na-túm-ra ²⁵mu-dInanna-

Translation

COL. I

¹Enlil, ²the king of all sovereign countries, ³the father of all gods, ⁴according to his just verdict ⁵drew the boundary for Ningirsu ⁶and Shara. ⁷Meshalim, ⁸king of Kish, ⁹at the command of Ishtaran (his personal god) ¹⁰snapped the (measuring) cord on the field ¹¹and implanted a stele at that place. ¹²Ush, ¹³ruler of Umma, ¹⁴went into ¹⁵the plain of Lagash. ¹⁶In the plain of Lagash ¹⁷for the shepherds ¹⁸and the *gudu*-priests ¹⁹⁻²⁰a sheriff weighed their silver bits ²¹and took away ²²their grain taxes; ²³to the king ²⁴of Lagash

COL. II

¹he did not give it. ²Umma ³⁻⁴repelled ⁵Lagash ⁶in the hay (? fields) ⁷and the personal bread (portion fields) ⁸of the triple lion ⁹of the innermost Ulnun ¹⁰in the fields and acreage ¹¹of Guedinna. ¹²Though Ur-Nanshe, ¹³king ¹⁴of Lagash, ¹⁵son of Gunidu ¹⁶son of GUR-SAR, ¹⁷⁻¹⁸sent a man repeatedly ¹⁹to Umma ²⁰about the hay (? fields) ²¹and the personal bread (portion fields) ²²of the triple lion ²³of the innermost Ulnun, ²⁴the ruler of Umma ²⁵(merely) argued with him, ²⁶laying hand upon him ²⁷belligerently, ²⁸⁻²⁹and repelled ³⁰Lagash. ³¹Though Akurgal ³²king ³³of Lagash, ³⁴son of Ur-Nanshe

COL. III

¹king ²of Lagash, ³⁻⁴sent a man repeatedly ⁵to Umma ⁶about the hay (? fields) ⁷and personal bread (portion fields) ⁸of the triple lion ⁹of the innermost Ulnun, ¹⁰the ruler of Umma ¹¹(merely) argued with him, ¹²laying hand upon (him) belligerently, ¹³and in the fields and acreage ¹⁴of Guedinna ¹⁵⁻¹⁶he repelled ¹⁷Lagash ¹⁸in respect to its (i.e. the triple lion's) hay (? fields), ¹⁹⁻²⁰and he also repelled ²¹Lagash ²²in respect to its personal bread (portion fields). ²³The triple lion ²⁴of the innermost Ulnun ²⁵opened ²⁶ahungry maw in a (dream) vision ²⁷toward Ningirsu (saying) ²⁸in gloom: ²⁹⁻³⁰"May you have Umma not repel ³¹Lagash ³²in my hay (? fields) ³³and my personal bread (portion fields) ³⁴in the fields and acreage ³⁵of Guedinna."

COL. IV

¹The lord Ningirsu ²the warrior of Enlil, ³⁻⁴decided to make (marital) demands ⁵in the bedroom. ⁶Ningirsu ⁷inserted ⁸the germ of Eannatum ⁹into the womb. ¹⁰Baba ¹¹gave birth to him through the vulva. ¹²At Eannatum ¹³Mother Baba ¹⁴rejoiced ¹⁵Inanna ¹⁶took him on (her) arm ¹⁷and named him ¹⁸⁻¹⁹"Worthy-of-the-Eanna-of-Inanna-of-the-Oval" ²⁰She set him down ²¹for Ninhursaga ²²on her (i.e. Ninhursaga's) right knee ²³and Ninhursaga ²⁴fed him ²⁵at her right breast.

COL. V

¹Over Eannatum, ²the germ inserted into the womb ³by Ningirsu, ⁴Ningirsu ⁵rejoiced. ⁶Ningirsu ⁷laid against him (to measure him) ⁸his span, ⁹and (up to) five cubits ¹⁰his forearm ¹¹he laid against him, ¹²(totalling) five cubits and a span. ¹³Ningirsu ¹⁴in great joy ¹⁵gave him ¹⁶the kingship ¹⁷of Lagash, ¹⁸(and) ¹⁹"The-one-made-renowned- ²⁰by-Ningirsu, ²¹Eannatum, ²²the-potential-of-strength, ²³will-have-it-in-him-to-breathe-fire-and-fury-in-the-(enemy)-country" ²⁴he named (as) name ²⁵for Eannatum — ²⁶the name Inanna

ke₄ - ²⁵e-né-sa₄-a-né- ²⁶É-an-na- ²⁷dInanna- ²⁸Eb-gal-ka-ka-a-túm ²⁹mu-né-
[sa₄] ³⁰mu-[né an]-ki-[a] ³¹n[a-mu-pà-dè] ³²[É-an-na-túm-]

COL. VI

¹á-tuku-e ²mu-pà-da- ³dNin-ġír-sú-ka-ke₄ ⁴É-an-na-tù-me ⁵kur-a D[É]-
éš ħ[é-e] ⁶níġ-du₇-zal-a-⁷da¹ ⁷gù nam-mi-dé ⁸ensi- ⁹Umma^{ki} ¹⁰me an-ni-huġ
¹¹[du_x] (LÚxNE)-da ¹²ú¹ ¹²Gú-e-din-na- ¹³a-šag₄-gána-ki-áġa- ¹⁴dNin-ġír-sú-ka
¹⁵e-da-gu₇ ¹⁶ġé-šub-bé ¹⁷dinġír-ra-né [ír-d] ùġ ¹⁸[hé]-[p] à-[dè] ¹⁹[É-an-na-túm]
²⁰[saġ-šè-ná mu-ná] ²¹[lugal-a-né] ²²á¹-[nú-da-šè] ²³ege[r-ra]-né ²⁴e-ma-[ab]-
ús ²⁵ná-a-ra ²⁶ná-a-ra ²⁷saġ-ġá mu-na-gub ²⁸É-an-na-túm- ²⁹ná-a-ra ³⁰lugal-
ki-áġa-né] ³¹[dNin-ġír-sú] ³²[saġ-ġá mu-na-gub] ³³[ġír mu-tag-tag-e] ³⁴[ma-
e-na ma-e-na] ³⁵[kur-a-DE-éš-ma-e-na]

COL. VII

¹Umma^{ki} ²Kiš^{ki} am₅ ³šū šè-dag-ge ⁴libiš-ge-dab₅-ba-ta ⁵nam-[m]a-da-
gub ⁶á-zi-da-za ⁷du₇tu ⁸ere-è ⁹saġ-ki-za ¹⁰NE-DU-GE-UŠ ¹¹ere-kés ¹²É-an-na-
[tú]m ¹³[i-zi] ¹⁴[ma-mú-dam] ¹⁵[ud-ba] ¹⁶[dNin-ġír-sú-ke₄] ¹⁷[Umma^{ki}.a] ¹⁸[sa-
šūš-gal bí-šūš] ¹⁹[ġír mu-né-lá] ²⁰ġiš m[u]-né-ra ²¹ad_x(LÚxUŠ)-bš-3600 ²²ġír
hé-bé-lá ²³giš [hé-bé-ra] ²⁴[SAĤAR-DU₆-TAG₄-bé] ²⁵[bí-dub] ²⁶[ensi-] ²⁷[Umma^{ki}.
ra] ²⁸[šū-maġ-ġír-maġ-né] ²⁹[an-ta e-ne-ġar] ³⁰[nam-lú-u_x uru-na]

COL. VIII

¹šū e-na-zi ²šag₄-Umma^{ki}.ka ³ì-gaz ⁴Nangaki ⁵mu-né-[ná] ⁶[ud-ba] ⁷[É-
an-na-túm-ra] ⁸[á-zi-da-na] ⁹[du₇tu] ¹⁰[mu-na-né-è] ¹¹[saġ-ki-na] ¹²⁻¹³[NE-DU-GE-
UŠ] ¹⁴[mu-na-ni-kés] ¹⁵[É-an-na-tù-me] ¹⁶[ġiškim] ¹⁷⁻¹⁸[dNin-ġír-sú-ka-ta]
¹⁹[gána...] ²⁰[a-šag₄-gána-ki-áġa] ²¹⁻²²[dNin-ġír-sú-ka] ²³[Umma^{ki}.da]

COL. IX

¹ġiš urbingu e-da-lá-e ²É-an-na-túm-ra ³lú ti mu-né-ra ⁴ti-ta e-ta-
si ⁵mu-ġaš ⁶igi-ba 'lì'-bíKA[xERIN]-KAxERIN! ⁷lú e-líl ⁸.... (Lines 8-19 are too fragmen-
tary to restore).

COL. X

¹É-an-na-tù-me ²Umma^{ki}.a ³tumu-ġul-im-ma-gim ⁴a MAR(?) mu-ni-kíd
....

²⁵had called him ²⁶(namely) ²⁶⁻²⁸“Worthy-of-the-Eanna-of-Inanna-of-the-Oval” — ³⁰⁻³¹and was making him
renowned in Heaven and on Earth (saying:) “Let Eannatum

COL. VI

¹the possessor of strength, ²(let) the one made renowned ³by Ningirsu, ⁴(let) Eannatum, ⁵breathe
fire and fury in the (enemy) land. ⁷I have decided to call for ⁶the proper things, which are getting overdue.
⁸⁻¹⁰Where did the city-ruler of Umma (ever) stay appeased? ¹¹(By) threatening hostilities ¹⁵he is able to
pasture ¹²in Guedinna ¹³the beloved fields and acreage ¹⁴of Ningirsu, ¹⁶let him be cast down, ¹⁷⁻¹⁸and let
his (personal) god have a good cry over him. ¹⁹Eannatum ²⁰lay down (as) an oneiromancer. ²¹His master
²⁴followed ²³behind him ²²to the side of the bed, ²⁵to the sleeper ²⁶to the sleeper ²⁷at the head he step-
ped up, ²⁹to the sleeping ²⁸Eannatum ³¹Ningirsu ³⁰his beloved master, at the head stepped up, ³³was prod-
ding him with a sword (saying:) ³⁴“You who will breathe for me, you who will breathe for me, ³⁵you who
will breathe fire and fury for me in the (enemy) land:

COL. VII

²Even Kish ¹is letting Umma ³roam on its own, ⁴and out of anger ⁵may not come to assist it. ⁶At
your right ⁷Utu ⁸will rise for you, ⁹on your forehead ¹⁰a diadem(?) ¹¹he will tie”. ¹²Eannatum ¹³rose,
¹⁴it had been a dream. ¹⁵On that day ¹⁶Ningirsu ¹⁷threw the great throw-net ¹⁷over Umma ¹⁸stabbed it
with the sword, ¹⁹smote it with weapons. ²⁰On its corpaes, 3600, ²²be they stabbed with the sword, ²³or be
they smitten with weapons, ²⁵he heaped up ²⁴their burial-mounds. ²⁷Upon the city ruler of Umma ²⁹he put
from Heaven ²⁸his great hands and great feet, ³⁰and in his city the populace

COL. VIII

¹raised hand against him ³and he was killed ²inside Umma. ⁵He was laid to rest ⁴in Nanga. ⁶On
that day ⁹Utu ¹⁰rose ⁷for Eannatum ⁸at his right ¹⁶and tied ¹²⁻¹³a diadem(?) ¹¹on his forehead. ¹⁶At the
sign ¹⁷⁻¹⁸of Ningirsu ¹⁵Eannatum ^{iv.1}was ferociously skirmishing ²³with Umma ¹⁹in . . . , ²⁰the beloved
field and acreage ²¹⁻²²of Ningirsu.

COL. IX

²Against Eannatum a man shot an arrow ⁴and he grew weak from the arrow. ⁵He broke it off, ⁶but
could not continue fighting in the front rank (lit. “before them”). The man burst into a triumphal song . . .
(Lines 8-9 are too fragmentary to restore)

COL. X

¹Eannatum ³like an evil rainstorm ⁴blew . . . ²into Umma . . .

Quelques notes complémentaires sur le système préfixal sumérien

Raymond Riec Jestin, Chatillon

Les quelques lignes qui suivent traduisent simplement des réflexions sur certains aspects du système préfixal sumérien tels que je les ai envisagés dans mon "*Le verbe sumérien*" et font état de nouveaux exemples qui me semblent utiles pour appuyer ce que j'ai déjà dit dans cet ouvrage, en particulier dans le Complément.¹

Une remarque très générale pour commencer: il est très vraisemblable qu'à l'origine du système, composé des deux éléments opposés *m u -* et *e / i -*, c'est le premier de ceux-ci qui est apparu pour mettre, quand il s'agissait de textes de fondation, dans l'élément fondamental de la proposition, le complexe verbal, la marque de l'action bonne par excellence, le symbole de l'harmonie dans le Cosmos, de l'équilibre entre le monde divin et le monde humain: la construction du Temple. Le préfixe *e / i -* est venu à son tour parce que tout concept en vertu de sa dynamique, proportionnelle à son importance, fait naître le concept qui semble le nier et exprime le mouvement inverse quand il y en a un. La synthèse paraît résider dans l'aspect statique pris parfois par *m u -* qui en servant d'emblème au plan divin a détruit l'opposition en absorbant le concept le plus faible traduit par *e / i -*: le plan divin impliquant alors l'hommage que lui rend le plan humain.

Le passage de cet emploi originel au domaine profane avec l'apparition de nouveaux préformatifs de nature entièrement différente (*b a -*, *b i -*, etc) a produit des cas de plus en plus difficilement rattachables au fonctionnement primitif, seul cohérent, qui s'est affaibli graduellement au point de n'être plus perceptible dans des textes dont la nature ne se prêtait guère à son application.

Aussi jamais une explication valable pour tous les exemples d'emploi du système préfixal n'a pu être présentée. Il me semble hors de doute que jamais on n'en découvrira une. Et pour cause.

Un tel système est souple et l'enrichissement progressif de son champ d'application n'a fait que l'assouplir davantage et poser une foule de cas d'espèce. En voici un: ^dU d - r a í r - ì - š é š - š é š: "Devant le dieu Ud (le loup) versait des larmes".² On s'attendrait à l'emploi du préfixe *m u -* pour "étiqueter" la montée de l'action d'un personnage de fable (animal humanisé) vers le dieu qu'elle concerne. Mais cette action est le contraire d'un hommage, elle est hypocrite, n'honore pas le dieu et ne saurait être située sous le signe de ce qui le fait.

Sous peine d'absurdité du système, le préformatif *m u -* peut, comme je l'ai déjà relevé ailleurs à propos d'autres exemples, servir d'emblème à plusieurs complexes verbaux parallèles en n'étant représenté que dans le plus important d'entre eux: *d ù g š é - n i - d ú b a z a l - l e š é - n i - n a ġ d ù g š é - n i - g ú r*₁₄ *n i n d a ġ u - m u - n i - k ú*: "le genou j'abaissai, de l'eau fraîche j'offrai à boire, le genou je ployai, de la nourriture j'offris à manger".³

¹ R.-R. Jestin, *Le verbe sumérien*, 3, pp. 113 ss.

² E. Gordon, JCS 12 (1958), 53: 5.73.

³ A. Falkenstein, ZA 50 (1952), 68: 58-59.

Les éléments adventices du système préfixal que j'ai appelé préfixes secondaires ont *du pouvoir être employés, en raison de leur nature différente*, concurremment avec la paire oppositionnelle *m e - / e -* et j'en ai parlé à propos de la forme *i z i m u - b a - s u m⁴* à laquelle on peut ajouter *[m u] - b a - d ù* : "il construisit".⁵ Des exemples de persistance de cet usage à l'époque archaïque ne sont pas surprenants mais lorsqu'on retrouve de telles formations à l'époque tardive, on demeure perplexe? Que penser des complexes: *ù - m u - u n - b a - n i - i n - r i* : "Certe il a pris place",⁶ et "*á - m u - u n - b a - a n - a g - à m* : "(le temple) on fera (plus) solide (qu'auparavant)"⁷? Déconcerté par un tel complexe verbal, le P.M. Witzel a préféré le réduire en deux tronçons *a - m u - u n - b a* et *a n - a g - à m⁸*.

Remarquons qu'il s'agit toujours des préformatifs *m u -* et *b a -* comme à haute époque. Recherche d'archaïsme fondée sur la connaissance et la bonne interprétation des vieux textes? Formes infixales aberrantes (mais on ne voit ni idée dative ni idée locative apparentes)? La première hypothèse semble encore la moins improbable.

Voici maintenant quelques nouveaux exemples de changements de préfixes qui paraissent assez concluants *é l u g a l - b i i - l i - a ì - d ù^d n i n - ġ i š - z i d - d a - g é k i - g a l - l a b í - d ù G ù - d é - a . . . t e m e n - b i m u - s i g₉* : "Le temple son Roi dans la magnificence a construit, *d*Nin-ġiš-zid-da sur la Grande Terre (l') a construit, Gu-dé-a . . . son fondement a établi".⁹ L'action est partout la même: l'action majeure, la construction du temple sous trois aspects: le premier général et abstrait c'est le dieu lui-même qui réalise l'oeuvre: préfixe vocalique mettant l'accent sur le côté profitable aux hommes d'une réalisation qui confirme et renforce l'union et les échanges entre monde divin et monde humain; préfixe *m u -* qui illustre en finale la formule d'où le chef de la cité, vicaire du dieu a tiré le nom de son rôle fondamental (*u g u l a t e m e n s i g₉*). Entre les deux, prolongement du premier un préformatif secondaire qui ne traduit que l'insistance sur l'idée locative qu'il porte et qui réfère au Ki-gal. On trouve la même association entre les préfixes *e -* et *b i -* auxiliaires occasionnels, d'une part, et *m u -*, d'autre part *dans l'Hymne d'Eridu, 11.5 ss.*:

5— *d*En-ki-e (.)
é-a-ni (.) ba-ni-in-dù
(.)

8— èš-e ab-zu-a ul-im-ma-ni-in-túm
SUĜ kug galam-dug₄-ga ab-zu-ta è(d)-a
en Mu-dím-mud-e mu-un-na-súg-súg-ge-eš
é kug-bi i-ni-in-dù ^{za}za-ġin-na i-ni-in-ġin
(.)

13— Eridug-ga é gú-a bí-in-dù
(.)

17— é-e lugal-ri-ir ġí(g)-a ar im-ma-ab-DU dūg-bi mu-un-ġá-ġá

"*d*En-ki son (propre) temple y fit construire
Le sanctuaire dans l'Ab-zu resplendissait
Le fondement pur, le chef-d'oeuvre depuis l'Ab-zu s'exaltant,
devant le Seigneur Mu-dim-mud se tenaient fermement.

⁴ Sollberger, Corpus, Urukagina, Tablette B, passim.

⁵ Ibid., Stele des Vautours, Face 13:2.

⁶ 4 R 20, 1:17.

⁷ PBS 10/4, 1 rev.ii 24.

⁸ M. Witzel, Perlen sumerischer Poesie. Transkription und Übersetzung mit Kommentar (Jerusalem, 1930), No. 1.

⁹ Gudea, Cylindre A 30: 1-5.

Le temple avec cet argent il (*d*En-ki) a construit, avec du lapis-lazuli il (l')a orné
(.)

Dans Eridug le temple sur la rive il éleva
(.)

Ce temple devant son Roi pendant la nuit la gloire chante (et) le genou plie"

Ce texte illustre le système préfixal aussi clairement que la fameuse tablette RTC 19: la différence cependant consiste ici en l'emploi de préformatifs secondaires: *b a -* et *b i -* qui avec le préfixe *i -*, régulier en pareil cas, s'appliquent aux actions faites par le roi. Il s'agit ici d'un texte littéraire dont le style n'est pas celui des textes économiques et permet un emploi moins mécanique, plus nuancé, du système préfixal sans en altérer le caractère. Dans la l.6 (*b a - n i - i n - d ù*) *b a -* accuse fortement la nature réflexive de l'action: le temple est construit *pour* le dieu En-ki, dans la l. 13 c'est le lieu où il s'élève qui est souligné avec le localisant *b í -*: *sur* la rive. Les deux verbes de la l. 11 sont par contre traités comme à l'ordinaire quand l'acte va du dieu vers l'homme. Quant au mouvement inverse qui va du plan humain au plan divin, il reçoit normalement l'emblème consonantique en *m*, deux fois sous la forme *i m -* (ll. 8,17) et deux fois sous la forme *m u* (ll. 10,17). Le parallélisme absolu entre les deux complexes verbaux de la l. 17 montre aussi à l'évidence que la forme préfixale en *- m* est la même que celle en *m -* et non un avatar graphique du préfixe vocalique, son opposé.

Enfin, à propos de ce que j'ai dit ailleurs¹⁰ au sujet de l'emploi de *m u -* avec une 1^e ou une 2^e ps., cf. un point de vue "statique" analogue dans le choix du préfixe *m u -* affectant les verbes qui expriment l'action de prendre la parole (qu'il s'agisse de demandes ou de réponses). Ainsi, dans Gilgames et le pays des vivants, pass.: *g ù - m u - u n - n a - d é* (et var.) et *i n i m m u - u n - n i - i b - ġ i₄ - ġ i₄*.

¹⁰ R.-R. Jestin, Le verbe sumérien, 2, pp. 6 ss., pp. 29 ss.

Speculations on Umul, the First Baby*

Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, Berkeley

In a footnote of the writer's recent article¹ concerning the theme of overpopulation in the Sumerian and Akkadian flood stories, it was proposed that the god Enki, in the Sumerian story Enki and Ninmah,² truly proved his genius when he invented the self-propagation of the human race. He accomplished this, it would seem, by creating, firstly, a female being with functioning reproductive organs who, in turn, produced the creature known as U₄-m u - u l "My-day-is-far." It was and is clear, to the present writer at least, that Umul is not, as generally accepted previously, a failure of an old man, but is simply a new-born baby with the normal lack of physical abilities. Thus it was suggested that his name means "My day (of death) is far (off)," attesting to his extreme youth as well as to his expected longevity.³

On reflecting, once more, on the passages in Enki and Ninmah, certain further questions have raised themselves concerning this "first baby." In attempting to answer them, it may be of benefit to reiterate some points already made in *Orientalia* 41, and to stress others that were only hinted at there:

* The substance of this paper was presented in summary form to a session of the Graduate Theological Union's Adam Colloquium during the Spring of 1973. I thank my colleagues P. Damon, D. Foxvog, R. Goldman, W. Heimpel, I. Kikawada, L. Lesko, M. Nagler, M. Schwartz, and D. Winston for their helpful comments.

¹ "The Mesopotamian Concept of Overpopulation and Its Solution as Reflected in the Mythology," *Or* 41 (1972), 160-177 (footnote 28). To the Selected Bibliography add now W. Albright, "From the Patriarchs to Moses: I. From Abraham to Joseph," *BiAr* 36 (1973), 5-33.

² Line numbers cited in this article follow the edition of C.A. Benito, "Enki and Ninmah" and "Enki and the World Order" (Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1969; published on demand by University Microfilms as No. 70-16, 124.).

³ I.e., the opposite of the previous interpretation "My-day (of birth)-is-far (in the past)," cf. *Or* 41 (1972), 166 n. 28; D.O. Edzard, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* 1 (ed. Haussig), p. 58. This new interpretation is supported by ARM 10 6 r. 8': u₄-mu-šu qé-er-bu ú-ul i-ba-al-lu-ut "His day (of death) is near, he will not live" (reference courtesy of Prof. A. Finet). Cf. the Sumerian idiom u₄ s á~d u₁₁ "to reach (one's) day (of death)," discussed by W. Heimpel, "Der Tod der Göttin Baba von Lagaš," *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel* (Göttingen, 1972), p. 664 n. 16.

1. The goddess Ninmah had created six adult human creatures, all imperfect and several of them defective with respect to their ability to reproduce.⁴ Enki, however, is able to decree a suitable fate for them all.

2. When it is Enki's turn to create, he makes a female and appears to perfect her parts (line 83):

den-ki-ke₄ me-dím saḡ-ḡá x ga? KA ša-ba a-ma-ni-dím

"After Enki had fashioned the form of the head, . . . (and) an opening (lit. mouth) in its womb"

3. Though the next section is rather obscurely expressed, I believe it is deducible, and perhaps it should be obvious, that this female is then inseminated by Enki himself (line 85):⁵

a-ḡiḡ-ak ša-munus-a-ka ri-a ša-ga-na munus-bé mu-un-ù-tu

"Having poured the semen into the woman's womb, that woman conceives in her womb"

4. "Proof" that Enki fathers the first baby may be had from line 134:

u₄-da ḡiḡ-mu me-téš ha-ba-i-i geštú-ri-gi(?) -zu ḡé-ḡál

"Today let my penis be praised; may you pay attention!"

Enki, then, praises his penis as the siring instrument. While there may be some indication from the me²-d í m²-m u in line 133 that Umul looks like Enki, the line is far from clear.⁶ Another unclear line, 139, may or may not imply that Umul is to be responsible for (. . . U₄-m u-u l . . . é-m u ḡé-a k) Enki's cult.

5. Umul is a semi-divine creature,⁷ born of the first woman capable of reproducing.

Is there anything comparable to this in the Akkadian version? In OB Atrahasis⁸ between lines I 260 and 272, the lacuna must have contained the telling of the first human pregnancy, though whether it was accomplished by a human male together with a human female is not explicit in the preserved lines. In any case, the only information we have is that the midwifery was successfully performed (I 284ff). Another unfortunate lacuna occurs between I 305 and 328, after which a man and his son, neither of them named, appear in two partially preserved lines (I 328 and 330). No name is provided for a first baby, or for the man. After several lines (I 337-339) indicating that a human work force is in full swing on earth, still another break of thirteen lines occurs, in which "1200 years had not yet passed when the land extended and the peoples multiplied" (I 352f.). As Prof. Lambert has already observed,⁹ the character Atrahasis is very abruptly introduced in line I 368. In other words, there is a maximum of only 23 lines (= the break between lines 305 and 328) in which the first human family could have been introduced into the story, and only 36 lines (328-364) in which the population increases, Enlil decrees the first plague, and Atrahasis is introduced.

⁴ Lines 59-78.

⁵ Who else could have impregnated her? No capable human male existed yet, and no other male god is present.

⁶ Note also the very difficult line 28: de n-ki-ke₄ mud-me-dím ní-te-a-na ša-bi geštú-ni ù-mu-ni-ri-ge "Enki ponders the 'inside' of the image and form of himself."

Cf. the translation of Benito, op. cit., p. 36; van Dijk, Acta Or. 29 (1964), 28; Pettinato, Das Altorientalische Menschenbild (Heidelberg, 1971), p. 71. The Sumerian version's story-line within the creation episode may be much closer to the Akkadian (OB Atra-ḡasīs) than noted previously; a re-edition of Enki and Ninmah would be welcomed.

⁷ The name Umul is, to my knowledge, unknown outside Enki and Ninmah.

⁸ W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, Atrahasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood, with the Sumerian Flood Story by M. Civil (Oxford, 1969).

⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

It should be noted that, in the preserved opening of the Sumerian Flood Story,¹⁰ we commence with a narration of the past circumstances leading to Enlil's plan to annihilate humankind. The five antediluvian cities are listed,¹¹ the tutelary deities are mentioned, but no kings of these cities are named.¹² The only king named is "Ziusudra, the anointed (Sum. ḡ u d u₄)" (line 145), who is the Sumerian flood hero.

A central question that arises, it seems to me, is: what became of what may have been a very special baby, Umul, son of Enki?

With all of the foregoing observations in mind, I would like, though hesitant, to offer a tentative hypothesis for the Sumero-Akkadian materials available to us in Enki and Ninmah together with the Sumerian Flood Story and the OB Atrahasis Epic, to the effect that, and until evidence to the contrary can be produced:

A. Umul is to be identified with Ziusudra and, by extension, with Atrahasis/Utanapištim. Thus, the first-born, primal man is also the flood hero in at least one stream of Mesopotamian tradition.

B. The son of Enki/Ea is man's savior. Enki's warning of the flood to man may be more meaningful if we understand that he warns his own son.

C. The rationale behind the flood hero's receiving immortality may be more readily explained if we know that he is semi-divine.¹³

D. The various names of the flood hero are easily seen to fit into a single pattern describing the extraordinarily long-lived hero:¹⁴

u ₄ -m u-u l	"My day (of death) is far" (his name at the beginning of his life)
z i-u ₄ -s u d r-a	"Life (of) prolonged day(s)"
atra-ḡasīs	"Exceeding wise" (epithet of Enki himself ¹⁵ , applied to his son ¹⁶)

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 140. In reference to the present writer's remark (Or 41 [1972], 170 n. 44) concerning the possibility of the re-creation of mankind after the flood and M. Civil's suggestion that such a re-creation takes place in the Sumerian Flood Story, note E. Sollberger's comment in JCS 21 (1967), 282 n. 23, which may support Civil's suggestion. Cf. also ibid., 283 n. 31 where Sollberger suggests that post-diluvian mankind (in the Gudea genealogy) decreased because it "neglected" its tasks. But, since the tools and agriculture had not been re-invented yet (lines 13ff.), I wonder if the text does not mean instead that mankind was unable to sustain itself on natural resources (note line 19), and that only with the re-institution of agriculture/irrigation (lines 56ff.) could the population flourish.

¹¹ See W. Hallo, "Antediluvian Cities," JCS 23 (1970), 57-67.

¹² Correct my remark, Or 41 (1972), 166; I included, wrongly, the information to be had from the Sumerian King List.

¹³ I leave aside the question of the Mesopotamian flood hero's "wife" (or family), since the sources differ on this point.

¹⁴ Cf. the name of another Greek flood hero, Ogygos, "primal (one)"(?). See H. Usener, Die Sintflutsagen (Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen 3, Bonn, 1899), pp. 43f.

¹⁵ Note that Ea is identified at Ugarit with *Kothar-wa-Ḥasis* "very skillful and intelligent," an epithet equivalent to Atra-ḡasīs. See W.F. Albright, Yahwe and the Gods of Canaan (Doubleday, 1968), pp. 136f.; BiAr 36 (1973), 25.

¹⁶ Either Adapa, also the son of Ea, or Ea himself is called *atra-ḡasīs* in the Adapa story (see ANET, p. 101, Fragment 1:8), depending on how the line is to be understood. Contrast ANET translation with the interpretation of B. Kienast, AS 16 (1965), p. 154, and with that of A. Heidel, Babylonian Genesis (Chicago, 1951), p. 148. It is tempting to try to work Adapa, also an "Adam figure," into the picture. See n. 27 below, and note the remarks of Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 2nd edition (Doubleday, 1957), pp. 379f.

ūta-napištim

"I have found life" (the name given him in Gilgamesh XI at the "end" of the flood hero's life, when he has attained a form of immortality in permanent retirement)

If the identity of the first-born human, son of Enki/Ea, with the flood hero should prove to be correct, would we be able to find any corroborative evidence from the broader corpus of "classical" ancient mythologies? The following may be compared:

I. Traditions in which primal man is also flood hero

The Iranian Tradition: Yama was the first man, the only ruler, and the corresponding flood-type hero in the Avesta.¹⁷

The Indian Tradition: Manu, a primal man, king, and sage, was also the survivor and hero of the great deluge.¹⁸

The Greek Tradition: The god Prometheus (a counterpart of Enki/Ea as the divine being "friendly" to man) is the father of Deucalion, the first man. The mother is, like Eve, the first human female (Pandora in one stream of tradition), specially designed by Zeus and fashioned by Hephaistos.¹⁹ Deucalion is the most prominent Greek flood hero.

II. Traditions in which primal man is not flood hero

The Egyptian Tradition: Though certain parallels might be drawn from the Osiris-Isis-Horus stories, it is not productive to discuss them here.

The Sumerian King List: The antediluvian section of this list separates the flood hero from the first King Alulim by 8-10 generations.²⁰ If the hypothesis presented above for the Sumerian myth (Enki and Ninmah + Flood Story) and for the OB Atrahasis myth should be correct, we must wonder if the introduction of 8-10 generations was the intentional "rationalistic" contribution of an Isin-Larsa period Mesopotamian scholar, devised in order to cover the thousands of years that the first man and flood hero had to have lived in the old(?) tradition. Perhaps the "old" Sumerian tradition involved only one great king and five cities²¹ in antediluvian

¹⁷ See Or 41 (1972), 175 with n. 58.

¹⁸ There are several versions of the story in which Manu saves the life of a little fish (= Brahma) who, when grown, warns Manu of the flood, instructs him to build an ark, (load on the seed of living creatures,) and saves the ark on a mountain top; Manu generates mankind. The earliest recorded story may be that found in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, 1st Kāṇḍa, 8th Adhyāya, 1st Brāhmaṇa, sections 1-10; see the translation of J. Eggeling in Sacred Books of the East (ed. M. Müller, Motilal Baharsidass, Delhi, 1966). A later version appears in the Mahābhārata (Text = Critical Edition [Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1942, ed. S. Sukthankar et al]) 3.185, vss. 1-54. A translation is given in Usener, op. cit., pp. 29-31, or see M.N. Dutt, The Mahabharata, vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1895), pp. 272-274. Other versions are collected in A.B. Rooth, The Raven and the Carcass, An Investigation of a Motif in the Deluge Myth in Europe, Asia and North America (Helsinki, 1962), pp. 23f.

¹⁹ Hesiod (Loeb Edition), Works and Days, 42-105; Theogony, 507-616; Catalogues of Women, 1.

²⁰ See J. Finkelstein, "The Antediluvian Kings," JCS 17 (1963), 39-51; J. van Dijk, UVB 18 (1962), 43-51.

²¹ See W. Hallo, JCS 23 (1970), 61-63.

times. It is not clear, moreover, how the stories about the sages (Uan-Adapa and the rest) would be accommodated.²²

The OT Genesis Tradition: Like the Sumerian King List, there are 8-10 generations separating the first human from the flood hero, namely the 10 generations from Adam to Noah (Gen. 5:1-29), or the 8 generations in Cain's line (Gen. 4:17-22).²³ We can only speculate as to the direction of influence: perhaps it was a Western scholar who introduced the generations, which were then borrowed in Mesopotamia by the time of the composition of the King List, and taken into the Old Testament.²⁴

Nevertheless, there may still be a reflection in Genesis of older mythological tradition concerning the birth of the flood hero:

The Apocryphal Tradition: May we adduce, in support of such an hypothesis, the suspicion of Noah's father that Noah's mother conceived Noah by a divine being (I Enoch 106:1ff. [Fragment of the Book of Noah]²⁵ together with Genesis Apocryphon Col. II:1ff.²⁶)? That is, may we understand this as a reflection of the tradition that the flood hero's birth was extraordinary?²⁷

²² See E. Reiner, "The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages,'" Or 30 (1961), 1-11 and W. Hallo, JCS 23 (1970), 62. We look forward to Prof. R. Borger's forthcoming edition of a new text dealing with these sages (presented in a paper read at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1973). On Adapa, see n. 27 below.

²³ For a comparison between several of these names and the antediluvian Sumerian city names, see Hallo, JCS 23 (1970), 64f.

²⁴ I.M. Kikawada, whose doctoral dissertation deals with the primeval history as presented in Genesis, distinguishes two separate Mesopotamian literary traditions, epic and genealogical, as evident in Gen. 1-11, the epic tradition would provide the topical framework while the king and sage lists are reflected in Ch. 4-5.

²⁵ R. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1913), p. 278.

²⁶ N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, editors (Jerusalem, 1956); J. Fitzmyer, The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (Biblica et Orientalia, 18, Rome, 1966).

²⁷ It has been pointed out elsewhere (I.M. Kikawada, "Is Moses a Second Noah?," paper presented to Society of Biblical Literature, Orange, Calif., April, 1969) that, at the birth of Moses (a "microcosmic" Noah), his mother utters a formulaic "creation" expression (exclusive otherwise to Genesis), thus, perhaps, we may think of this as reflecting a tradition of "original creation" for Moses. Like Lord Raglan (The Hero, A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama, London, 1936, pp. 179ff.), we could present a "checklist" for *sine qua non* characteristics of flood heroes/saviors:

1. Special birth from special female created for purpose of bearing hero
2. Sired by divinity
3. Little or nothing known of childhood
4. Heroic act/water ordeal after warning from divinity
5. Special form of immortality bestowed, or immortality lost through a "sin" (an act of hubris?).

One could, of course, expand or qualify such heroic specifications in consideration of figures like Gilgamesh or Sargon. It is of special interest, however, to note the specifications of Adapa, also a primal man/sage:

1. son of Ea
2. first of legitimate line of earthly sages
3. called *atra-ḫasīs* (? see n. 16)
4. an "annointed," a *pāšišu* (= *g u d u₄*) priest
5. suffers a water ordeal
6. commits a "sin" (an act of hubris?)
7. ascends to heaven for judgment
8. loses immortality
9. brings ills upon mankind

[The Christian Tradition: We leave it to others²⁸ to note any parallels that might be drawn for the literary tradition attached to Jesus, his parentage, and his role as savior.]

The writer is pleased to have had the opportunity of offering these remarks in honor of her teacher of Sumerian, Professor Sam Kramer. It is hoped that the foregoing brief discussion, even with its many questions left unsolved or incompletely treated, will have argued the case that the identity of Umul may be worth establishing, even though evidence be produced to gainsay his being equated with the Mesopotamian flood hero. And perhaps it will have been of interest to observe the Mesopotamian flood-heroic themes in the broader view of the endurance of mythopoeic tradition in the ancient world.

Šulgi and Gilgameš: Two Brother-Peers (Šulgi 0)

Jacob Klein, Ramat-Gan

It has long been observed that the first two kings of the Ur III Dynasty profess a particularly close relationship to the deified hero, Gilgameš and his divine parents, Ninsun and Lugalbanda. Both Urnammu and Šulgi, in their royal hymns, speak of Ninsun and Lugalbanda as their divine parents, and of Gilgameš as their divine "brother and friend"¹. It has also been pointed out that under the aegis of the court at Ur, a whole cycle of epics, concerning the First Dynasty of Uruk was composed.

The close interest that the kings of Ur took in Gilgameš and his ancestors, must have had more than just religious or spiritual motives. The major considerations were probably political. We know that Uruk, under the leadership of Gilgameš, was known to have challenged, for the first time, the supremacy of the northern dynasty of Kiš². The liberation of Sumer from the Gutian rule and the reestablishment of Sumerian hegemony in Mesopotamia were also achieved under the leadership of Uruk. Thus, the court at Ur had good reasons to aspire for recognition as the legitimate successor to the court at Uruk³, and even more so, if there is truth in the supposition that Urnammu, the founder of the dynasty, actually hailed from Uruk⁴.

While in the royal hymns of Urnammu⁵ we have only sporadic references to Ninsun, the divine mother, and Gilgameš, the divine brother, the unusually rich hymnal repertoire of Šulgi⁶ yields two separate hymns, devoted to these divine patrons. One large hymnal fragment describes in detail, how Ninsun, with the approval of An, adopted Šulgi as her son, and subsequently elevated him to the status of a divine being⁷. The other composition is a long hymn of over 150 lines, devoted in its entirety to the two heroic "brothers", Gilgameš and

²⁸ I.M. Kikawada, "Literary Structure of the Primaeval History," paper presented to American Oriental Society, Chapel Hill, N.C., April, 1972. Cf. his "Two Notes on Eve," JBL 91 (1972), 33-37. A recent book by J.P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Brill, 1968), has not been seen by the present writer.

¹ References had been collected by Falkenstein in ZA 50 (1952), 72-77; cf. further Death of Urnammu 142-143; Hallo, JCS 20 (1966), 136 f. with n. 53-54; CT 44, 16: 40, 49; Šulgi D 41-42; 361-365 with comment; Šulgi X 57; TMHNF 4,11: 4-5, 18-19, 28-29 (Šulgi F); BE 31 4:II 6 lugal-dumu-din-s[úna-ka-ra]; Wilcke, ZA 59 (1969), 70.

² For the problem of the historicity of Gilgameš cf. now Lambert apud Garelli, *Gilg*, pp. 47 ff.; Kramer, *ibid.*, pp. 59 ff.; Sollberger, JCS 16 (1962), 40 ff.

³ Cf. Hallo, JCS 20 (1966), 137.

⁴ Cf. Jacobsen, AS 11, p. 204 n. 35; Falkenstein, ZA 50 (1952), 76.

⁵ For an updated list of the Urnammu hymns see the author's forthcoming *Three Šulgi Hymns*, Chapter 1 n. 16.

⁶ For an updated list of the Šulgi hymns, see *ibid.* n. 65-84.

⁷ Šulgi P (= SLTN 80 = TMHNF 4,10). Cf. J. Klein, Šulgi D, p. 27 n. 1.

Šulgi. It is a preliminary edition of the latter hymn, which the writer wishes to present here, as a token of appreciation to Professor Kramer, his respected and beloved teacher, who introduced him to the study of the Šulgi hymns — a most appropriate tribute indeed, to a savant, who himself devoted numerous studies to these two historical giants.

It is rather symbolic, that the first duplicate of our hymn (i.e. Ni 2477), which is part of the Istanbul collection, was copied by Professor Kramer himself, as SLTN 79. This is a one column, fairly well-preserved tablet, inscribed on both sides, containing the first 62 lines of the hymn. Parts of this text have been subjected to previous studies: ll. 1-28 were treated by Sjöberg, in, *Mondgott*, pp. 108 ff.⁸; ll. 49-62 — by Edzard, in *ZA* 53 (1959), 20 ff. with n. 51-52. The present treatment of the first part of the hymn draws heavily upon these studies.

The second and the largest duplicate of our hymn (UM 29-15-9 + 29-15-158) is part of the University Museum collection. It is a two column tablet, inscribed on both sides, having contained the first 150 or so lines of the composition. Unfortunately, about one third of this tablet is missing, and its obverse is badly defaced⁹.

In addition to these two major duplicates, there are a number of small fragments from Istanbul and Philadelphia, which contribute nothing substantial to the reconstruction and understanding of the composition. Three of these (CBS 10306, Ni 4112 and Ni 4101) may be part of a two column tablet, having perhaps contained the first 130 or so lines of the hymn. Another interesting but unintelligible fragment (CBS 10900) stems from the University Museum. It is part of a two column tablet, annotated with Akkadian glosses. Since it cannot be placed in the reconstructed portion, we may assume, that, originally, the hymn extended to about 250-300 lines¹⁰. A very small fragment from Istanbul (Ni 13227), likewise containing Akkadian glosses, may be part of the same tablet¹¹.

Since the reconstructed text is extremely fragmentary, with its greater part still unintelligible, only very general and tentative suggestions as to its content and structure can be made at present. The prologue of our hymn (ll. 1-24) is a praise, addressed to the central shrine of Ur, the Ekišnugal. It falls into short, one to three line stanzas, each marked by the recurring refrain-like phrase *k i - ú s - s a*, whose precise meaning is elusive. The praise is unique, in that it relates the temple not only to Nanna-Suen, its chief god (cf. ll. 9 ff.), but also to other major gods, such as An (ll. 4-5), Enlil (ll. 6-7) and Enki (l. 8).

The prologue is followed by a broken and obscure passage (ll. 25-48), in which a warm and dramatic meeting between Šulgi and Gilgameš is described. The circumstances of this meeting are not yet clear, but it may be assumed that Šulgi, after performing some cultic preparations (cf. l. 27), either brings the statue of Gilgameš into the temple complex, or enters a chamber, where his statue was previously installed (cf. l. 33)¹². In any case, the poet seems to stress the fact, that the two brothers see each other (cf. ll. 37; 40; 48) and speak to each other (cf. l. 43) man to man, in order to mutually enhance their fame and glory (ll. 44-46).

The remaining portion of the hymn is assumed to contain a dialogue between Šulgi and Gilgameš, in which the two brothers alternate in singing each other's praise. This theory is advanced here with some reservations, for only the refrain, which introduces Šulgi's address four times, as well as an obscure refrain, which is assumed to be the concluding words of Gilgameš, stand out clearly in the text (cf. ll. 49-52; 83-87; 136-141;

⁸ Cf. van Dijk's review in *OLZ* 60 (1965), 22.

⁹ This duplicate, as well as CBS.10900, were identified independently by Å. Sjöberg and M. Civil. The tablet has suffered some further deterioration since I first studied it.

¹⁰ Cf. the preceding note.

¹¹ Cf. Civil's forthcoming Index for a Corpus of Sumerian Literature sub 2.4215.

¹² So already Jacobsen, *BASOR* 102 (1946), 15f.

E, side b 3-8). On the other hand, those turning points in the assumed dialogue, where Šulgi's addresses were supposed to have ended, and Gilgameš's to have been introduced in praise of Šulgi, cannot as yet be clearly discerned (cf. ll. 61-63; 106-107 with comment). The dialogue structure is also obscured by the fact, that the two sections, which presumably contained the addresses of Gilgameš (ll. 62-84 and 107-137), are severely damaged and largely unintelligible.

Among the praises that Šulgi heaps upon Gilgameš, two motives call for special attention. As has been long recognized, Šulgi praises Gilgameš in ll. 53 ff. as the hero, who emerged victorious from a battle with Enmebaragesi of Kiš, a report, which contradicts the information furnished by the epic of Gilgameš and Agga (edited by Professor Kramer in *AJA* 53 [1949], 1ff.)¹³. The relationship between the two traditions had been analyzed by Edzard (cf. *ZA* 53 [1959], 22 f.), who correctly pointed out, that whereas the epic tradition yields an objective and balanced picture of the events, the hymnal tradition seems to be biased, being interested in the unreserved glorification of Gilgameš.

With the identification of more duplicates, it turns out that Šulgi, in his second address, praises Gilgameš for his journey to the Cedar Forest and his vanquishing the monster Huwawa (cf. ll. 91 ff.), an episode, which is the theme of the epic of "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living", edited by Professor Kramer in *JCS* 1 (1947), 3 ff.,^{13b} as well as that of Tablets III-V of the Akkadian Gilgameš Epic. Unfortunately, the passage, in which this episode is mentioned, is severely damaged, and therefore we are not able to determine which tradition our hymn did follow: that of the Sumerian epic, or that of the Akkadian epic. We seem, however, to find some indications, that point to a tradition independent of both of the above sources, according to which Gilgameš acted the generous victor and spared Huwawa's life (cf. comment to ll. 91 ff.).

It is our hope, that this first and imperfect edition will stimulate further study of the text, will facilitate the identification of more fragments, and eventually will lead to a fuller reconstruction and understanding of this interesting Šulgi hymn¹⁴.

¹³ Cf. further Jacobsen, *ZA* 52 (1957), 116 ff. n. 55; Falkenstein, *AfO* 21 (1966), 42 ff.

^{13b} Cf. further van Dijk apud Garelli, *Gilg.*, pp. 69 ff.

¹⁴ I wish to make the following acknowledgments: To Prof. Sjöberg I am grateful for putting at my disposal the texts and fragments from the University Museum, incorporated in this edition; for providing me with excellent photographs of the same; and for permitting me to use his lexical files in the preliminary stages of this study. To Mrs. Muazzez Çiğ, formerly curator of the Tablet Collection in Istanbul, and her assistant Mustafa Eren, I am indebted for their permission to collate and photograph the Istanbul duplicates, during my visit at the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, in the summer 1970. Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the American Philosophical Society, and the Bar-Ilan University Office of Research, for supporting this study with their generous grants, in the years 1970-1973.

Reconstructed Text

A	SLTN 79	obv. + rev. = 1-62
B	UM 29-15-9 + 29-15-158	I = 1-16; II = 34-55, 59-69(?); III = 74-107; IV = 126-142
C	CBS 10306	obv. = 7-15; rev. = ?
D ₁	Ni 4112 (ISET 1 pl. 72)	= 89-98
D ₂	Ni 4101 (ISET 1 pl. 27)	= 100-120
E ₁	CBS 10900	(unplaceable)
E ₂	Ni 13227 (ISET 1 pl. 150)	(unplaceable)

1. u₇ mu-bi-gim me¹-a túm-ma
2. èš-ur^{ki} ud-huš-ki-en-gi-ra mè ki-ús-sa
3. numun i-i suhuš-kalam-ma gi-né h^é-gál ki-ús-sa
4. bára-ma_h-an-na ki-kù ki-sikil¹
5. n^ì-sag-kú¹ an-né ní-te-e₇-te² lál geštin bi-bi-zé-da ki-ús-sa
6. du₆-úr¹ ki mu-tuku-d^{en}-líl-lá² ša-bi me-hal-ha
7. ki-nam-tar-ra¹-a-a-d^{en}-líl-lá bára-gal² ki-ús-sa
8. eridu^{ki} èš-kù-zu-nam-tar-ra me-nun-me-sikil-la ki-ús-sa
9. é-kiš-nu-gál-la¹ t^{ur}-d^{suen}-na
10. áb-zi gu₄-nindá amar-kù-ge a-ne-di ì-du₁₀(?)-ga¹ ki-ús-sa
11. abzu ki-tuš-kù-šul-d^{suen}-na
12. giš^{en}kara-ma_h an-na sag-íl-la u₆-di ki-ús-sa
13. gi₆-par₄ èš nam-hi-li¹-dù-a me-zi-nam-en-na ki-ús-sa
14. en-nun-na mu-gal-zu sikil-la-àm
15. múš-búr-búr-d^{nanna} ki-tuš-du₁₀-ge inim-du₁₀-n^ì-si-sá-e¹ ki-ús-sa
16. i₇-nun-kù a-zal-le-gal-gal-la kun-zu-šè ku₆-mušen ki-ús-sa

- 1: ¹ So A; B seems to have m[u] - or n a[m] - for m e - .
- 4: ¹ So A (collated).
- 5: ¹ So A; B has n è (or n í) n e - s a g - K A x ? (for n ì - s a g - k ú).
² So B; A n í - t e - t e (collated).
- 6: ¹ So A; B d u - ú r.
² So B; A adds here an erasure of a K E₄ .
- 7: ¹ So A; B - r e.
² So A, where - g a l seems to be written over erasure; B is illegible at this point.
- 9: ¹ So A; B omits - l a.
- 10: ¹ A ì - d u₁₀ - - g a or ì - g a r á written over erasure; B ì - d u₁₀(?).
- 13: ¹ So A; B seems to insert - a - .
- 15: ¹ So A; B omits - e .

Translation

1. City, according to(?) its 'name', befits the *me*'s.
2. Shrine (of) Ur, the raging storm of Sumer, a battle firmly founded;
3. It brings forth the seed, consolidates the foundation of the Land, (source of) abundance, firmly founded;
4. Lofty dais of An, a pure place, a holy place,
5. (Provider of) first-fruit offerings (whereby) An refreshes himself, dripping honey (and) wine, firmly founded;
6. Du'ur, the celebrated place of Enlil, its interior (embodies) the allotted *me*'s,
7. The place whose fate father Enlil had decreed, the Great Dais, firmly founded;
8. Eridu, a shrine expert in decreeing the fates, (possessing) the princely *me*'s, the true *me*'s, firmly founded;
9. Ekišnugal, the stall of Suen,
10. (Wherein) the fecund cow, the breed-bull (and) the pure calf are prancing, (producing) fine(?) oil, firmly founded;
11. Abzu, the holy residence of the valiant Suen,
12. The lofty *enkara*-weapon, which raises its head towards heaven, a marvel, firmly founded;
13. *gipar*, a shrine built in exuberance, (possessing) the true *me*'s of *en*-ship, firmly founded;
14. *en*-priestess(?) . . . , your great name is pure,
15. of Nanna, the pleasant abode, (that of) the good word and justice, firmly founded;
16. Pure "Princely-River" (of) great fresh water (streams), your reservoir (teams with) fish and birds, firmly founded;

17. bàd-nigín-na uru-ki-gá-ra-bi udúg-giš-tukul ki-ús-sa
18. unken-gar-ra un-ša-ra-ba kuššur_x(B)ùr ki-ús-sa
19. ki-en-gi-ir-a ki-tuš-gá-ra-bi ní-gal ki-ús-sa
20. kur-kur áb-zi-gim lu-lu-a-bi
21. áb-dugud-da u₈ sila₄-da šár-ra amaš-a ki-ús-sa
22. erín-bi mè-šê zi-ga-bi
23. a-è-a gaba-ri nu-tuku
24. aba_x(AB)-h_u-lu_h-h_a NI.SUM-šúr ki-ús-sa
25. [nun]-bi ur-sag^den-líl-lá pirig ne-na zi-ga
26. [pirig-bàn]-da(!) kur-ra guru₅-uš búr-búr
27. [x x] am(!)-gal šu(!) im-gíd-gíd-i
28. [x] x kú-a SÍG(?).LAM(?)-bi sù-sù
29. [sipa^dšul-g]i dumu^dnin-súna-ka
30. [x x x ù]R(?)-ra h₆-du₇-bi
31. [x x x r]a(?)-na inim-hul-ne-ne-a
32. [ur-sag^dGÍŠ.BÍ]L.GA.MES {AN} en-kul-ab^{ki}-a-ke₄
33. [x x-n]é(?) im-ma-ni-in-ku₄
34. [x x ku]r-kur-ra-ta inim mu-na-ta-an-è
35. [x x x] x é-gal-la-na-kam
36. x [x] du₁₁(?)-ga(?)¹ kur-kur-ra-kam
37. ki(?)^{-x-gi(?)} URU x gi-hal-hal-la-gim igi-ni mu-na-an-gál
38. u₄(?)-bi(?) nam-kašam-ma ba-tar-ra-ta
39. nuṃun-ni-zi-gál-la¹ ba-i-a-ta
40. lu_{gal}-e(?) lú(?)^{-tab(?)}-ba-ni-ir dalla mu-na-an-è-a
41. u₄-ba(?)¹ d₁gilgameš(GÍŠ.BÍL.GA.MES) en-kul-ab^{ki}-a-ke₄
42. šul-gi sipa-zi-ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄
43. g₁ri-babbar(UD.UD)-ra-na inim mu-ti-ni-ib-è
44. u₄-ul-lí-aš a-ar-bi aka-dè
45. u₄-sud-rá-aš¹ šu²-a- bal-e-dè
46. mu-sud-rá-aš nu ha-lam-e-dè
47. a-ne-ne nam-ur-sag-kala-ga-ba
48. téš-bi igi-zi-dè-eš im-e-ne
49. šul-gi sipa-zi-ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄

36. ¹ So probably B; Traces in A do not point to g a.

39: ¹ So A; B omits - l a.

41: ¹ So probably B; A perhaps u₄ - b [i - a].

45: ¹ So B; in A - a š is written over erasure.

² So B; A has TÚG (for š u)

17. Its city, built within the encircling walls, is an *udug*-mace, a weapon, firmly founded.
18. The multitudes in its convened assembly are a shield, firmly founded;
19. Its well established settlements in Sumer (command) great terror, firmly founded;
20. Its foreign lands, as numerous as fecund cows,
21. (Provide) plenty of cows, miriads of ewes with (their) lambs in the enclosure, firmly founded;
22. Its army, rising to the battle,
23. Is (like) an onrush of water, irresistible,
24. A fearful sea, a raging flood(?), firmly founded;
25. Its [prince], the hero of Enlil, a lion, rising (to attack) in its strength,
26. [A furious lion(?)] gnashing its teeth at the foreign land,
27. [.] he inspects(?) a mature bull(?),
28. [.] he eats,
29. [Shepherd Šulgi], the son of Ninsun,
30. The ornament of . . . [.],
31. [.] in their evil word,
32. To(?) the [hero] Gilgameš, the lord of Kulaba,
33. In [his(?) chamber(?)] he entered.
34. [.] from the lands he brought the word out for him,
35. [.] of his palace,
36. of the lands,
37. he looked upon him like (upon) the *hal-hal*-reeds.
38. On the day(?), when the fate of the Land was determined,
39. When the seed of all living beings was sent forth,
40. When(?) the king appeared radiantly to his comrade(?),
41. On that day(?), Gilgameš, the lord of Kulaba,
42. With Šulgi, the righteous shepherd of Sumer,
43. Conversed at his "shining feet".
44. That their praise be sung unto eternity,
45. That it be handed down for distant days,
46. That it be not forgotten for remote years,
47. They in their mighty heroism
48. Look at each other favourably;
49. Šulgi, the righteous shepherd of Sumer,

50. šeš-ku-li-ni en-^dgilgameš
 51. nam-kala-ga-na¹ mu-ni-in-i-i
 52. nam-ur-sag-gá-na¹ mu-ni-in-pàd-pàd-dè
 53. kala-ga mē-a urú¹ gul-gul
 54. šen-šen-na sag-giš-ra-ra-bi
 55. zé-na bàd-kù-bi á-sìg-ge kin-gá
 56. ę-[ki]š^{ki(!)}-šè giš-tukul-zu ba-ta-a-è
 57. ur-[s]ag-imin-bi adda_x(LÚxBAD)-a mi-ni-dab_s
 58. [lugal-kiš]iki en-me-bára-ge₄-e-si
 59. [muš-gim sa]g-gá-na gèri mu-na-ni-ús
 60. nam-lugal kiš^{ki(?)}-ta(?) unug^(?)ki-šè {gú(!)} àm-mi-túm
 61. ku^{ki}-a_x x x-x ù-tu-da pa im-ma-ni-è
 62. mu^(?)-x-gi UL inim-ma MÙŠ-bi
 63. ^dgilgameš en^(?)-[kul-ab^{ki}-a-ke₄(?)]
 64. a-nam^(?)-en-na meš-zi^(?)-[]
 65. x-x-x ki-kù-d[]
 66. x-x-gal^(?)-gal DI^(?) [] á^(?)-bàd-bad^(?) x []
 67. gišimmar^(?) x á^(?) x x []
 68. ki^(?)-bala^(?) KIN^(?) x x []
 69. [x] x x []

(probably 4 lines are missing)

74. [x x x] x x- gim lul^(?)-c^(?)-[eš^(?)]]
 75. [kur-nu-še-ga^(?) g]iri-saga_x(KIN) ba-ni-d[u₁₁]
 76. [x] x DU₆^(?) ki-gar giš-rab-ma^(?)-gim m[u-]
 77. [x]-bi buru_s(NAM)-zi-ga-gim mu-un-u[r₄-ur₄]
 78. [d^{en}-l]í-ra èš-e-nibru^{ki}-a mu(!)-na-da-a[n-ku₄-ku₄(?)]
 79. [x] x x-TE ba-ra-šub-bu-uš-a-bi
 80. [x x] a-gig-šè in-ga-e-ne
 81. [x URU]DU^(?).ALAM ur^{ki}-ma til¹-la
 82. [x] x dingir-imin-na zà-gub-gub-bu giš-šilig-ga sù-sù
 83. [u]r-sag-ZÉ-gá-ra in-gú-mu-sum-m[u-e]
 84. lu[gal]-ki-en-gi-ra GÌRI mu-un-gubu-[me-èn]

51: ¹ So A; B has n a m - u r - s a g - g á - n a (the rest of the line in B is broken).

52: ¹ So A; B has n a m - k a l a - g a - n a (the rest of the line in B is broken).

53: ¹ So clearly A (collated)

81: ¹ So B, where til- is written over erasure of a TI.

50. Praises his brother and friend, the lord Gilgameš,
 51. In his might,
 52. Addresses him in his heroism:
 53. "Mighty one in the battle, a devastating flood
 54. Who smites (the enemy) in the heat of the combat,
 55. A catapult(?) of(?) the holy wall, skilled in (hurling) the slingstone,
 56. Against the 'house' of Kiš you brought forth your weapon,
 57. Its seven heroes you captured dead,
 58. [The king of] Kiš, Enmebaragesi –
 59. You trampled on his head, [as (if he were) a snake],
 60. You brought over the kingship from(?) Kiš(?) to Uruk(?)" –
 61. (Thus) he(?) made preeminent him, who was born by(?) in Kulaba.

(lines 62-69, presumably having contained the first part of the address of Gilgameš, are largely unintelligible; there follows a break of approximately 4 lines)

74. "Like, falsely(?) [.; . . .]
 75. [The disobedient foreign land(?)] you trampled down,
 76. like a mighty clamp [you held them tight],
 77. You [collected] its [. . . .] like a swarm of locust,
 78. To Enlil, in the Shrine (of) Nippur, you [entered] with them;
 79. Even those [. . . .], who escaped from the,
 80. [.] are bitterly wailing.
 81. [. a copp]er(?) statue, fashioned(?) in Ur,
 82. [.] the Seven Gods, stationed at (its?) side, equipped with šilig-axes.
 83. The fearful(?) hero
 84. King of Sumer, verily you stand firm(?) in (your) strength(?)"

85. [dšul]-gi sipa-ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄ (!)
 86. [šeš]-₁ku-li-ni₁ en-dgilgameš
 87. [nam-kala-ga-na mu]-₁ni₁-in-i-i
 88. [nam-ur-sag-gá-na mu-ni-i]n-pàd-pàd-[dè]
 89. x x []
 90. di-ku₅-rá-a-za(?) []
 91. a-ba¹ za-gim kaskal-ku[r-ra-ke₄ si im-sá(?)] ħar-ra-an-x-[x im-ma-gin(?)]
 92. kala-ga erin-k[ur-ra mu-un-sìg(?)]
 93. tir-₁ma₁-[a(?) šà-ba(?) mu-ni-ib-ku₄(?)]
 94. ġi^šmá¹-x-[]
 95. ħu-wa-w[a]
 96. ní-imu-[na(?)-ni(?)]
 97. KA¹-TUR-TUR x x x x []
 98. ki-tuš¹ ki-gar-ra-ni-ta i[m-ma-ra(?)-an-è(?)]
 99. den-líl-ra èš-e-nib[ru^{ki}-a(?) mu-na-da-an-ku₄-ku₄(?)] ZÉ mu-na-ni-[in-túm(?)]
 100. ur-sag-dí₁b-ba-zu ù-x-x-x-x
 101. ama-lú-tu-ra dumu úr-ra mu-na-ni-DU
 102. ú-dug₄-ka-ba-ba-zu kur-kur-ra ma-ra-an-ti
 103. dgilgameš nir-gál-u[n]u^{ki}-ga
 104. u₄-nam-tág-ga nam-gú-bi-e(?) x-ru(?)
 105. ki-bala-ħul¹-gig-ga sag-x-gim x x
 106. nam-maħ-gal-gal-zu pa bí-è á-bad ħa-mu-[ù-túmu(?)]
 107. en^dgilgameš x []¹
 108. [dšul-g]i sipa-zi-ki-en-[gi-ra-ke₄]
 109. [x]-šà-ga [x x] šu(?)-[]
 110. [x] ki(?)-nun(?)-[]
 111. x-šà(?) a(?)-[x] lú(?) m[u(?)-]
 112. [sag(?)-g]i₆(?)-ga [x-m]u-ù-[]
 113. x-gal-gal-la KA NUN(?) []
 114. [uru(?)-m]a(?)-da ki-nè-gá-ra-bi šà(?)-[]
 115. [zar-d]u₈-a šc-[zar-sal-la-bi(?)]
 116. [x ħ]A(?)-dugud-gim bí-[]

91: ¹ So B; D₁ seems to add -a.

94: ¹ So B; D₁ omits determinative.

97: ¹ So D₁; B seems to have KA written over erasure.

98: ¹ So D₁; B has BA (for TUŠ).

105: ¹ So D₂; B has ħ ù l (= KIB) for ħ u l.

107: ¹ B inserts here (end of col. III) a colophon, indicating the number of lines (36) in this column.

85. Šulgi, the righteous shepherd of Sumer,
 86. Praises his [brother] and friend, the lord Gilgameš,
 87. [in his might],
 88. Addresses [him in his heroism]:
 89. " [.],
 90. In the judgment that you pronounce [.]
 91. Who else, like you, [has proceeded(?) on the] mountain(?) -road, [has traveled(?)] on the way to . . . ?
 92. Mighty one, [you felled(?)] the mountain(?) -cedars,
 93. [You penetrated(?) into(?)] the mighty forest,
 94. The ship . . . [.],
 95. Ĥuwawa [. you captured(?)]
 96. [His(?)] seven 'splendors' [.],
 97. The small [.],
 98. From his fortified abode [you removed(?) him]
 99. To Enlil, [in] the Shrine (of) Nippur [you entered(?) with him(?)], as a . . . [you presented(?) him(?)]
 100. Having your captured hero,
 101. (To?) the mother of the 'sick man', you brought(?) the son (on? her?) lap.
 102. Your *udug*-mace, whose 'mouth' is wide open, attacks for you the foreign lands.
 103. Gilgameš, the noble one of Uruk,
 104. The violent storm, at(?) whose oppression ,
 105. The inimical rebellious land, like ,
 106. You revealed your majesty and greatness, may you [spread(?) over(?) me(?)] (your) protecting arms!"
 107. The lord Gilgameš [.],
 108. [Šulgi], the righteous shepherd [of Su]mer:

(lines 109-120 and 126-138, presumably having contained the second address of Gilgameš, are largely unintelligible)

117. [x K]A an-gim m[i(?) -]
118. [x b]i(?) -e x-maḥ(!)-gim šu []
119. [x] x-maḥ-bi é-šè mu-₁na-x₁-[]
120. [x] x [] x []

(Approximately 5 lines missing)

126. [x x x x x] x [x x x] x
127. [x x x x] x ₁ki(?)₁-tuš(?) -n[am(?) -x] x
128. [x x x x x] mu-un-KA(?) -e
129. [x x x x x] mu-un-šud_x-šud_x(KAxŠU-KAxŠU)
130. [x x x x] x nam-ul-la-me
131. [x x x x] x-gal-gal-la-kam
132. [x x x x] ba-ta-a-è
133. [x šir(?) -re(?) -e]š im-e-ne
134. š[ul(?) -x-x-x]-dingir-a-nuna-ke₄-ne
135. ú-[a(?) sun_x-sun_x(?)]-na kiri_x(KA)-š_u-gál-la-ni
136. ur-s[ag(?) ZÉ(?) -g]á(?) -ra in-ga-mu-sum-mu-e
137. [lugal-ki-en-g]i-ra GÌRI mu-un-gubu-me-èn
138. ^dšul-[gi si]pa-zi-ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄
139. šeš-k[u-l]i-ni en-^dgilgameš
140. nam-kala-ga-na mu-ni-in-i-i
141. nam-ur-sag-gá-na mu-ni-in-pàd-pàd
142. ^dištaran di-ku₅ kalam-ma til-la

(The end of the hymn cannot be reconstructed)

CBS 10306(C) rev.

1. x [] x [] / 'DI(?) -ma(?)¹-ka x []
2. ibila (DUMU.NITA)-kala-ga-nam(?) -[lugal(?) -la(?)] / (illegible gloss)
3. ù-su-tuku urú á(?) -x[]
4. dūr-d^{EN}.ZU-[na(?)]
5. su₆-za-gìn-lá gab[a(?) -u₆(?) -di(?)] / nam-gú(?) -[]
6. zà-mí-bi du₁₀(?) -[] / šir-b[i(?)]
7. mu-bi x [] / še(?) -[]
8. dumu(?) -[]

136. "The fearful(?) hero ,
137. [King of Sumer], verily you stand firm(?) in (your) strength(?)!"
138. Šulgi, the righteous shepherd of Sumer,
139. Praises his brother and friend, the lord Gilgameš,
140. In his might,
141. Addresses him in his heroism:
142. "Ištaran, the judge, who gives life to the Land , . ."

(The reconstructed text breaks off at this point)

CBS 10900(=E₁)

side a

1. [] x x []
2. [á] sù-sù-^fdè¹ (gloss: *i-šá-di-hu*)
3. [] DU-mu-un
4. [] -DU(?) -èn
5. [] h]é(?) -éb-du₁₁ (gloss: *du*)
6. [] h]é(?) -éb-du₇ (gloss: *du*)
7. [ur-sag(?) -kala(?)] -ga-me-éš
8. [] -kalam-ma-me-éš (gloss: *šū-nu*)
9. [] -peš-a-me-éš (gloss: *kab-rà*)
10. [] x x x-me-éš (illegible gloss)
11. [] BAD-x-[me]-éš
12. [] -hul(?) -[la(?)] -me-éš
13. [] ^de]n(?) -líl(?) -lá(?) -me-éš
14. [] -x-x-me(?) -éš(?)

side b

1. d[i(?)]
2. PIRIG x []
3. ur-sa[g ZÉ-gá-ra(?) in-ga-mu-sum-mu-e(?)] (illegible gloss)
4. lugal-ki-en-g[i-ra GÌRI mu-un-gubu-me-èn(?)]
5. šul-gi ^fsipa¹ -[zi-ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄]
6. šeš-ku-li-ni [en-^dgilgameš]
7. nam-kala-ga-na [mu-ni-in-i-i]
8. nam-ur₁sag₁-gá-na [mu-ni-in-pàd-pàd-dè(?)]
9. d₁GIŠ.BÍL₁.GA.MES anše-ni-is-ku(?) -[]
10. A₁N di(?) -ku₅(?) x [] (gloss: *x [x] x-šū-na*)
11. x-x-zu-a x []
12. DUB-lá-zu-ù x []
13. am-du₇-du₇-gim(?) []
14. x []

Ni 13227(=E₂)

1. [muš(?) -š]à-tùr-gim ki-bala-šè ku₄(?) -[]
[a-na(?)] ma-at nu-ku-ur-tim a-na []
2. [šul]-gi dumu-^dnin-súna-ka ^den(?) -[k]i(?) d[]
x [] DUMU za-AN []
3. [] x x x-bi BAD ki(?) -x-[]

Commentary

1-2: The incipit of our hymn reads in the OB catalogue TRS 28, 60' (cf. Kramer, BASOR 88 [1942], 18 with n. 41) as follows: u[r] u m u - b i - g i m. For the parallelism u r u || è š see Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 110.

The precise meaning of k i - ú s - s a, which marks the end of each stanza in the prologue (ll. 1-24), is elusive. The present translation follows in general that of Sjöberg, who connects it with Akk. *šuršudu*, and takes it to be a passive participle, consistently qualifying the "Shrine (of) Ur" in l. 2 (cf. Mondgott, p. 110). Note that k i - ú s - s a could alternatively be analysed as an active participle¹⁵, expressing the idea, that the "Shrine (of) Ur" establishes battle, abundance etc.

3: Sjöberg (Mondgott, p. 108) reads here: h é - g a l a₇ k i - ú s - s a "founded in abundance" (cf. also his translation of ll. 2, 8, 13 to our's). The above reading seems to be supported by CT 44, 16: 2 [u]r^ki u š - ú - z u h é - g a l a₇ k i - ú s - s a (!) "Ur, your foundations were laid in abundance". However, striving for consistency prevents us to follow the above interpretation.

5: The first complex is read by Sjöberg n i n d a - s a g - k ú "choice bread to eat" (cf. Mondgott, p. 111). Our different reading is based on the following evidence: a) n i s a g (LAK 158 and var.) "firstling/fruit" is written phonetically n ì - s a g in SRT 1 IV 38 (cf. JCS 19 [1965], 21; SKIZ, p. 133: 149); b) in Gudea, Cyl. A XXVIII 10-11, the "first fruits" of the Eninnu are described as "dripping wine" (n e - s a g - b i k u r g e š t i n b i - b i - z é; cf. n e - s a g in text B of our hymn); c) the complex n i s a g - k ú seems to be attested in connection with the Shrine of Ur, in TCS 3, p. 23: 104 u r^ki n i s a g_x(ŠIDxA) - k ú - k u r - k u r - r a. Cf. also ibid. 172:80 ^dAŠ.ŠIR(-g₄) u r - s a g n i s a g_x(ŠIDxA) m u - u n - k ú - e "AŠ.ŠIR, the hero, who consumes firstlings"¹⁶ Note further n i s a g (LAK 159) - k ú - ^dn a n n a, in OB sacrificial lists (cf. UET 5 738: 10, 749: 18, 779: 17, 783: 25).

12: In spite of the expected é - e n k a r a (so Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 108), text A has clearly g i š e n k a r a, which is unique. It is not impossible that the scribe wrote erroneously g i š e n k a r a (ENx GÁNA-tenû)¹⁷ for g i š i b i r (U.ENxGÁNA-tenû).

¹⁵ For active participles with -a cf. Falkenstein, AnOr 28, pp. 135 f.

¹⁶ For the reading of ŠIDxA as n i s a g_x see van Dijk, JCS 19 (1965), 20 ff.; Heimpel, Tierbilder, p. 181. Sjöberg (TCS 3, p. 74) and Gragg (ibid., p. 184) read ŠIDxA and its var. as m e z e m / p i s à n (a food vessel of some sort).

¹⁷ The evidence for reading ENxGÁN-tenû as e n k a r a, and identifying it with the a n / e n - k á r a of the Gudea cylinders, is very circumstantial (cf. MSL 2, p. 64:417b; Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 113; Falkenstein, ZA 56 [1964], 93). It is excluded by Wilcke (cf. Lugabanda, p. 219), who suggests á - a n - k a r a as the original form of the term, attested in Gudea.

13: For the well attested sequence *gi₆-pàr-èš* (and vice versa) cf. TCS 3, pp. 23: 109, 26: 161; Second Ur Lament 154 (= UMBS 10/2, 4 rev. 11 and dupls.). *nam-ḫi-li* is attested in UET 6/1, 100; obv. 6: *nam-ḫi-li-e si* (referring to Inanna).

15: *múš* in this line is connected by Sjöberg (Mondgott, p. 114) with the still obscure *múš/mùš* in the refrain of the Sumerian Temple Hymns (cf. TCS 3, pp. 55 f.; cf. also Heimpel, JAOS 92 [1972], 286 f.; Wilcke, ZA 62 [1972], 36 with n. 3). Note, however, that the complex *múš-búr-búr* is attested once, in a different context. In SRT 5: 13-15, Inanna says:

<i>sag-mu ba-sùḫ si-bí-sá</i>	"My hair (lit. head) was disheveled, I set it straight,
<i>múš-mu ba-búr-búr mu-dub-dub</i>	My <i>múš</i> was loosened, I piled it up,
<i>gú-gú-bar-ra-ka mu-ni-in-šub</i>	I let it fall on the side of (my) nape".

Cf. further SKIZ, p. 130: 45 *sag-ur-sag-e-ne múš mu-na-an-dub-bu-uš* "the male-prostitutes pile up (their) *múš* for her (i.e. for Inanna)". *múš* in the above context, seems to refer to part of the human hair(do)¹⁸.

17-19: The tentative translation of these lines, as well as lines 20, 23, 25, is based on the assumption, that the recurring 3d p. impersonal suffix *-bi* refers back to the "Shrine (of) Ur", mentioned in l. 2 above. However, the possibility that we rather have here anticipatory genitives ("of the enclosing wall — its well established city" etc.), cannot be excluded. For the frequent association of the shield (*k u š/g/š u r_x ù r*)¹⁹ with the assembly see now C. Wilcke, Lugalbanda, p. 83 with n. 344.

20-21: Although we expect **áb-ba-mar-da* (cf. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 108), collation indicates a clear *áb-dugud-da* (cf. van Dijk, OLZ 60 [1965], 32). Cf. *tùr-dugud* in UET 6/2, 128: 40; cf. also Ni 4572 (unpublished) *na-gada sipa-u₈-sila₄-dugud-da-zu*.

22: Collation confirms ERÍN in the beginning of the line.

24: The obscure NISUM²⁰, which we translated, on the basis of the context, "flood", seems to be attested in Šulgi C 75: NISUM *un-gi-né é-ki-bala tùm-tùm á-bi-šè in-ga-zu* (obscure).

25-27: The restored *nun-bi* is assumed to refer to Šulgi, whose name is introduced in l. 29, although in the Temple Hymns, it usually refers to the temple's main god (cf. TCS 3 17: 12 etc.). If our reading of l. 27 is justified, it may refer to the inspection of the entrails of a wild bull. Cf. Šulgi B 132 and 142-147, where Šulgi himself boasts of having practiced extispicy, among other forms of divination. Although the *bārū* is known to have used only sheep or goats in extispicy (cf. Falkenstein, CRRA 14 [1966], 46), the Šulgi hymns mention elsewhere "a mature mountain-bull", among other sacrificial animals (cf. Šulgi X 5, 77).

29-33: Šulgi probably enters to Gilgameš, or causes him to enter into a chapel, assigned to him in the temple complex of Ur (cf. n. 12 above). Note, however, that the locative suffix *-e*, after the name and title of Gilgameš in l. 32, raises syntactical difficulties for both of the above suppositions.

34-37: The somewhat obscure *inim-è* (l. 34) refers elsewhere to ominous words, obtained by divination. Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A XX 7-8 *gù-dé-a sag-šè-ná mu-ná inim mu-na-ta-è* "Gudea lay down (beside) a 'dream interpreter'²¹, a word came out for him by this (man)". Cf. also Enmerkar and the

¹⁸ Römer (SKIZ, p. 158) translates it by "ornament"; Kramer (The Sacred Marriage Rite, p. 97) — "lock"; Heimpel, (JAOS 92 [1972], 287) — "halo".

¹⁹ For an attempt to explain the variant spellings of this noun, see now Civil, JNES 32 (1973), 60.

²⁰ Could it be *ì-sì* for *i-zì*? For *i-zì-ḫu-lu ḫ-ḫa* "fearful flood" see now Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 106 f.

²¹ For *lú₈ a g-šè-ná*, see Falkenstein, CRRA 14 (1966), 55 f.

Lord of Aratta 240 *gaba-ri in-pàd inim im-ta-an-è* "he found an answer, he brought out the word".

For the simile in l. 37, cf. Nanše Hymn 172 (MS Heimpel) *šà-kalam-ma gi-ḫal-ḫal-la-gim igi mi-ni-in-gál* "(Nanše) looked into the heart of the Land like (into) *ḫalḫal*-reeds"; EWO 16 [*šà-kalam-ma gi-ḫal-ḫal-la-gim igi-zu im-ši-gál*].

Line 35 recalls the "palace" of Gilgameš in the Netherworld, mentioned in the Death of Urnammu 94-95.

38-43: We seem to have here at least two temporal "when" clauses (ll. 38-39; perhaps also l. 40), subordinated to the main clause in ll. 41-43. These temporal clauses, marked by the ablative suffix, seem to modify the formula *u₄-bi . . . u₄-ba* "On the day when . . . , on that day", which is frequently used in cosmogonic introductions of myths and epics (cf. van Dijk, Acta Or 28 [1964], 33ff.; Gragg, JNES 32 [1973], 129 ff.).

The reading *numun-nì-zì-gál-la* (cf. the Akk. *zēr šiknāt napištim*) is supported by the following parallel: TRS 15: rev. III 12 = STVC 66: II 14-15 (Nippur Lament) *u₄ numun-i-i (nì)-zì-gál ù-tu e-ne íb-ta-an-è-dè* (var. *gar-ra*) "he (i.e. Enlil) generates the light, which brings forth the seed (and) creates all living being".

To the probable *lú-ta-b-ba*, in l. 40, note that in Šulgi D 364, Gilgameš is related to Šulgi by the term *sag-ta-b-ba-ni-im* "his comrade".

The closest parallel to l. 43 is apparently SEM 19:I 31-32 || II 26-27 (cf. Falkenstein, CRRA 14 [1966], 59) *e-ne ðinanna-da gi₆-a ma-mú-d[a] i[g i(?)]-du₈ gá-e ðinanna-da gùri babbar-ra-na inim mu-da-bal-e* "[May] he (i.e. Enmerkar) see a dream with Inanna at night, (whereas) I (i.e. Ensuhkešdanna) will converse²² with Inanna at her 'shining feet'".

45: For *šu-a bal* in similar context, cf. Šulgi B 5-6 *gal-an-zu nì-sag-bi-šè-è-a-na mu-da-rí-bi-im šà-bal-bal-a-egir-u₄-da-ka šu-a bal-e-dè* "that the wise one — the everlasting name of his preeminence, unto the offspring of future days might hand down"; Šulgi E 200-202 (= TRS 14:V 11-13 and dupls.) *mu-mu a/n-zà-šè gá-gá-dè ár-da-rí nam-gú-KA-mu u₄-sud-rá-aš šu-a bal-e-dè* "that my name be established to the end of the heavens, that my everlasting praise (and) my . . . be handed down"²³.

55: Edzard ingeniously recognized that ll. 55-56 refer to the besieging of Uruk by the army of Kiš, and the resistance of the Urukians under the leadership of Gilgameš (cf. ZA 53 [1959], 23). Accordingly, he translates l. 55 as follows: "(he whose) holy wall of his ZÉ was haunted by the Asakku-demon" (cf. ibid. 21 n. 52). Since the above translation would require the verb *kin-kin* (= *saḫru, šite' ū*), rather than *kin-gá*, it seems more likely that *á-sìg-ge kin-gá* is to be translated "who knows (how to handle) the sling(-stone)". For *á-sìg(-ge)*, probably borrowed into Akkadian in the form of *assukku*, see now Sjöberg, JCS 21 (1967), 275; Civil, apud CAD A/2, p. 342 sub *assukku*. Cf. further UET 6/2, 141:II 5 = UM 29-16-238 + 29-16-247 obv. 14 *íb-ba-(ab-)bi á-sìg uru-gul-la nì bád-šè mu-un-lá* "its hips are a sling, which destroys a city, an instrument, stretched against the walls".

²² *inim-bal* "to converse", in the Ensuhkešdanna passage, is according to Å. Sjöberg (by oral communication), an euphemism for sexual intercourse, similarly to the verb *šà-kúš-ù* in sacred marriage context (cf. SKIZ, p. 174). In the present context, it could indicate intimate discourse.

²³ *šu-a bal* is to be separated from *šu-bal(-aka)* "to change". The irregular *šu-a bal-e-dè* "in change of (his action)" in Curse of Agade 100 (cf. Falkenstein, ZA 57 [1965], 93), has the variant *šu-bal-e* in 6N-T76 obv. 1 (unpublished duplicate).

z é - n a in the beginning of our line, may refer to a ballistic device, used by the defenders in battering the enemy from the walls, or else a siege instrument, against which the slingstones would be hurled. Cf. *gišzi-na* (var. z é - n a) = *kalbānātu* (Salonen, Waffan, p. 32; AHW, p. 424; CAD K, p. 67). The same term seems to be attested in STVC 35:rev. 33 (cf. Falkenstein, Götterlieder, pp. 107ff.) z é - n a - m a ḫ [a]š a - n i u r - s a g - m e - e n. The function of - b i in b à d - k ù - b i is unclear.

57: The "capturing" of "dead" heroes, ascribed here to Gilgameš, is rather strange. Hence, the possibility, that a d d a_x(LÚxBAD)- a d a b₅ is to be understood figuratively ("to seize in the clash" or the like), or to be regarded as a scribal error for ḫ e ṣ(LÚxGÁN-*tenū*)- d a b₅ "to capture" (cf. Edzard, ZA 53 [1959], 22), is worth to be considered. Cf. u r - s a g - d í b - b a in l. 100 below, and u r - s a g / l u g a l - d i b - d i b - b a - m u (the heroes/kings, whom I captured) in Angim (KAR 18: 10 ff.; Reiner, RA 51 [1957], 109). Landsberger, in WZKM 57 (1961), 11 ff., points out that contrary to the terminology used in the Angim myth, the trophies of mythological monsters, set up by Gudea in the Eninnu (cf. Cyl. A XXVI 15), as well as the monsters harnessed to Ninurta's chariot (Lugale 128), are called u r - s a g u g₅ - g a "dead (or killed) heroes".

To the seven heroes of Kiš cf. the seven heroes of Kulaba in Lugalbanda I 57-69 (cf. Wilcke, Lugalbanda, pp. 49 f.), and the seven monstrous heroes in GLL 36-45. Cf. also ll. 82 and 96 below.

60: The highly tentative restoration of this line is based on the following readings (text A collated):

A: [] x ŠEŠ(?) u n u g(?)^k i. ṣ è GÚ à m - m i - t ú m
B: n a m - l u g a l k i ṣ i(?)^k i(?) - t a(?) x^k i[]

Ignoring the doubtful ŠEŠ, and deleting GÚ, which seems to be an erasure, we end up with a reference to a decisive victory of Gilgameš over Kiš, and his assumption of the prestigious title "King of Kiš" (for this title cf. Hallo, AOS 43, pp. 21 ff.; Edzard, ZA 53 [1959], 10 ff.). Such a report would be in line with the overall biased attitude of the hymnal tradition.

61-63: It is assumed that Šulgi's first monologue ends in l. 61, and that Gilgameš, who is introduced in l. 63, delivers his first address in the passage that follows.

64: For m e s - z i cf. Gudea, Cyl. B XXIII 22 m e s - z i k i - l a g a ṣ a^k i - [- t a] è - a "the trustworthy man, who hails from Lagaš" (Gudea). Note, however, that m e s - z i, referring to Šulgi, in Šulgi D 33, means "a fertile mes-tree".

75: For g ò r i - s a g a_x(KIN)- d u₁₁ and variants see now Sjöberg, Or 39 (1970), 89 f.; Cooper, RA 66 (1972), 81 ff. The reading of KIN as s a g a_x/s i g a_x is confirmed now by Šulgi X 88 b á r a - b á r a - g e g ò r i - s a - g a ì - m i - d [u₁₁] "you trampled upon all (foreign) rulers". The tentative restoration of this line is based on the following parallel: CBS 14074:rev. 21 (dupl. of SRT 12: 61; see Sjöberg, ZA 63 [1973] p. 5:61 k u r - n u - ṣ e - g a - n i g ò r i - s a g a_x ù - b í - d u₁₁ ḡ i ṣ n a g a_x(GAZ)- b i ḫ é - m e - e n (cf. also JCS 4 [1950], 139:rev. IV 8; SLTN 89:III 7).

77-78: For the simile in l. 77 see now Heimpel, Tierbilder sub 78.2-3; 5-6; 9; 13; Šulgi D 188. The objects collected and brought to Enlil could be the people of the rebellious land, but more likely its treasures²⁴. For the old custom of dedicating gifts, and especially war booty, to the Ekur cf. Falkenstein, ZA 56 (1964), 67; Šulgi D 294-297 with comment. Cf. however, l. 99 below.

79-80: These lines probably refer to the people of the rebellious land (l. 75), who survived the previously mentioned massacre. For a thematic parallel cf. Šulgi D 217.

²⁴ For the frequent association of wordly possessions (n ì - g a / m u - u n - g a) with the "flying locust" cf. Heimpel, Tierbilder sub 78.11-14.

To the verb in l. 79 cf. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 45: 29 d u₁₀ - b a d - b a d - d u - z u a - b a b a - r a - ṣ u b - b u "who has ever escaped your swift running?"; Kramer, AS 12, p. 68: 421 s a g - g i ḡ b a - r a - a n - ṣ u b - b u - u ṣ - a - z u "your blackheads, whom you had abandoned" (cf. further *ibid.*, p. 46: 267; B. Alster, Dumuzi's Dream, p. 58: 57).

a - g i g - ṣ è d u₁₁ / e = m a ṣ i ṣ n ā q u (cf. AHW, p. 744 sub *nāqum*; ZA 45, (1939), 13; Kramer, Two Elegies, 55:119; CAD sub *aḫulap*).

81-82: Traces in the beginning of l. 81 point to URJUDU.ALAN rather than to SJA₇.ALAN (for the latter cf. now TCS 3, pp. 68 ff.). We seem to have here a reference to a statue fashioned (t i l - l a = *gamāru*) or "living" (t i l - l a = *wašābu*) in Ur, flanked by "seven gods" (l. 82), whose nature is unknown. Cf. the seven demons (i m i n - n a - b i, Akk. *sebettu*), discussed by Edzard in Wörterbuch der Mythologie, p. 124, and the "seven [gods] of the netherworld" in the Death of Urnammu 76 ff. (cf. Kramer's comment in JCS 21 [1969], 121).

For the *šilig*-axe cf. ŠL 44, 3; Šulgi C 12; Inanna-Ebiḫ 67 (= UET 6/1, 14: 18 and dupls.).

83-84: These lines seem to be the refrain, marking the end of the paeans addressed by Gilgameš to Šulgi (cf. ll. 136-137; CBS 10900:side b 3-4). Their meaning eludes us. The only parallel recalled by the obscure z é - g á - r a is z é m e - z é - b i g a r - r a "venom is placed in his jaw" (cf. Civil, Iraq 23 [1961], 162: 107). Cf. also the expression z é - t u k u = *palḫu* "fearsome" (AHW, p. 816; M.-J. Seux, Épithètes royales, p. 460). The two compounds may be etymologically related. As to the strange verbal form i n - g ú - m u - s u m - m u - e, it must contain the prefix of conjunctivity i (n) - g a -.

Since g ò r i - g u b in l. 84 does not yield a satisfactory sense, we consider the possibility of having here the expression n è (- a) g u b "to stand firm in one's strength" (for n e - b a g u b - b a see now Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 65).

90: cf. comment to l. 142 below.

91.ff.: Judging from the mention of Ḫuwawa in the beginning of l. 95, it may be safely assumed that in ll. 91-16 (and perhaps also ll. 97-101), Šulgi praises Gilgameš for his courageous campaign against this monster, an event, which is the central theme of the *épic*, of "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (cf. van Dijk apud Garelli, Gilg, pp. 69 ff.; Falkenstein, JNES 19 [1960], 65 ff.; Shaffer, Eretz Israel 8, pp. 246-250), as well as that of Tablets III-V of Akkadian Epic of Gilgameš (cf. now Kinnier Wilson apud Garelli, Gilg, pp. 103 ff.; Landsberger, RA 62 [1968], 97 ff.). The following lines were tentatively restored, in the light of this hypothesis.

91: k a s k a l - k u r - r a is supported by GLL text a rev. IV 19 (cf. JCS 1 [1948], 43 n. 250). For the restored verbs see e.g. Abel-Winckler, Keilschrifttexte 60: 21: d u t u k a s k a l - z u s i - s á - a b ḫ a r - r a - a n - g i - n a k i - ù r - z u - ṣ è g i n - n a (cf. further Šulgi A 28; UET 6/2, 133:50).

92: We seem to have here a reference to the felling of the cedars, which enabled Gilgameš to penetrate the Cedar Forest (cf. l. 93). Cf. GLL 46 ḡ i ṣ e r i n - s i g - g e ḫ ú l - l a - g i m i m - m u - n a - n i - i b - g a r (var. Ni 9636:rev. 8 i m - m a - a n - n a - n i - i n - g a r) "the cedar feller was filled with joy". Also according to the OB Yale Tablet, Gilgameš expresses his wish: *qātī luškunma luksusu ḡiṣerēni šuma ša dārū anāku luštaknam* (col. V 6-7). According to the Fifth Tablet of the Hittite version, the cedars were actually felled before Ḫuwawa was attacked (cf. Friedrich, ZA 39 [1930], 8: 7 ff.). According to the Ischali fragment rev. 16 ff., the felling of the cedars took place after Ḫuwawa was slain, and subsequently the felled cedars were "killed" (*nāru*) as animate beings (cf. Bauer, JNES 16 [1957], 259, 261).

93: For the tentative restoration of this line cf. CT 16, 46: 193 é-kù-ga-a-ni-ta gištir-gissu-lá-e šà-bi lú nu-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄ "In his holy house, a (densely) shaded forest, which no one may enter". Note also GLL 5, where Gilgameš says: kur-ra ga-an-ku₄ mu-mu ga-an-gar "let me enter the kur, let me establish my fame!".

94: The various ships, mentioned in GLL 111-114, yield no clue for restoration. Note that the Ischali fragment contains a broken line, from which Bauer infers, that "apparently, the felled cedars were floated on the Euphrates to Babylonia" (cf. JNES 16 [1957], 260 with n. 12; Landsberger, RA 62 [1968], 102 with n. 19).

95-96: These two lines must have contained reference to the circumstance, in which Huwawa was subdued. Line 95 probably did not refer to the slaying of the monster (GLL 165-166 = TLB 2,4: 96-98), for the following reasons: a) According to most versions, the slaying is ascribed to Enkidu and it is considered a fatal sin, which displeased the gods²⁵; b) in l. 100 below, Huwawa seems to be referred to as "the captured hero". Hence, it is more likely that the line referred to the capturing of Huwawa (GLL 143-146 = TLB 2,4: 71-76). The verb to be restored here, is therefore d a b₅ or the like.

IM-i min in the beginning of l. 96, is presently read ní-i min "seven terrors", assuming that it refers to the "seven terrifying splendors", with which Huwawa, as the guardian of the Cedar Forest was equipped. As has been pointed out by Bauer (cf. JNES 16 [1957], 258 n. 6), these divine weapons are called in the Yale Tablet *pulḫiātum*²⁶, whereas the Ischali fragment seems to refer to them as *melemmū*²⁷. The Sumerian epic, refers to these splendors as ní-te-a (cf. GLL 138, 142) and in TLB 2,4: 52-70, we seem to have a detailed and repetitious account of the manner, in which the "seven splendors" were put out of action by the aides of Gilgameš²⁸. Furthermore, it is possible, that these splendors are referred to already in GLL 137, by the short term n i²⁹. Accordingly, as a possible restoration of l. 96, we may consider: ní-i min-[n a p a - b i m u - u b - k u₅] "[you cut down the 'branches' of his] seven splendors".

²⁵ In all versions Gilgameš proposes to spare Huwawa, raising Enkidu's vehement objections (cf. GLL 152-155; Friedrich, ZA 39 [1930], 13: 21 ff.). As to the slaying itself, there are considerable differences between the versions. According to GLL 165-166, both friends did the slaying (g ú - n i i m - m a - a n - k u₅ - r u - n e), whereas according to texts F and TLB 2, 4, the slaying is ascribed to Enkidu (d e n - k i - d u₁₀ / d u₄ l i p i š - b a l - a - n i g ú - n i i m - d a - k u₅ / i m - m a - a n - k u₅). So also probably according to the Assyrian version (cf. Thompson, Gilg. pl. 19: 46-47). Only the Ischali Fragment ascribes the slaying explicitly to both friends (cf. Bauer, JNES 16 [1957], 256: rev. 1 ff.). In any case, Enlil was definitely displeased by the killing of Huwawa (cf. TLB 2, 4: 103 ff., 80 f.; Friedrich, ZA 39 [1930], 17 f.).

²⁶ Cf. ll. 136-137 *aš-šum šu-ul-lu-u[m qí-iš-ti gišerēni] pu-ul-ḫi-a-tim 7 [i-di-na-aš-šum(?) dEn-líl(?)]* "to safeguard [the Cedar Forest, Enlil(?) gave(?) him] 7 terrifying splendors" (for different readings cf. Gilg. p. 26; Heidel, The Gilgameš Epic, p. 35). In the Assyrian recension, the original and concrete sense of this term seems to have been lost. Cf. Gilg. pl. 10, RM 289:V 1 *aššu šullumu gišqīšti gišerēni ana pulḫāti ša nišmeš iṣimšu dEnlil* "to safeguard the Cedar Forest, as a terror to mortals has Enlil appointed him". Cf. also Landsberger, who points out in RA 62 (1968), 107, that the *pulḫiātu* and *melemmū* of the older versions were replaced in the Assyrian version by the 7 *naḫlapātu* (TÚG.GÚ.Ē.MEŠ) "armour-coats", as a result of a tendency for rationalization.

²⁷ Cf. Bauer, JNES 16 (1957), 256:obv. 11-12 with comment on p. 258. It is true that the number of the *melemmū* is not specified. Nevertheless, we assume that their identification with the 7 *pulḫiātum* is valid. Interestingly enough, even in this version Gilgameš seems to evade the killing of Huwawa, by suggesting that his *melemmū* be destroyed first, and then he would be caught (cf. obv. ll. 10-12); whereas Enkidu would reverse the procedure. He insists on slaying the monster first, whereby the *melemmū* would be rendered automatically ineffective (cf. obv. 13 - edge 3b). For a different interpretation see Bauer *ibid.*; Kinnier Wilson apud Garelli, Gilg., p. 109).

²⁸ Bauer's identification of the 7 *pulḫiātu* of the Yale Tablet with the ní-te-a of GLL (JNES 16 [1957], 258 n. 6) was accepted by van Dijk (cf. apud Garelli, Gilg., p. 74).

²⁹ Cf. Sjöberg, Studien Falkenstein, p. 209 (quoting A. Shaffer's manuscript); Wilcke, ZA 59 (1969), 97 n. 106.

Note the possibility, however, that IM-i min should be read i m - i m i n "the seven winds". In that case, our line could refer to some mythological winds, in the service of either Huwawa or Gilgameš (for i m - i m i n cf. Falkenstein, Götterlieder, p. 132; ZA 50 [1952], 87). Cf. the eight winds, which were sent by Šamaš, according to the Hittite version, to immobilize the monster (cf. Friedrich, ZA 39 (1930), 13 ff.; cf. Falkenstein, ZA 45 [1939], 187).

98-99: These lines seem to refer to the removal of Huwawa from his abode, and his being brought to Enlil. Line 100 seems to indicate that the life of Huwawa was spared. However, according to TLB 2, 4: 99 ff., Gilgameš and Enkidu enter (i - n i - i n - k u₄ - r e) the Ekur with the head of the dead Huwawa, placing it before the god (i g i - d e n - l í l - l á - š è i m - m a - n i - i n - g a r - r e - e š; cf. JRAS [1931], 921: rev. II 23 i g i - d e n - l í l - l á - d n i n - l í l - l á - e i m - m a - a n - t ú m - m e - é š).

100-101: An exact parallel to l. 101 is probably SEM 87: 6 [a m a] - l ú - t u - r a d u m u ú r - r a m [u - n a - n i - D U]. For a m a - l ú - t u - r a see Gudea, Cyl. B IV 17-18 u r u - a a m a - l ú - t u - r a - k e₄ a - s i l i m g a r - r a - à m "in the city, the mother of the sick man provides (him) with healing water". The second half of our line may contain the expression ú r - r a t ú m "to place on the lap", "to shelter", which corresponds to Akk. *ana sūni šakānum/tabālum* (cf. AHw, p. 1059 sub *sūnum* I 1 c). Cf. Gilgameš and Agga 106 a g - g a l ú - k a r - r a ú r - r a b í - i n - t ú m - m u "O Agga, you shelter the refugee on the lap"; Nanše Hymn 24 (= MS Heimpel) n i n - e l ú - k a r - r a ú r - r a b í - i n - t ú m - m u. Accordingly, we may have here a reference to the kind treatment that Gilgameš extended to Huwawa, his "captured hero". Cf. his words to Enkidu in GLL 154-155 (= TLB 2,4: 85-86; cf. Falkenstein, JNES 16 [1957], 66: 7):

d e n - k i - d u₁₀ m u š e n - d í b - b a k i (var. g ù d) - b i - š è ḫ a - b a - d u
g u r u š - d í b - b a ú r - a m a - n a (var. n i) - š è ḫ é - g i₄ - g i₄

"O Enkidu, let the trapped bird go back to its place (var. nest)
Let the captive return to the lap of his mother".

102: ù - d u g₄ is apparently phonetic for u d ú g = *kakku*³⁰ (for this noun see now Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 136; Salonen, Waffen, p. 156). For u d ú g in similar context, see e.g. ZA 53 (1959), p. 107: 52-53. For k a - b a in similar context cf. Šulgi X 119; cf. also u d - k a - b a "storm with open mouth" (Gudea, Cyl. A XXV 9).

ma-tur nin-bàn-da-mu nam-lukur-šè kur-ra ḫu-mu-ra-ni-in-ku₄-ra-àm
ní-zu ba-(àm)-ma-ra su-za (var. zu-a) ga-an-ku₄

"Let me bring to you Matur, my younger sister as a concubine, into the mountain,
Present me your , and I will enter your family!"

(GLL 136-137)

The compound ní - z u b a - (à m -) m a - r a could be translated "present yourself", "surrender", equating ní with Akk. *ramānu*, and b a - with Akk. *qiāšum* (cf. Wilcke, Lugalbanda, p. 104: 132-133). However, in that case it would be difficult to explain, why Huwawa responds with surrendering his seven "splendors" (ní - t e - a), rather than himself (cf. GLL 138-142; TLB 2, 4: 52-70). It seems, therefore, preferable to translate the compound in question "present/drop me your terrors", taking ní as a short form of ní - t e - a (Akk. *pulḫiātu*), and connecting ba with Akk. *qiāšum* (so Wilcke, ZA 59 [1969], 97 f. n. 106) or *našarum* (so A. Shaffer, by oral communication).

Whether Gilgameš was sincere in his proposal, or just played a trick on Huwawa, cannot be determined. In any case, the monster seems to be cooperative, for subsequently he surrenders his seven splendors one by one (ní - t e - a - n i x - k a m - m a m u - n a - r a - b a), so that the aides of Gilgameš only have to cut down their "branches" (p a - b i), and "flanks" (d a - b i), tie them up and lay them at the feet of the mountain. As soon as the seventh splendor has been finished off (n i - t e - a - n i i m i n - k a m - m a m u - t i l - l a - b a), Huwawa is rendered impotent, and is easily captured (for a different interpretation of the above passage, see Kinnier Wilson apud Garelli, Gilg., pp. 107ff.).

³⁰ Note however, ù - d u g₄ for u d u g "protective demon" in Šulgi D 221, 253, 329; AnOr 28, p. 31).

104: *na m - tá g*(DAG)- *ga* for *na m - ta g - ga* (= *arnum*) is attested elsewhere only in Old Sum. texts (cf. Urukagina, Tablet B VIII 1; 6; IX 2). For *u₄ - na m - tá g - ga* cf. van Dijk, Sumer 18 (1962), 21: 38 *u₄ - na m - ta g - ga - gim gù - ħ u š bí - í b - ra* "(the Azag-demon) roared like a violent storm" (van Dijk on p. 29: "like on a day of damnation"). Similarly, *gù - na m - ta g - ta g - ga* in Inanna's Descent 166 (= 340), is to be translated "a violent cry" (cf. the parallel *inim - lipi š - gig - ga*), in spite of the Akk. gloss *ša-se-e ar-ni*.

105: note the peculiar *ħ ù l* (KIB) for *ħ u l* in text B.

106: For the restored *á - ba d t ú m*, see van Dijk, Götterlieder, p. 21. The wish formula (with precativ) seems to mark the end of Šulgi's second address.

109-137: To this unintelligible section, presumably containing the second address of Gilgameš, note the following few observations: l. 114 should be translated: "Of the [cities and the country]side — their treasure depots". An alternative reading to *ki - n ò - g á - ra - bi* could be *ki - ga r - ga r - ra - bi* (cf. Šulgi A 46: *uru - ma - da ki - ga r - ga r - ra - mu*). Line 115 is restored on the basis of TMHNF 3, 22: III 37 *za r - du g - a - ta še - za r - sa l - sa l - la - ĩ*. *za r - du g - a* in this context must mean "heaps of grain" (for *za r - re - e š du g* cf. ZA 49 [1950], 133 n. 3). For *še - za r - sa l - la* "spread out grain stacks" see now Salonen, Agricultura, p. 432. *na m - ul - la - me* in l. 130 should perhaps be translated "our joy". For the tentative restoration of l. 135 cf. SKIZ, p. 32: 54 *su n_x - su n_x - na ki ri_x - šu - g á l - la - me - en*. Ll. 134-135 seem to stress Šulgi's piety in worshipping the gods.

142: The refrain (ll. 138-141) introduces a third address of Šulgi, of which only the first line was preserved. For Gilgameš as the King and the Judge of the netherworld (rather than of Sumer), see the Death of Urnammu 142-143; Lambert apud Garelli, Gilg., p. 40. The epithet "Ištaran of Sumer" is applied to various gods, and especially to Šulgi (cf. JCS 23 [1970], 119 n. 10).

Der akkadische Vokativ

F.R. Kraus, Leiden

1. Unsere akkadischen Grammatiken betrachten den Vokativ nicht als einen Kasus und behandeln ihn nicht bei der Deklination des Substantivs. Dadurch unterscheiden sie sich von der lateinischen und griechischen Schulgrammatik und -Formenlehre aus der Gymnasialzeit des Gratulanten und von anderen Sprachlehrbüchern, folgen aber einer bereits sehr alten Auffassung; vgl. Marouzeau, Lexique de la terminologie linguistique (3. Aufl. 1951), S. 240 Vocatif. Jedoch kennen einige von ihnen die Erscheinung als solche und tun sie meist kurz ab. Am ausführlichsten war Delitzsch, Assyrische Grammatik (2. Aufl. 1906) § 101 a, ist aber gegen Gelb, BiOr 12 (1955), 108 links zu § 62 j, nicht mehr brauchbar. Die meisten Beispiele dort sind falsch: die zitierten Personennamen etwa faßt man jetzt als Caritativa auf; *annūtumē* aus Ištar's Höllenfahrt Z. 26; 32 (Th. Bauer, Akkadische Lesestücke I [1953], S. 50) ist kein Vokativ. Das gültige Beispiel *l ú ĩ . du g - me - e* aus Z. 14 ist ideographisch geschrieben und dadurch für die Form des Vokativs irrelevant. Am vollständigsten behandelt die Erscheinung von Soden, AnOr 33 (1952) § 62 j und 125 a, der zwei Formen des Vokativs kennt; dem Paradigma *šarrum*, S. 3* l. a), angehängt, würden sie (1) *šar*, (2) *šarrum* lauten. Die folgenden Bemerkungen beschränken sich auf diese beiden Formen, berücksichtigen also syntaktisch als Vokativ zu bestimmende suffigierte Formen, die gang und gäbe sind, nicht; vgl. dazu von Soden § 62 j Anm.; Finet, L'accadien des lettres de Mari (1956) § 27 d, und hier unten § 2.

Von Soden, Iraq 28 (1966), 141, hat zweifellos recht, wenn er es ablehnt, einem unklaren Personennamen auf einem Siegel einen dritten Formtyp des Vokativs (= Akkusativ, im vorliegenden Falle des Plurals) zu entnehmen. Entgegen seinem Vorschlage wird man aber auch in den zwei aus fremdsprachigen Orten nach Mari gesandten Briefen ARM 5 (1952) Nr. 8 und 20 keinen "Akkusativ des Ausrufs" erkennen. Nr. 8 weist so viele Fehler auf (Z. 9 *ana* statt *ina*; *annikiām*, Z. 10, statt *anniš*; Z. 14 *ši* statt des Genetivs; inkonsequent *wašbat*, Z. 8, aber *wašib*, Z. 9, vgl. Z. 17), daß man *l ú mu - te - e*, Z. 13, getrost als solchen auffassen darf, zumal der vermutete "Akkusativ des Ausrufs" Polyandrie implizieren würde, wogegen jegliche Erfahrung und der Wortlaut des Briefes selbst sprechen (*lillikam*, Z. 14 und 17; *likallimanni*, Z. 18). *āwatam annītam*, Nr. 20 Z. 4, kann man ohne Schwierigkeit zum logischen, wenn schon vielleicht nicht syntaktischen, Objekt von *luqbi*, Z. 5, machen. Es bleibt also bei zwei Typen Vokativ.

Nach von Sodens summarischer Darstellung, AnOr 33 § 62 j, steht der Vokativ im Status absolutus, aber "JB wird statt des Vokativ meist der Nom. geschrieben", § 62 j Anm. Nach § 125 a jedoch steht statt des hier als "Einwortsatz" betrachteten Vokativs "schon aB" (auch) der Nominativ. Nach von Sodens Ansicht kann also sowohl der Status absolutus als auch der Nominativ des Status rectus eines Substantivs ohne Bedeutungsunterschied als Vokativ gebraucht werden. Die knappe Darstellung scheint zu suggerieren, daß die zweite Form im Laufe der Entwicklung die erste verdrängt habe.

Gerade das Gegenteil hatte Stamm, MVAG 44 (1939), 74 Anm. 1, bezüglich des Vokativs des Wortes *ilum* in Personennamen aus der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur beobachtet: "Der Vokativ ist wohl in der späteren

Sprache *il* zu lesen, altakkadisch steht er mit Endung", was von Soden entgangen sein muß. Zu Stamms Belegen, S. 168 unten f., siehe jetzt noch etwa Gelb, MAD 3 (1957), S. 189 unten Nu-*hi-lum*; S. 218 unten Bī-*ša-hi-lum*. Falls Me-zé-*l-lum*, S. 183 MŠ' x?, ältere Form des späteren Maši-*ilu*, s. AHW, S. 622 links 7) a), wo Me-zé-*l-lum* jedoch nicht zitiert ist, wäre die Erscheinung bereits zur Zeit des Man-ištu von Akkad bezeugt. Andererseits hat Gelb, BiOr 12 (1955), 108 links zu § 62 j, das hohe Alter des Vokativs in der Form des Status absolutus dadurch indirekt in Zweifel gezogen, daß er die Bestimmung von Götternamen wie Šamaš als Vokativ bestritten hat. Von Soden § 62 j zitiert "Šamaš 'Sonne!'" ohne Kommentar als eins seiner vier Beispiele, aber Ungnad, Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik (2. Aufl. 1926) § 20 b, erklärt ausdrücklich die "reine Stammform", in welcher manche Götternamen auftreten, sei "ursprünglich wohl nur Vokativ" gewesen; ebenso trotz Gelb noch Ungnad (4. Aufl.) — Matouš, Grammatik des Akkadischen (1964) § 39 c, wo es "Status absolutus" statt "reine Stammform" heißt. Jedoch scheint Gelbs Argument, auch andere, nicht als Vokativ erklärbare Eigennamen wiesen diese Form auf, durchschlagend. Zitiert seien hier nach Gelb, MAD 1 (1952), S. 233 f., nur drei altakkadische Monatsnamen, welche, der Form nach unbestreitbar Status absolutus, nicht im Vokativ stehen können: 1) und 2) i t u ba-*hi-ir*, s. Gelb, MAD 3, S. 94 unten; CAD B, S. 28 rechts; AHW, S. 96 links; 3) i t u GA-DA-AD, s. MAD 3, S. 225 QDD? qaddatum?, nicht so in AHW; 13) i t u ša-*lul*, s. MAD 3, S. 243 galūlum; CAD S, S. 89 rechts galul. Von Soden hat im Ergänzungsheft zum Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik, AnOr 47 (1967), dazu nichts bemerkt. Da sowohl Form (1) als Form (2) noch bis mindestens zur Entstehungszeit der Bibliothek des Assurbanipal als Vokativ vorkommt, ist von der Ablösung der einen Form durch die andere offensichtlich keine Rede.

2. Es scheint so einfach, jedem der beiden gleichzeitig nebeneinander vorkommenden Typen des Vokativs entsprechend seiner Form eine eigene Funktion zuzuweisen, daß man kaum annehmen darf, noch niemand sei auf diesen Gedanken gekommen. Da der Gratulant aber keine diesbezügliche Veröffentlichung kennt, erlaubt er sich, die überreife Frucht zu pflücken und dem Jubilar als kleine Gabe darzureichen.

Zwei bekannte Verse aus der ninivischen Fassung des Gilgames-Epos geben uns den gewünschten Aufschluß. Wie Utnapištim Gilgameš erzählt, hat Ea den Beschluß einer Götterversammlung, die Menschheit zu vernichten, "einem Rohrzaun verraten", 11 I 20; seine Rede beginnt mit den Worten:

²¹ ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar

"Rohrzaun! Rohrzaun! Wand! Wand!

²² ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru hi-is-sa-as

Rohrzaun höre! Wand, merke dir!",

Th. Bauer, Lesestücke I, S. 38. Mit den vier ersten Wörtern ruft der Gott, vielleicht schon von fern, den "Rohrzaun" und die "Wand"; nachdem er ihre Aufmerksamkeit geweckt hat, spricht er sie an. Somit liegen in *kikkiš* und *igar*, Z. 21, Anrufe vor. Das bestätigt uns ihre Wiederholung, ein typischer Zug beim Rufen und nur so zu begreifen. Für den Anruf, den Vokativ im eigentlichen Sinne des lateinischen Terminus, wird als formal best geeignet der bloße Stamm gebraucht ("Status absolutus"), genau wie im Bereiche des Verbums für den Anruf/Befehl der bloße Stamm des Punktuals als Imperativ (der 2. Person mask. Sing.) dient. In den auf den Anruf folgenden Sätzchen, Z. 22, liegt der Akzent auf den Befehlen, die ihnen vorausgeschickten Wörter *kikkišu* und *igaru* sollen das beim Imperativ implizit gegebene Subjekt ausdrücklich identifizieren. Logisch Apposition zum Subjekt, wenn nicht selbst Subjekt, haben sie die Form des Satzsubjekts oder seiner Apposition, den Nominativ, der hier als Form der Anrede zu definieren ist. Daß das die richtige Auffassung ist, erhellt aus folgender Beobachtung. Die Anrede im Nominativ, nach dem soeben Gesagten dem uneigentlichen Vokativ, tritt im Akkadischen nur dann auf, wenn sie sich an das syntaktische Subjekt des begleitenden Satzes richtet. Darin unterscheidet sich das Akkadische etwa vom Deutschen, welches die Anrede in unveränderlicher Form Satzteilen in allen Kasus zuordnet: (1) "Nehmen Sie Platz, Herr Geheimrat!" (Subjekt); (2) "Wir gedenken Ihrer, Herr Geheimrat" (Genetivobjekt); (3) "Ich danke Ihnen, Herr Geheimrat" (Dativobjekt); (4) "Ich bitte Sie, Herr Geheimrat" (Akkusativobjekt). Die sachlich entsprechenden akkadischen Ausdrucksweisen wären (je ein Beispiel): (1) *abī atta lū šalmāta*, "du, mein Vater, seist wohlbehalten!", AbB 1 (1964) Nr. 15 Z. 5; Anrede, wie üblich,

mit Possessivsuffix, s.u. In allen anderen Fällen wird dagegen das der Anrede des Subjekts entsprechende Element der Satzsyntax angepaßt und erhält ein selbständiges Personalpronomen als Apposition: (2) *anāku u abija kāta* (Genetiv), "ich und du, mein Vater", TCL 18 (1934) Nr. 101 Z. 12; (3) *ana abija kāta aqbīma* (Dativobjekt), "ich habe dir, mein Vater, gesagt", Ib. Z. 16. Analog (2) und (3), also trotz gleichlautender Form nicht als Anrede wie (1), ist dann zu verstehen (4) *šamaš u marduk . . . abī kāta liballīū* (Akkusativobjekt), "Š. und M. mögen dich, mein Vater, gesund erhalten!", AbB 1 Nr. 100 Z. 4 f.

Gemeinsam ist beiden Formen bzw. Gebrauchsweisen des "Vokativs" die betonte Ausrichtung auf ein bestimmtes Objekt. Der Anruf ist ein reines Signal ohne spezifischen Inhalt; er erfüllt denselben Zweck wie ein Pfiff, ein Schrei oder eine Interjektion, ist aber im Gegensatz zu ihnen gezielt. Pfiff, Schrei oder "hallo!" kann jeder auf sich beziehen, der sie hört, "Fräulein!" nur eine bestimmte Gattung Hörer, "Karl!" meist nur ein bestimmter Hörer, der Hörer.

Die Anrede, kein Signal oder nur ein stark abgeschwächtes, richtet eine Mitteilung ausdrücklich auf ein bestimmtes Ziel aus. Von ausschlaggebender informativer Bedeutung etwa als Überschrift eines Briefes, "Lieber Vater!", wird sie auch, sachlich überflüssig, bei mündlichen Mitteilungen gebraucht, welche durch die Situation, in der sie erfolgen, bereits eindeutig ausgerichtet sind, so z.B. "Meine Damen und Herren" am Beginn einer Rede; "jawohl, Herr Geheimrat" im Gespräch. Ihr Gebrauch wird oft von der Etikette vorgeschrieben, so im letzten Beispiel. Gern erfüllt sie außer der Ausrichtung der Mitteilung, welche sie begleitet, auf ein bereits bekanntes Ziel, den Angeredeten, noch den weiteren Zweck, auf den Sprecher zu weisen und ihn zum Angesprochenen in Beziehung zu setzen, was gegebenenfalls mittels einer geeigneten Vokabel wie *umnum*, *aḫum*, *šāpirum*, *bēlum*, *ibrum* und allgemein mittels eines Possessivpronomens oder -suffixes zu geschehen pflegt: *abī*; "pater noster"; "mon colonel".

3. Die soeben gewonnene Begriffsbestimmung der Formen (1) *šar*: Anruf (eigentlicher Vokativ); (2) *šarrum*: Anrede (uneigentlicher Vokativ), wäre nunmehr noch an Beispielen zu erproben. Dazu eignen sich nur solche aus altakkadischer und altbabylonischer Zeit, da spätere Texte beide Formen nicht immer konsequent unterscheiden wie die in § 2 benutzten Verse aus dem Gilgameš-Epos. So redet etwa Gilgameš die Bierbrauerin in der Version aus Ninive einmal mit *sa-bi-tum*, das andere Mal mit *sa-bit* an, vgl. Thompson, The epic of Gilgamesh (1930), Pl. 38 I 10 und 39 II 16. Damit soll nicht gesagt sein, daß spätere Texte keine den älteren Normen entsprechende Form aufwiesen, vgl. nur etwa, als willkürlich herausgegriffene Beispiele, *māru* und *bēlu* als Anreden im "Hymnenkatalog" aus Assur, s. Held, JCS 15 (1961), 13 links erste vier Zitate und rechts f. erste zwei Zitate, oder *išātumma išātum* als Anrede in Beschwörungen, s. W.G. Lambert, AfO 23 (1970), 40 ff. II Z. 5; 19; 37, wonach auch III Z. 2; 4; 9; 20 zu lesen sind. Aber anhand solcher Beispiele lassen sich keine Regeln aufstellen, weil man schwer oder gar nicht beurteilen kann, ob sie eine sprachliche Realität wiedergeben oder orthographischer Tradition gehorchen, wenn nicht gar als Produkt der "Hyperkorrektheit" abzutun sind, deren man *išātumma išātum* zeihen könnte.

Die folgenden Zitate sind nicht als repräsentative Auswahl aus einer den Gegenstand erschöpfenden Belegsammlung anzusehen, sondern vom Gratulanten gelegentlich notiert.

Je ein Beispiel für (1) *šar* und (2) *šarrum* bietet die altbabylonische Version des Gilgameš-Epos.

(1) Anruf ist *eḫil*, PBS 10/3 (1917), Pl. LXVI Z. 10', zitiert von von Soden § 62 j. Die Passage, vgl. CAD A/1, S. 263 rechts l. a) (mit teilweise sinnwidriger Übersetzung),

⁸ ḫarimtum ištasi awīlam ⁹ ṭikuššumma ṭitawaššū ¹⁰ eḫil eš taḫīšam,

"Die Dirne rief den Mann, ging zu ihm und sagte zu ihm. "Junger Mann! Wohin eilst du? " ",

muß offenbar dahingehend verstanden werden, daß die Dirne zunächst den von Enkidu bemerkten Wanderer anruft: "Junger Mann!". Als er daraufhin stehen bleibt, geht sie zu ihm und fragt ihn: "Wohin des Wegs?". Die Annahme einer zugegebenermaßen ungewöhnlichen Ausdrucksweise ist keine *petitio principii*, sondern der einzige Weg zu einer befriedigenden Textinterpretation.

Weitere Beispiele des Vokativs der Form (1) *šar* aus zusammenhängenden Texten sind dem Gratulanten nicht bekannt. *ša-am-ka-at*, l.c. Z. 5, ist kein solches, weil dieses äußerst schwierige Wort, vgl. Schott, ZA 42 (1934), 99 f. zu Z. 19, an anderer Stelle, Pl. LXVII Z. 3', Satzsubjekt ist.

(2) Dagegen ist *šabītum*, von Soden § 125 a, in dem Verse

inanna šabītum ātamar panīki, "Jetzt, Brauerin, sehe ich dich von Angesicht",

MVAG 7/1 (1902), S. 14 II 12, am Ende einer langen Passage, mit der Gilgameš vermutlich die Begrüßungsfrage der Bierbrauerin beantwortet, deutlich Anrede. Im weiteren Verlaufe des Textes lautet sie übrigens mit Possessivsuffix *sa-bi-ti*, "meine Brauerin", CT 46 (1965), Nr. 16 III 3'; 5'; 7'.

Andere Anreden der Form (2) *šarrum* in zusammenhängendem Texte sind

(a) *i-ga-ru šī-ta-am-mi-a-an-ni ki-ki-šu šu-uš-ši-ri ka-la zi-ik-ri(!)-ia*,

"Wand, hör zu! Rohrzaun, beachte alles, was ich sage, wohl!",

W.G. Lambert & Millard, Atra-ḫašis (1969), Tafel (7) I "20" f., Parallele (und Vorbild?) der zu Beginn von § 2 behandelten Stelle aus dem Gilgameš-Epos.

(b) *ši-i ša-a-ru-um*, "Fahr aus, Wind!",

in der Beschwörung Iraq 6 (1939), 184 Z. 1-8.

Könnte man auf Grund der bisherigen Beispiele meinen, Form (2) *šarrum* sei literarisch, was für die sehr seltene Form (1) *šar* nach Wissen des Gratulanten zutrifft, so wird man durch das folgende eines besseren belehrt; es ist einem Brief entnommen.

(c) *al-kam-ma a-wi-lum an-ni-a-tim a-mu-ur-ši-na-ti*,

"Komm, Hochwohlgeborner, und untersuche dies!",

CT 43 (1963) Nr. 95 Z. 15 f. Von Soden, BiOr 23 (1966), 54 rechts zu AbB 1 Nr. 95, wollte *a-wi-lum* in *a-wa-tim* verändern, was guten Sinn gäbe, aber angesichts des nächsten Beispiels wohl unnötig ist.

(d) *a-wi-lu-um gi-mi-il-lam(!) e-li-ia šu-ku-un*,

"Hochwohlgeborner, verpflichte mich zu Dank!",

Sumer 14 (1958), Pl. 6 Nr. 9 (I.M. 51189) Z. 16-18, gleichfalls aus einem Briefe.

Anreden des Gottes sind in theophoren Personennamen häufig. Ihre Form läßt sich naturgemäß nur feststellen, wenn die Bezeichnung der Gottheit deklinabel, d.h. durch ein Appellativ ersetzt ist. Beispiele für solche im Nominativ, unserer Form (2) *šarrum*, sind bereits in § 1 angeführt worden. AHW, S. 373 rechts A. 1) a) e), findet auch im altassyrischen bzw. von Altassyriern getragenen Namen *anāku-ilumma* eine Anrede.

Eine Ausnahme würde EL im altassyrischen Personennamen bilden, falls es mit Stamm, MVAG 44 74, *il₅* zu lesen und somit ein echter Vokativ der Form (1) *šar* wäre. Das scheint nach den vorsichtigen Ausführungen von Hirsch, AfO Beiheft 13/14 (2. Aufl. 1972), S. 41 links zu *Anah-ilī*, mit Nachträgen, S. 19 rechts f., nicht der Fall zu sein; Hirsch erwägt die Lesungen *ilī*, *ilum* und EL (Gottesname), nicht aber *il₅* als Form des Appellativs *ilum*.

Einen echten Vokativ der Form (1) *šar* müßte der von Gelb, MAD 3, S. 287, "Sar-a-ti-gu-bi-si-in" umschriebene und mit Zweifeln "O king, I gave their (sisters') laments" übersetzte altakkadische Personennamen enthalten, während etwa *šar-ru-du-gul*, Gelb, MAD 1, S. 78 Z. 32, aus sargonischer Zeit eine Anrede in der zu erwartenden Form (2) *šarru(m)* aufweist. Der alleinstehende seltsame Name, den von Soden, ZA 40 (1931), 188, nicht erwähnt und anscheinend auch in AHW nicht aufgenommen hat, wird jedoch von Jacobsen, AS 12 (1939), S. 120 Anm. 308, anders gelesen und entzieht sich noch der Deutung.

Die von Gelb, BiOr 12 (1955), 108 links zu § 62 j, als "real Voc. in -u" zitierten Wörter aus dem Verse

ib-ru uš-ši-ra qú-ra-du šī-me-a,

"Freunde, paßt auf! Männer, hört zu!",

CT 15 (1902), 1 I 2, sind Anreden des Sängers an seine Zuhörer, der Form nach Nominative des Plurals. Für den nicht belegten Anruf wäre wahrscheinlich dieselbe Form gebraucht worden.

Das Akkadische unterscheidet den — schriftsprachlich sehr seltenen — echten Vokativ, (1) *šar*, den Anruf, formal streng von der Anrede im Nominativ, (2) *šarrum*. Gemäß dieser bescheidenen Schlußfolgerung aus seinen Beobachtungen wünscht der Gratulant in spät-altbabylonischem Stil dem Jubilar:

awīlum lū baḫṭāta lū šalmāta lū dariāta!

L'Inscription du "Disque" de Yaḥdun-Lim

J.-R. Kupper, Liege

L'inscription dite du "disque" de Yaḥdun-Lim¹, recueillie dans une des salles du palais de Mari, se lit, en réalité, sur la tête d'un clou d'argile de grandes dimensions². Elle se présente, à première vue, sous les apparences typiques d'un document de fondation, dont les clous ou cônes de terre cuite forment une des catégories principales³. Cependant, un examen plus attentif permet de déceler plusieurs anomalies. Nous n'insisterons pas sur le fait que le texte⁴ met en tête le nom du roi, au lieu de la divinité; on connaît, en effet, d'autres exemples de cette variante du schéma classique⁵. En revanche, la clause temporelle, destinée à préciser les circonstances qui ont précédé l'événement faisant l'objet de l'inscription, n'est pas introduite à la manière habituelle. Les événements historiques que rapporte le texte constituent la première partie de l'inscription, tandis que la seconde est relative aux grands travaux du roi; les deux parties se suivent, placées sur le même pied. Or, à l'époque de la I^{re} dynastie babylonienne, la clause temporelle s'inscrit toujours dans un cadre bien délimité, même lorsque les souverains adoptent un schéma plus ou moins divergent⁶. Le cas est très clair, en particulier, dans l'autre inscription connue de Yaḥdun-Lim, qui a été retrouvée dans les fondations du temple de Šamaš⁷. Celle-ci est construite tout entière selon le schéma traditionnel, c'est-à-dire qu'elle s'articule autour des quatre éléments de base, à savoir ici: le dieu Šamaš, bénéficiaire de la construction, le roi Yaḥdun-Lim, son auteur, l'objet de la construction, et la forme verbale. La clause temporelle, que sa longueur transforme en une véritable notice historique, est conçue visiblement comme un élément secondaire, qui vient élargir le développement: "Lorsque Šamaš eut agréé sa supplication . . .".

D'autre part, l'objet même de l'inscription du "disque" n'est pas mis en évidence avec clarté. On pourrait hésiter: pour lequel des grands travaux qu'elle mentionne l'inscription a-t-elle été composée? Le roi énumère successivement la construction de la muraille de Mari, avec son fossé, la construction de la muraille de Terqa, avec son fossé, la fondation d'une ville portant son nom et le creusement d'un canal pour alimenter celle-ci en eau. Comme la fondation de cette ville de Dûr-Yaḥdun-Lim intervient en fin d'énumération et qu'elle est rapportée aussi avec plus de détails, on sera tenté néanmoins d'y voir l'objet essentiel de l'inscription.

¹ Publiée par Fr. Thureau-Dangin, RA 33 (1936), 49-54; bonne photographie dans A. Parrot, Mari, fig. 98.

² La tête mesure 39 cm de diamètre. Pour la comparaison avec d'autres clous, voir par ex. J.-M. Aynard, RA 54 (1960), 11-18. La tige du clou a disparu et n'a laissé pour tout vestige qu'un arrachement circulaire.

³ Cf. W.W. Hallo, HUCA 33 (1962), 3 et 8-10.

⁴ Voir la transcription et la traduction ci-dessous. La traduction est reprise de E. Sollberger et J.-R. Kupper, Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes (abrégé dans la suite IRSA), pp. 244-245.

⁵ Cf. IRSA, pp. 25-26.

⁶ On trouvera notamment plusieurs exemples dans IRSA, pp. 212-229 passim.

⁷ Publiée par G. Dossin, Syria 32 (1955), 1-28. Traductions dans Pritchard, ANET, pp. 556-557 (par A.L. Oppenheim) et dans IRSA, pp. 245-248.

Sans doute le cas est-il exceptionnel; d'ordinaire, les inscriptions de fondation ont une portée plus limitée: elles concernent le plus souvent la construction d'un édifice du culte, d'un rempart, ou le creusement d'un canal. Le seul exemple plus ou moins parallèle que l'on pourrait évoquer est celui de l'inscription dite "bilingue A" de Samsu-ilūna, qui commémore la réfection simultanée de six forteresses⁸. Toutefois, l'objet de l'inscription est exprimé sans équivoque, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans celle de Yahdun-Lim.

En réalité, si on lisait cette dernière en faisant abstraction à la fois de son support matériel et de la typologie des inscriptions royales, on aurait l'impression d'avoir sous les yeux une sorte de résumé des événements mémorables du règne. Viennent d'abord les campagnes victorieuses du roi, notamment contre les nomades hanéens, menées sous l'égide du dieu Dagan, qui ont préludé à l'unification et à la pacification du pays. "Je fis demeurer mon pays en paix": cette affirmation clôturait la première partie du texte, et sert ainsi logiquement de charnière entre le volet de la guerre et celui de la paix. C'est alors seulement, en effet, que le roi peut entreprendre son programme de grands travaux. Il s'efforce en première ligne d'assurer la prospérité économique de son domaine en ouvrant les canaux nécessaires à l'irrigation. Il rebâtit la muraille de Mari, sa capitale, et celle de Terqa, la ville où s'élève le sanctuaire principal de Dagan, son protecteur. Il couronne son oeuvre en fondant une ville nouvelle dans un endroit désertique: "J'affermis les fondements de Mari et de mon pays; ainsi, peut-il conclure, j'établis mon nom pour l'éternité". Remarquons également que les événements rapportés dans la première partie du texte le sont en termes très généraux, alors que la clause temporelle de l'inscription du temple de Šamaš décrit, par le détail, des événements particuliers: expédition aux rives de la Méditerranée, campagne contre trois princes de la région du Moyen-Euphrate, destruction d'une ville, centre de résistance des Hanéens. C'est qu'il s'agissait, en effet, de situer correctement dans le temps la fondation du temple de Šamaš.

Il faut bien reconnaître que notre texte se place en dehors des règles, qu'il se soustrait à la classification accoutumée. L'allure insolite de son développement frappe d'autant plus quand on le compare à l'inscription du temple de Šamaš, qui revêt, nous l'avons vu, une forme absolument classique, aux articulations apparentes. Les scribes de Mari, si l'on en juge en particulier par cette dernière inscription, qui constitue, avec ses 157 lignes, un monument littéraire d'une haute qualité, devaient être suffisamment versés dans les traditions: pourquoi ont-ils jugé bon de s'en écarter?

L'inscription du temple de Šamaš a été retrouvée, comme il fallait s'y attendre, dans les fondations de l'édifice; elle était gravée sur de grandes briques cuites, en neuf exemplaires. Quant au "disque", jusqu'ici unique, on l'a ramassé dans une des chambres (n° 18) du quartier de l'intendance du palais, gisant au bas d'un mur⁹; que faisait-il dans cette chambre, qui doit avoir servi de logement à un fonctionnaire? De toute façon, il est clair qu'il n'était pas en place. Il ne fait plus de doute que le palais de Mari a été occupé finalement par les troupes de Hammurapi¹⁰. On peut supposer qu'un des occupants a arraché le clou d'argile de son emplacement, en le brisant, puis s'en est débarrassé plus tard en le jetant au hasard sur le sol. Mais ceci signifie que l'objet était placé bien en vue dans une salle du palais, contrairement aux usages reçus. En effet, les inscriptions de fondation n'étaient pas destinées par essence à être lues; elles s'adressaient seulement aux souverains à venir, qui les découvriraient en entreprenant des travaux de restauration. Même s'il subsiste encore certains doutes sur l'emploi des clous d'argile dans toutes les circonstances¹¹, celui qui porte l'inscription de Yahdun-Lim n'avait certes pas sa place dans le palais: il commémore la fondation d'une ville nouvelle, située à bonne distance de Mari, et ne fait aucune allusion au palais. Mais puisque tout porte à croire néanmoins qu'il s'y trouvait¹², la conclusion, pour inattendue qu'elle soit, semble évidente: il ne s'agit pas d'une inscription de fondation, mais bien d'une inscription d'un genre particulier, qu'on pourrait qualifier d'historique, et qui était exposée dans le palais. Nous savons par ailleurs que Yahdun-Lim se plaisait à ériger des monuments à sa propre gloire; dans l'inscription

⁸ Voir la traduction dans IRSA, pp. 220-221.

⁹ Voir A. Parrot, Mission archéologique de Mari, 2; Le palais, tome 1, p. 195.

¹⁰ Cf. A. Parrot, op. cit., pp. 340-342; Kupper, Les nomades, p. 40 n. 1.

¹¹ Cf. W.W. Hallo, HUCA 33 (1962), 10.

¹² On notera à ce sujet la remarque significative d'A. Parrot, loc. cit.: "Il n'a pas été possible de retrouver quel en avait pu être l'emplacement primitif".

du temple de Šamaš, il proclame qu'il a creusé des canaux, construit des remparts et dressé des stèles à son nom¹³.

Les dimensions exceptionnelles de la tête du clou d'argile fournissent peut-être un indice en faveur de cette utilisation. En revanche, la belle écriture monumentale de l'inscription, qui se différencie si nettement de la cursive, pourtant soignée, des tablettes des archives, n'en constitue pas un: celle de l'inscription du temple de Šamaš lui est en tout point semblable.

Dans la formule de malédiction, Yahdun-Lim se sert du terme *temmenum* pour désigner le support de son inscription. Le terme, dont le sens a été souvent discuté¹⁴, désigne tantôt les fondations à proprement parler, tantôt les documents de fondation. Il a donc une valeur générale et ne saurait nous donner aucune indication sur la destination précise de l'objet, qui a d'ailleurs la forme extérieure d'un clou de fondation¹⁵.

On observera, en passant, que la formule de malédiction présente certains traits originaux, — partagés en partie par l'autre inscription de Yahdun-Lim, — qui révèlent le métier des scribes de Mari, capables d'innover. Un premier aspect qui mérite d'être souligné est le découpage de la formule en une série de petites phrases énumérant des châtiments particuliers et invoquant différentes divinités. Ce trait, tout-à-fait inusité alors, se manifestait déjà dans l'imprécation d'une inscription de Narām-Sin, connue par des copies¹⁶, mais il n'avait plus reparu ensuite que d'une manière timide et sporadique, notamment dans une longue inscription votive du roi de Larsa Abisarē¹⁷. De surcroît, la majorité des châtiments appelés sur les usurpateurs éventuels sont nouveaux, soit dans leur conception, soit dans leur formulation: "Qu'Ašnan et Sumuqan laissent son pays dans la disette! Que les hostilités serrent la porte de son pays! Que le combat se poursuive dans son pays! Qu'à sa royauté le malheur ne cesse de se présenter chaque jour, aussi longtemps qu'il vivra!".

On se souviendra que les inscriptions des souverains de la I^{re} dynastie de Babylone ne comportent aucune formule de malédiction. Cette absence ne semble pas due au hasard des fouilles; nous disposons, pour Hammurapi et Samsu-ilūna, de plusieurs inscriptions aux dimensions considérables qui auraient offert un cadre approprié à des formules de malédiction. En revanche, le "Code" de Hammurapi contient une malédiction d'une ampleur unique. Elle est conçue selon les mêmes lignes que celles des deux inscriptions de Yahdun-Lim. Successivement, tous les grands dieux, Anum et Enlil en tête, font l'objet d'une notice souvent développée, toujours rédigée dans un style éloquent et soutenu, mais dont, en vérité, les inscriptions de Yahdun-Lim avaient déjà donné un avant-goût, une génération plus tôt.

Texte de l'inscription

<i>Ia-aḫ-du-un-Li-im</i>		Yahdun-Lim,
<i>mār Ia-gi-id-Li-im</i>		le fils de Yaggid-Lim,
<i>šār Ma-ri-ki</i>		le roi de Mari,
<i>Tu-ut-tu-ul-ki</i>		de Tuttul
<i>ù ma-at Ḫa-na</i>	5	et du pays de Ḫana,
<i>šarrum dannum</i>		le roi fort
<i>ga-me — er</i>		qui tient en domination

¹³ Syria 32 (1955), 4-5:20-22. Cf. J.-R. Kupper, Oriens Antiquus 10 (1971), 105.

¹⁴ Voir en dernier lieu R. Ellis, Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia, pp. 147-150.

¹⁵ Dans l'inscription d'Ipiq-Ištar de Malgūm, le terme *temmenum* semble bien se rapporter au clou d'argile sur lequel elle figure (VAS 1, 32:39; traduction: IRSA, pp. 255-256).

¹⁶ UET 1, 276 (voir collation par E. Sollberger dans UET 8/2, 32-33, 35) et UET 8/2, 13.

¹⁷ UET 8/2, 65; traduction dans IRSA, pp. 184-185.

<i>kišād nār</i> <i>Purattim</i> <i>ilDa — gan</i> <i>šar-ru-ti ib-ni</i> <i>kakkam dannam</i> <i>mu-ša-am-qí-it</i> <i>šarrāni</i> ^{meš} <i>na-ki-ri-ia</i> <i>id-di-nam — ma</i> <i>7 šarrāni</i> ^{meš} <i>ab-bu-ú Ḫa-na</i> <i>ša uq-ta-ab-bi-lu-nim</i> <i>ak-mi-šu-nu-ti</i> <i>ma-at-sú-nu</i> <i>a-na i-di-ia ú-te-er</i> <i>ḫi-ip — pí</i> <i>ša kišād nār</i> <i>Purattim</i> <i>as-sú-úḫ-ma</i> <i>ma-ti šu-ub-tam</i> <i>ne-eḫ-tam ú-še-ḫi-ib</i> <i>na-ra-a — tim</i> <i>ú-pé-et-ti</i> <i>da-la-a — am</i> <i>i-na ma-ti-ia</i> <i>ú-ḫa-al-li-iq</i> <i>dûr Ma-ri</i> ^{ki} <i>e-pu-úš</i> <i>ù ḫi-ri-sú aḫ — ri</i> <i>dûr Ter-qa</i> ^{ki} <i>e-pu-úš</i> <i>ù ḫi-ri-sú aḫ — ri</i> <i>ù i-na sa-we-e</i> <i>qá-qá — ar</i> <i>na-aš — mi-im</i> <i>ša iš-tu u₄-um ší-a-tim</i> <i>šarrum šum — šu</i> <i>a-lam la i-pu-šu</i> <i>a-na-ku la-la-am</i> <i>ar-ši-i — ma</i> <i>a-lam e-pu — úš</i> <i>ḫi-ri-sú aḫ-ri</i> <i>Dûr-Ia-aḫ-du-Li-im</i> <i>šum-šu ab — bi</i> <i>ù na-ra-am ep-te-šum-ma</i> <i>nār</i> <i>I-ši-im-Ia-aḫ-du-Li-im</i> <i>šum-šu ab — bi</i> <i>ma-a-ti ú-ra-ap-pí-iš</i> <i>is-de Ma-ri</i> ^{ki} <i>ù ma-ti-ia ú-ki-in-ma</i> <i>a-na u₄-um ší-a-tim</i> <i>šu-mi aš-ku-un</i> <i>ša te-em-me-ni-ia</i>	10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55	les rives de l'Euphrate, Dagan proclama ma royauté. Il me donna l'arme puissante qui terrasse les rois mes ennemis, et (ainsi) sept rois, les pères de Ḫana, qui avaient combattu contre moi, je les fis prisonniers, j'annexai leur pays, j'effaçai les blessures des rives de l'Euphrate et je fis demeurer mon pays en paix. J'ouvris des canaux, je supprimai le puiseur d'eau dans mon pays. Je bâtis le mur de Mari et je creusai son fossé. Je bâtis le mur de Terqa et je creusai son fossé. En outre, dans des terres brûlées, en un lieu de soif, où jamais un roi quelconque n'avait bâti de ville, moi, j'en conçus le désir et je bâtis une ville. Je creusai son fossé. Je la nommai "Dûr-Yahdun-Lim". Puis je lui ouvris un canal et je le nommai "Išim-Yahdun-Lim". J'agrandis mon pays, j'affermis les fondements de Mari et de mon pays: ainsi, pour l'éternité j'établis mon nom. Celui qui déplacera
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<i>ú-na-ak-ka-ru-ma</i> <i>te-em-me-ni-šu</i> <i>i-ša-ak-ka-nu</i> <i>a-wi-lum šu-ú</i> <i>lu šarrum lu iššakkum</i> <i>Anum</i> <i>ù ilEn-líl</i> <i>er-re-tam le-mu-ut-tam</i> <i>li-ru-ru — šu</i> <i>ilŠamaš ka-ak-ki-šu</i> <i>ù ka-ak — ki</i> <i>um-ma-ni — šu</i> <i>li-iš-bi — ir</i> <i>ilAšnan</i> <i>ù ilSumuqan</i> <i>ma-sú li-ik-ki-a</i> <i>a-bu-ul ma-ti-šu</i> <i>li-ki-la nu-ku-ra-tum</i> <i>qá-ab-lum li-ib-ta-ri</i> <i>i-na ma-ti — šu</i> <i>šarrussu</i> ^{sú} <i>a-di ba-al-tú</i> <i>u₄-mi-ša-am ḫi-di-ir-tum</i> <i>li-im-ta-aḫ-ḫa-ar</i> <i>Anum</i> <i>ù ilEn-líl</i> <i>lu ra-bi-iš le-mu-ti-šu</i> <i>a-na da-ri-a-tim</i>	60 65 70 75	mes "documents de fondation" et qui mettra (à leur place) ses "documents de fondation", cet homme, soit-il roi ou gouverneur, qu'Anum et Enlil le maudissent d'une malédiction funeste! Que Šamaš brise ses armes et les armes de ses troupes! Qu'Ašnan et Sumuqan laissent son pays dans la disette! Que les hostilités serrent la porte de son pays! Que le combat se poursuive dans son pays! Qu'à sa royauté le malheur ne cesse de se présenter chaque jour, aussi longtemps qu'il vivra! Qu'Anum et Enlil soient pour lui de mauvais démons à jamais!
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Utu Prepares for Judgment

Raphael Kutscher, Jerusalem

The text which we are offering here¹ is the beginning of a hymn to Utu, the Lofty Judge. This particular title (d i - k u₅ - m a h), which is exclusively Utu's, never occurs in the text, but lines 22-27 describe his preparations to sit in judgment; our tentative title for this hymn is based on this section. It is obvious, however, that we have here only the beginning of the hymn, since the text ends abruptly, presumably continuing on another tablet.

As to the date of composition: Ebabbar, Utu's temple in Larsa, is mentioned in line 3, and his birth in Enun, Ningal's temple in Ur is referred to in line 9. The connections with Ur is further stressed by the mentioning of Ningal, Utu's mother, in ll. 9, 23 and 27. We may venture to suggest, therefore, that the text was composed at Ur some time during its occupation by the Larsa Dynasty, at which time the Ur school was active.² The emphasis put on Utu's being the son of Ningal may be a thinly veiled hint by the Ur author at the superiority of his city over Larsa.

We do not suggest, of course, that the present copy comes from Ur. In the reference made to Enlil and Ninlil as the ancestors of Utu (ll. 24 and 25 respectively) we may recognize, perhaps, the hand of a Nippur scribe.

In discussing the composition of divine hymns, Hallo has recently suggested that they have been occasioned by the inauguration of new statues of the respective deities.³ The same principle may be applied to our hymn, especially in the light of l. 3.

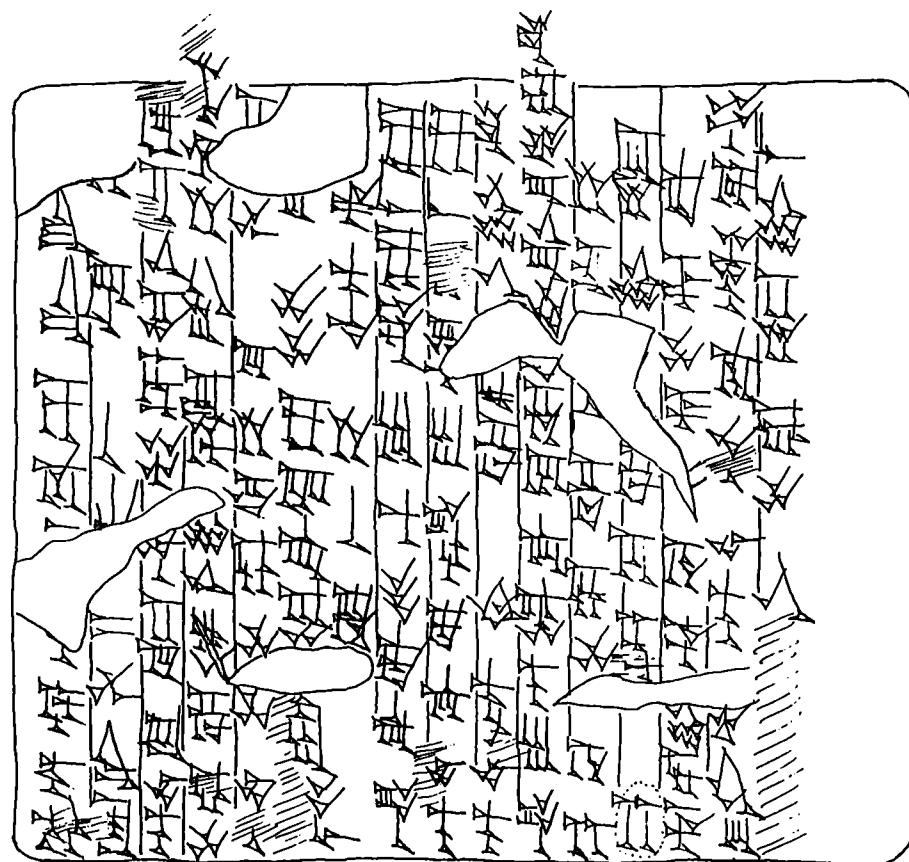
* * *

During Professor Kramer's stay in Jerusalem in 1972-73 I had the opportunity and pleasure to study some Sumerian texts with him, including this one. I wish to thank him for his help. It is my pleasure to contribute this article to his anniversary volume. *'Ad me'ā ve'ešrīm*.

¹ NBC 7915, in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Prof. W.W. Hallo, Curator of the Collection, drew my attention to this text; I am indebted to him for his kind permission to publish it and for his help in its study.

² I.e. between Abi-sare and the fall of Larsa, see Hallo, JCS 20 (1966), 92.

³ W.W. Hallo, "The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry," CRRA 17 (1969), 120.

NBC 7915
reverseNBC 7915
obverse

Transliteration

Translation

Obv.

1. [] sig-še è-dè nim-še igi-bar-[re]-dè
2. ^dutu a-zu-[gal] [a]-a sag-gíg-ga
3. su₆ na₄₂[a-gè]n-[lá] é-babbar-ra
4. ^dutu u[r-sag-ga]l lipiš ukkin-na
5. lugal [huš] anše-kur-ra du₁₀-bad-du
6. dingir zalag-ga anše-kur-ra du₁₀-bad-du
7. šilam bàn-da UŠ nu-e₁₁-dè
8. Û.BA.ZU bàn-da giš-[gan] díb-ba
9. ^dutu uru-da é-nun an-na dumu ^dnin-gal-e tu-da
10. gud giš^{er}in a-nag a ha-[šu]-úr-ra [peš]-a
11. gi-rin ša-su_x-rá e-ne-du₁₁[-du₁₁]
12. su_x-rá-ága è-a su-lim-ma gùn-àm
13. u₄-ba lugal-mu è-da-ni-dè
14. an mu-[un]-da-[dúb]-dúb ki mu-un-da-[šig]-[šig]
15. ka mu-[un]-bal [é]-gal-la è-da-ni-ta
16. an mu-u[n-]
17. giš^{si}-ga[r an-na-ke₄ silim-ma] hu-[mu]-da-gi₄-gi₄

1. . . . to go down, to lift the eyes upward,
2. Utu, the great physician, father of the black-headed,
3. Wearing a lapis lazuli beard in the Ebabbar,
4. Utu, [great warrior], heart of the assembly,
5. Terrible king, swift horse,
6. Bright god, swift horse.
7. The young cow . . . not to go down,
8. The young . . . tied to a peg(?).
9. Utu, born with the city to Ningal in the heavenly Enun,
10. The bull, water-drinking cedar, prospering (lit. growin big) by the Hašur water,
11. Shining, patient, playful,
12. Sparkling brilliance, flashing radiance he is.
13. Then, when my king is coming out,
14. The sky trembles, the earth shakes.
15. He roars in the temple when he is coming out.
16. The sky . . .
17. May the bolt of pure heaven greet him,

Rev.

18. [mul]-e'?'- [x - x]-da-ke₄ ur₄-ur₄[-re]
19. ama-ni sila-a [ba]-aš la-[x - x]
20. ^dutu-še dùl na-mu-un-di-ni-ni-[ih]-dagal
21. kur-ra sag mi-ni-[in]-íl lugal-bi na-[nam]
22. [d]utu kur-kur-ra di-bi-še tar-[re-d]è
23. [en] dumu [d]nin-gal-la-ke₄ kur-kur-ra ka-aš-bi ši-bar-re-[dè]
24. en gal-zu eš-bar dumu ^den-líl-lá-ke₄
25. ^dutu gal-zu-mah dumu [^dnin-líl]-lá-ke₄
26. ^dutu gi₄? sag-g[á mi-ni]-in-gál
27. en dumu ^dnin-gal-la di 50 šu-ni šu-mu-un-gál
28. u₄-gim kur-ra inim m[u-ni]-ib-bé
29. (u₄) kalam-ma sag [mi-ni]-in-íl
30. hur-rí-in mušen-gim [kur]-šuba_x kur-šuba_x^{ba}
31. lugal-mu ^dutu mu-da-bal-e-en
32. [igi]-ni kur-ra bí-in-lá

18. The stars . . . are awe-stricken.
19. His mother, in the street, as a gift(?) . . .
20. For Utu she spread her protection.
21. In the mountain he lifted (his) head, he is certainly its king.
22. Utu, in the mountains, to decide their judgment,
23. Lord, son of Ningal, to decide the fate of all the countries,
24. Lord who knows decisions, son of Enlil,
25. Utu, extremely clever, son of Ninlil,
26. Utu put the . . . on (his) head.
27. Lord, son of Ningal held the fifty laws in his hand.
28. Like a storm in the mountain he was speaking.
29. In the land he raised (his) head.
- 30-31. My king Utu, like a vulture you cross the pure mountains.
32. In the mountain he lifted his [eyes].

Commentary.

3. This line lends further support to Hallo's suggestion (see n. 3) that divine hymns were addressed to the cult statue of the deity. On su₆-za-gìn-lá see Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 87.

4. For *lipiš-ukkin-na* compare *lipiš-mè* = *surri tãḫāzi* "heart of battle", *lipiš-bára* "heart of princes" and *lipiš-kalam-ma* "heart of the land"; see Falkenstein, ZA 55 (1962), 48f. nn. 142, 144.

9. For *uru-da . . . tu-da* compare *uru-da mû-a* "grown with the city" as the epithet of deities (and rulers?), Sollberger, JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 285 n. 67.

10. The absence of a determinative (*kur* or *giš*) before *ḥa-šū-úr* and a genitive postposition after it may indicate that it is not the actual mountain (or forest, or tree) which is meant here, but that it is used as a gentilic adjective meaning "pure" or the like and compare *gišimmar-dilmun*, Šulgi D 34.⁴ The determinative is also absent, however, in another passage referring to Utu: *ur-sag gu₄-ḥa-šū-úr-ta-è-a gu-úg-dé-dé-e* "Warrior, bull emerging from Mt. Ḥašur (or forest), roaring (like) a lion," Enki and the World Order 373,⁵ and cf. further Wilcke, Lugalbandaepos, p. 38. Not only gods but kings and cities too can be likened to a ḥašur tree or to the Ḥašur forest, see EWO 214 and Šulgi D 35.

For *peš*, *peš_x*(JA) "to grow, grow fat" see Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 24.

11. For *gi₍₄₎-rin*, *girin* = *ellu* cf. CAD E s.v., Hallo - van Dijk, YNER 3, p. 76 and Hallo, BiOr 20 (1963), 140f. For *šà-su_x/sù-rá* cf. Römer, Königshymnen, p. 36:86 (Lipit-Ištar), Hallo, BiOr 23 (1966), 243:8 (Išbi-Erra), Hallo - van Dijk, YNER 3, p. 22:65 and *a-a-b-ba ḥu-lu ḥ-ḥa* lines *108f.⁶

12. To the references quoted in CAD E s.v. *elmešu* for *sù-rá-ága* add Bergmann, ZA 56 (1964), 4 and Civil, JNES 23 (1964), 7f. For *su-lim* = *šalummatu* see Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 116.

13. Notice that here and in ll. 28, 29 the sign *U₄* is written archaically, whereas in *dutu* it is written conventionally throughout the text.

15. We take *ka--bal* to be of the same meaning as *ka--bal-bal* = *šabāru*, CAD S, p. 3; cf. also *ka--bal* = *atwū*, CAD A/2, p. 86.

16. Restore as in l. 14?

17. The restoration of this line is based on OECT 6, 11:3f. *giš_si-gar kù-an-na-ke₄ silim-ma ḥu-mu-ra-a-b-be* = *šigar šamē ellūtum šulma liqbukum*. The two sentences cannot be exact duplicates, however, as the break in our line is too small to accommodate the entire OECT line.

20. We interpret *dūl* as a variant of *an-dūl*, and cf. the PN *A-šūr-DŪL* (= *šulūli*). For the occurrence of *šulūlu* with *rapšu* (Sum. *daga*) see CAD S, p. 243a.

23. For *ka-aš-bar* = *purussē* (*parāsu*) cf. the following passages: *ka-aš-bar an-na* = *pāris* EŠ. BAR *danim* (CT 16, 43:74f.); *dutu kalam-ma-ka di-tar ka-aš-bar-bi si-sá-bi za-e-me-en* = *šā māti dayānu šā purussēša mušteširša atta* (OECT 6, 12:23f.) and *ka-aš mu-un-bar-ra* = *pursa iparras* (SBH 56 rev. 17f., quoted by Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 178). *ka-aš-bar* has been recently studied in detail by J. Klein, JCS 23 (1971), 118 ff.

24. The parallelism between *eš-bar gal-zu* and *eš-bar-kin-ga* is discussed by Falkenstein, ZA 56 (1964), 61 (on Enki and the World Order 85); for further references see Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 128.

⁴ Our line suggests that in Klein, Šulgi D, 35 a *ḥa-šū-úr-re-mû-a* should be translated "growing at Ḥašur water" in spite of the grammatical difficulty; see Klein's commentary, p. 105.

⁵ C.A. Benito, "Enki and Ninmah" and "Enki and the World Order," University of Pennsylvania dissertation, 1969.

⁶ R. Kutscher, *a-a-b-ba ḥu-lu ḥ-ḥa*: The History of a Sumerian Congregational Lament, Yale University dissertation, 1967 (= YNER 6, forthcoming).

27. *šū* - in the verbal chain is probably a preformative, but we cannot exclude the possibility of redundancy, with *šū* occurring as a separate object and as the nominal nucleus of a compound verb *šū-gál*; on redundancy see Klein, JCS 23 (1971), 119 n. 12.

29. The *u₄* at the beginning of the line was unsuccessfully erased by the scribe.

30. We take *MŪŠ* = *šūba_x* to be a variant of *ZA.MŪŠ* = *šūba*; cf. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 113 and, for other references to *kur-šūba*, Wilcke, Lugalbandaepos, p. 201.

NUZI MISCELLANEA

E.R. Lacheman, Waltham

I. The *-t-* infix of the verb

In 1931 Dr. Kramer published a monograph on the verb in the Kirkuk Tablets (AASOR 11). At that time the number of cuneiform texts from the Kirkuk region which had been published were few in number. Since then a large number of texts has been published.

While making a study of certain aspects of the so-called *titenūti* tablets, I noticed a clause which occurs in practically all the documents of this type. It reads as follows: *enuma NN šanāti eqlu imtalā, PN₁ kaspā ša pî ṭuppi annī ana PN₂ utār, u eqelšu ileqqe*: when NN years the field has completed, he will return the money (mentioned) in this tablet and he will take back his field." I have purposely translated the verbal form *imtalā* by the English form "has completed." But this is not completely accurate grammatically. It should be translated "will have completed," that is by a future-anterior tense. In view of the fact that the action will take place in the future, a "perfect" tense — that is a tense which indicates an action in the past, — is correct. I recognize the fact that today the "future anterior" is seldom used in modern English, but when the "perfect" is used in such a case it can have only the meaning of a future anterior.

It is true that there are some cases when the *-t-* form refers to an action in the past or the present: *PN NN imēru še'i ilteqqe*, PN has (just now) received NN homers of barley."

This leads me to the conclusion that the *-t-* form is used to indicate an action which was completed in the past, is being completed now, or will be completed in the future. Only the context can determine how the form is to be translated.

II. The word *paraššannu* in the Nuzi tablets and its semantic development

In HSS 15, I published a number of texts dealing with the military organization of the king of Nuzi. One of the characteristics of some of these texts is that they deal with the protective armor worn not only by the soldiers but also by the horses of the cavalry and the chariotry, even the chariots themselves. In several of these texts there is a word which so far as I know has not yet been translated. In his *Hippologica accadica*, pp. 140, and 146, and in his index of Accadian words, p. 301, A. Salonen does not translate the word; he even suggests that because of the element *para-* it might be of Hittite origin. In his *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier*, p. 105 again he suggests that it might be a Hittite word, and a possible translation of *eine Art Pferdpanzer*, "a kind of horse armor."

CAD G, p. 140 a, quotes HSS 15,7:22 and reads [1]-*ennūti, paraššannu itti gur-bi-zu maški* and translates "one *paraššannu* coat of mail with a leather hauberk." (transliteration and translations to be corrected; see below).

Let us examine the evidence.

HSS 14,616 (= 264):7-8. *il-te-nu-tum pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu / ša sisē(pl) ù kùr-pí-ši-šu-nu ša siparri*, one pair of blankets of horses and their coat of mail of copper."

HSS 15,4:7 [x] *pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu ša mi-li-[x x]*, [x] blankets of [. .]

HSS 15,7:10 [1]-*en-nu-ti pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu / PN 1-en-nu-ti ša-ri-am it-ti kùr-pí-sú ša [a-x x]*, one pair of blankets with the coat of mail of [the side(?)]

HSS 15,14: It begins with *šup-pu ú-nu-tum ša la illiku*, tablet of the implements which did not go (to battle?) and consists of eighteen paragraphs containing the following elements: NN (from 4 to 14) *ta-pa-lu ša-ri-am ša amēli*, NN (from 1 to 5) *ši-mi-it-ti ša-ri-am ša sisē* NN (from 1 to 3) *išten-nu-tum* (or 2/3 *šimitti*) *paraššannu ša sisē / ša qāt PN*, NN pair(s) of coats of mail of men, NN "teams" of coats of mail of horses, NN blankets of PN. On the left edge is given the total: [1] *ma-at 28 ta-pa-lu ša-ri-am maški ša amēli x +2 ši-mi-it-ti ša-ri-am ša sisē x + 1 ši-mi-it-ti pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu x x x x / ša la illikuni (DU-ku-MEŠ-ni) ša šumeli*

HSS 15,16 has 19 sections, each of which has NN (from 1 to 10) pairs (*ištennutu/tapalu*) of *šariam* *ša IM.MEŠ*, NN (from 1 to 5) pairs of *šariam* of horses and NN (from 1 to 3 + x) pairs of *paraššannu*. At the end to the total is given as 108 pairs of coats of mail of men(?); 23 (sic! for 33) pairs of coats of mail of horses and 24 pairs of blankets of horses (which by the way proves that *ištennutu* means one pair.) One interesting exception is in section 10 (line 21 where we have *išten-nu-tum pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu ša a-ši-šu*)

HSS 15,20 is unfortunately broken at the important points. The *paraššannu* is mentioned 6 times; where the passage is clear we have *paraššannu ša sisē*. In one case, (line 37 we have *pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu ša sisē ù GIŠ.GIGIR*; but compare line 41 *pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu u GIŠ.GIGIR la DU*.)

Thus there is a certain pattern which can be seen in these lists of armor: the sequence is always the same: 1) coats of mail of men; 2) coats of mail of horses; 3) blankets (of horses). The number of coats of mail of men varies from three to five times that of coats of mail of horses and the latter to the *paraššannu* from 1 : 1 to three : two.

There are a few other cases where the word occurs, but they are too isolated to help in understanding its meaning: in HSS 5,106:5 we have: *pa-ra-aš-ša-nu ù kùr-pí-sú siparri*, 1 p. and a *kurpisu* of copper. I take the word *kurpisu* as related to the French word *carapace*, which according to Littré (s.v.) is the upper shell of the turtle. In HSS 14,616:8 we have *il-te-nu-tu(m) pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu ša sisē(pl) ù kùr-pí-ši-šu-nu ša siparri*, one pair of blankets of horses and their protective armor of copper. I interpret this as meaning that the blankets were placed under the metal armor so as not to hurt the back of horses. In HSS 15,7:20 ff.: [1]-*en-nu-ti pa-ra-aš-ša-an-nu it-ti kùr-pí-sú ša a-ši-šu*, (cf. above HSS 15,7:10) where we have the same meaning. In 527 there is a long inventory of armors but the word *paraššannu* does not occur.

Therefore I think that the simplest explanation of this word is to derive it from the verb *parāšu*, "to spread" to which an ending *-annu* of Hurrian origin was added as was so common in Nuzi (f. the same ending for the colors of horses, e.g. *amkamannu*). The *paraššannu* was something which was spread over the back of horses, hence my translation "blanket." In later periods we see on several bas-reliefs of Assyrian kings horses covered with blankets, even horses pulling chariots (Cf. V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 [Paris, 1869], Pl. 60, Nos. 1-2 = Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, 2, p. 452.)

There does not seem to have been saddles. A horse rider simply sat on a blanket. In Hebrew the root *paraš* refers to the rider. Later in Midrashic Hebrew the word can even mean "noble" since only a wealthy man could afford horse-back riding (cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud*, s.v.).

A Late Assyrian Catalogue of Literary and Scholarly Texts

W.G. Lambert, Birmingham

Catalogues of literary cuneiform texts first appear in the Old Babylonian period and in these the texts are of course almost entirely Sumerian. S.N. Kramer first drew attention to the existence of such catalogues in BASOR 88 (1942), 10ff., where he edited the Old Babylonian lists of incipits so far identified. His interest in these texts has continued as more have been identified, and the fruits of these studies have appeared in WZJ 6 (1956/57), 389ff., RA 55 (1961), 169ff., and UET 6/2 p. 4b.¹ Thus it is appropriate to present here in his honour pieces of a Late Assyrian catalogue which shews that some of the texts cited by incipit in the Old Babylonian catalogues were still being used a whole millennium later.

The purpose of listing titles of texts can only be guessed at in most cases. The lists might have served like modern library catalogues, but other uses could be conjectured. What is offered here by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum is three pieces of a catalogue with some indication, however obscure, of origin or purpose. A total of five broken pieces is involved, though since the present writer has joined two pairs of these pieces, only three portions of texts are involved. They come from the K and related collections in the British Museum and are very probably derived from Ashurbanipal's libraries. Every indication of clay, script, format and content suggests that these are parts of one tablet. It is a catalogue of texts divided by rulings into sections, and the end of each section is also marked by a short gap followed by a personal name immediately above the ruling. Only two such names survive: Adad-šumu-ušur and Aplâ. The kind of relationship between these persons and the texts is not explained and can only be conjectured. One might imagine that authorship is involved, but the quantity and diversity of texts in each section is strongly opposed to such an interpretation, though a catalogue does exist which gives authors' names.² More likely the men either supplied or edited the texts specified. The names were in fact in use in Late Assyrian times, and an Adad-šumu-ušur served as astrologer to Esarhaddon,³ indeed he is well known, and an Aplâ, though not so important, also served Esarhaddon as astrologer, from Borsippa.⁴ Proof cannot be offered, but it is not unlikely that in this text we have information about the formation of Ashurbanipal's library. Hitherto only Rm 150 has been published, by Langdon in RA 28 (1931), 136, though Sayce had given a transliteration only in 1884 (ZK 1 191-192), and Bezold a few years later offered some improvements in ZA 4 (1889), 439 note 2. K 14067 was cited by Schuster in ZA 44 (1938), 266 note 3.

¹ See also W.W. Hallo, JAOS 83 (1963), 167ff.

² W.G. Lambert, JCS 16 (1962), 59ff.

³ See the letters edited by S. Parpola, AOAT 5/1 (1970), pp. 88ff.

⁴ See S. Parpola, Iraq 34 (1972), 29.

K 14067 + Rm 150

1	(traces)	
2	mur.gud im-ru-u b[al-lu]	Murgud = fodder = [feed]
3	ulutim(SIG ₇ , ALAM) nab-[ni-tum]	Ulutim = form
4	an.šar d _a -[nu-um]	Anšar = Anum
5	an d _a -[nu-um]	An = Anum
6	ri-kis girri(kaskal) inūma(ud) anu d _{en} -líl	Excerpt tablets of <i>When Anu, Enlil</i>
7	DIŠ iq-qur ṭpuš(dù) ^{uš} : bi-bil-a-ni	If he destroys and rebuilds, the . . .
8	iškar(éš.gàr) si-dù	The series of Sidu
9	ér.šà.hun.gámeš	Laments to appease the heart
	(gap)	(gap)
10	maplā(abila) ^a	Mr. Aplā
11	inūma anu d _{en} .líl iškar(éš.gàr) aḫūti(bar)meš	<i>When Anu, Enlil</i> , the apocryphal series
12	a-di ša-a-ti-šú	with its commentary
13	šumma(DIŠ) ālu ina mēlê(sukud) ^e šakin(gar) : DIŠ iq-qur ṭpuš(dù) ^{uš}	If a city is set on a hill. If he destroys and rebuilds
14	a-di aḫūti(bar)meš	with its apocryphal lines
15	ša-a-tu mu-kal-lim-tu	commentary and exposition
16	diri at-ru : da.ra ni/šal-tum	Diri = abundant, Dara = battle(?)
17	alam la-a-nu	Alam = shape
18	iškar(éš.gàr) DIŠ a na-a-qu	The series A = howl
19	[iz]i i-šá-tum	Izi = fire
20	[išk]ar(éš.gàr) d _{zi} -qi-qu	The series Spirit
21	[. . .] x	[. . .]
22	[e-nu-m]a e-liš mu-kal-lim-t[u]	[When] on high, exposition
23	[. . .] x (x) d _i -[g _i -g _i]	[. . .] . . . the Igigi
24	[. . .] x zu [. . .]	
25	(trace)	

K 13684 + Sm 2137

1	(traces)	
2	d _l ugal.bàn.da ku[r ki.sù.ud.da]	Lugalbanda to the mountain, [the distant place]
3	ša-a-tu ša lugal.e ud m[e.lám.bi nir.gál]	Commentary on <i>The King, the . . .</i> , [whose splendour is lordly]
4	iškar(éš.gàr) d _{gil} [ameš(GIŠ.G[IN.maš])]	The series of Gilgameš
5	iškar(éš.gàr) e-t[a-na]	The series of Etana
6	šarru-kīnu(gi.na) šu-p[u-ú]	Sargon, the magnificent
7	šarru-kīnu(gi.na) šarru [dan-nu]	Sargon, the powerful king
8	tub-šin-na pi-[. . .]	. . . [. . .]
9	[ti]n.tir ^{ki} b[a-bi-lu]	Tintir = Babylon

K 11922

1	[x (x)] x id be x [x]	[. . .] . . . [. . .]
	(gap)	(gap)
2	mdadad-šumu-ušur(PAP)	Mr. Adad-šumu-ušur
3	lugal.e ud me.lám.bi nir.gál mu-kal-lim-tu	The king, the . . ., whose splendour is lordly, ex- position
4	an.gim dí.m.ma	Fashioned like An
5	zà.mí en.e : d _{en} .líl.lá en an.ki.a	Praise to the lord. Enlil, lord of heaven and under- world
6	giš-ri dumu.nun.na	The powerful one, son of the prince
7	i-nu bēlu šit-ra-ḫu	When the mighty lord
8	ù.gá.e d _{en} .líl.lá	. . . Enlil
9	gá.e.me.en nam d _{en} .líl.lá	I, even I, the position of Enlil
10	a-na d _{marduk} bēli kab-t[u]	To Marduk, the revered lord
11	la.bar dim ₄ x (x) : d _{nà} sukk[al . . .]	Great vizier . . . ; Nabū, vizier [. . .]

Many of the texts can be identified, and these are listed below with brief bibliographical notes, though no attempt is made to differentiate between the various terms for "commentary".

K 14067 + Rm 150

2 This is the well known lexical series which excerpts lines from ur₅.ra = ḫubullu and adds a synonym to the Babylonian word. It is appearing with Ur₅ in MSL 5ff.

3 This is the well known lexical series, to appear in MSL.

4 This is a double-column god list of considerable size, but so far unpublished. The present writer is preparing the remains known to him for inclusion with the edition of An = Anum.

5 Two god lists have this as the first line, both of double-column format. The one (see CT 24,19) is short and little known. The better-known longer list is probably meant here. Though it has been studied by P. Michatz, Die Götterlisten and H. Zimmern, BSGW 63/4, there is no published edition, and that submitted by R. Litke as a Yale thesis is being revised by the present writer for publication with other god lists.

6, 11-12 *When Anu, Enlil* is the standard Babylonian compilation of astrological omens, see Ch. Virolleaud, L'Astrologie Chaldéenne. A new edition is being prepared by E. Reiner.

7, 13b This series has been published by R. Labat, Un Calendrier babylonien des travaux des signes et des mois. For biblu see CAD biblu C.

8 The series of Sidu is mentioned in the catalogue of texts and authors (JCS 16 (1962), 66 vi 13), where he is described as "old" (la-bi-ri), in Johns, ADD 2 943 i 8, here, and in K 1870. Apart from the series his name is given in V R 44 iii 2 (JCS 11 [1957], 12), where it is explained as Enlil-ibni, and in the Warka text which dates authors, where m₈ i . d ù šá-niš md_{en}-líl-ibni um-man-nu is put in the time of Išbi-Erra (van Dijk, UVB 18 [1962], 44 14). The equation si = Enlil is seemingly supported by a line in An = Anum: d MIN₈ i = [d_{en}-líl] (CT 24,5:41), but this may be an error since the unpublished Yale duplicate and the

forerunner TCL 15 pl. xxv 46 both have ^dšID, not ^dsi. Sidu is in fact an Old Sumerian name, see B. Landsberger apud Çiğ and Kızılyay, *Zwei altbab. Schulbücher aus Nippur* p. 103. K 1870 is the only tablet known to the present writer which belongs to this series. The first line of the colophon reads [. .] x 30+5 d u b . m e š é š . g à r s i . d ù. Thus it was a long series of either 35 tablets or more (95?). The content of K 1870 suggests that the series of Sidu probably was bilingual proverbs.

9 It is not clear if this line refers to an established and well known corpus of eršahungas, or to a private collection. Four fragments of tablets from the K collection offer lists in incipits of eršahungas: Langdon, BL nos. 115, 138, 139 and RA 22 (1925), 123.

13a Šumma ālu is the big collection of omens derived from everyday happenings. It has been edited by F. Nötscher, *Or* 31 (1928), 39-42, 51-54.

16-19 These are all lexical texts, but not all are clearly described. The last, 19, has been edited in MSL 13, and in the late libraries it was certainly a series, though this fact is not stated here. The series given in 18 could be either the longer á a = nāqu or the shorter e.a a = nāqu (see Schuster, *ZA* 44 [1938] 238ff. and the forthcoming edition in MSL). This ambiguity in line 18 and the omission of any statement that i z i = išūtum is a series encourages the supposition that 16a and 17 refer to the well known series despite the incompleteness of the entries if this is correct. However, no lexical text d a r a = ni/šal-tum is known, but obviously one did exist.

20 This is the Dream Book edited by A.L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S. 46/3).

22 There are in fact two commentaries on Enūma Eliš, one on the whole text, the other on the last tablet alone. No doubt the former is meant here. It will be given with the text of the epic in the writer's forthcoming Babylonian Creation Myths.

K 13684 + Sm 2137

2 This is presumably the late bilingual edition of the Lugalbanda Epic, see C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*.

3 See K 11922 3-4.

4 This is the late edition of the Babylonian Gilgameš in twelve tablets.

5 For the Etana legend (also given as é š . g à r d e - t a - n a in the catalogue Rm 618 apud Bezold, *Catalogue* 4, p. 1627) see Langdon, *Bab* 12/1-2; E. Ebeling, *AfO* 14 (1941-44), 298ff. and LKA 14; von Soden, *WZKM* 55 (1959), 59ff.; Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 31 (1960), 8ff. and *JNES* 33 (1974), 237ff. (not all the pieces given there are proved to be Etana, however).

6-7 These two Sargon texts appear, separated, in the catalogue Rm 618 (loc. cit.), lines 5 (šarru-kēnu(g i . n a) šu-pu-u) and 22 (šarru-kēnu(g i . n a) MAN dan-nu). The latter is the text which begins with the birth legend (CT 13,43; CT 46,46 see H.G. Güterbock, *ZA* 42 [1934], 62ff.), and which is sometimes wrongly called the birth legend of Sargon. Only the first few lines were occupied with that. The former has not been identified so far, though it might be the Late Assyrian version of the King of Battle (see Güterbock, op. cit., 86ff.). The Amarna version began šar tamḥāri, but since an Ashurbanipal fragment of the same story (*AfO* 20 [1963], 161-162) has no verbal correspondences with the Amarna version, it is possible that this fragment is from šarru-kēnu šarru šūpū.

8 The word *tubšinnu* seems to occur only once elsewhere, in line 149 of the Kuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn (ed. O.R. Gurney, *AnSt* 5 [1955], 106): *tub-šin-na e-pu-uš-ka narā áš-tur-ka*. Hitherto it has been assumed to indicate some kind of written document as being in parallel with *narū*. However, the following lines refer to the stele alone and ignore the *tubšinnu*. The attempt to take the word as a Sumerian compound of d u b and š i n runs into the problem that while "tablet" is ex hypothesi very probable, there is no suitable word š i n. On these lines one would best understand the word as Akkadian: *tuppi šinni* "ivory tablet", which could refer to an ivory tablet with a waxed surface for writing. But the difficulty remains that on this view the text tells of making both a tablet and a stele, but goes on to tell the future ruler to read the stele alone. From the context it seems more likely that *tubšinnu* refers to the literary text as such, whether it be "story" or "moral tale". It is very probable that the first line of the text should have *tubšinnu* restored as the first word, since it ends "read and re-read the stele" (op. cit. 98:1), and that the catalogue entry under consideration is in fact the incipit of this legend. Perhaps the whole line should be restored: *tub-šin-na pi-[it-qa-ad-ma] narā šī-tas-si* "Pay attention to the story, read and re-read the stele". The word *tubšinnu* might be the same as: t u . b a . š i . i n K U , = t u - b a - š i - [n u] in Ea IV 182 (*AS* 7, p. 21).

9 This is the topography of Babylon, for which see E. Unger, *Babylon* pp. 229ff.; van der Meer *AfO* 13 (1939/1940), 124ff. and *Iraq* 5 (1938), 55ff.; Gurney, *Iraq* 36 (1974).

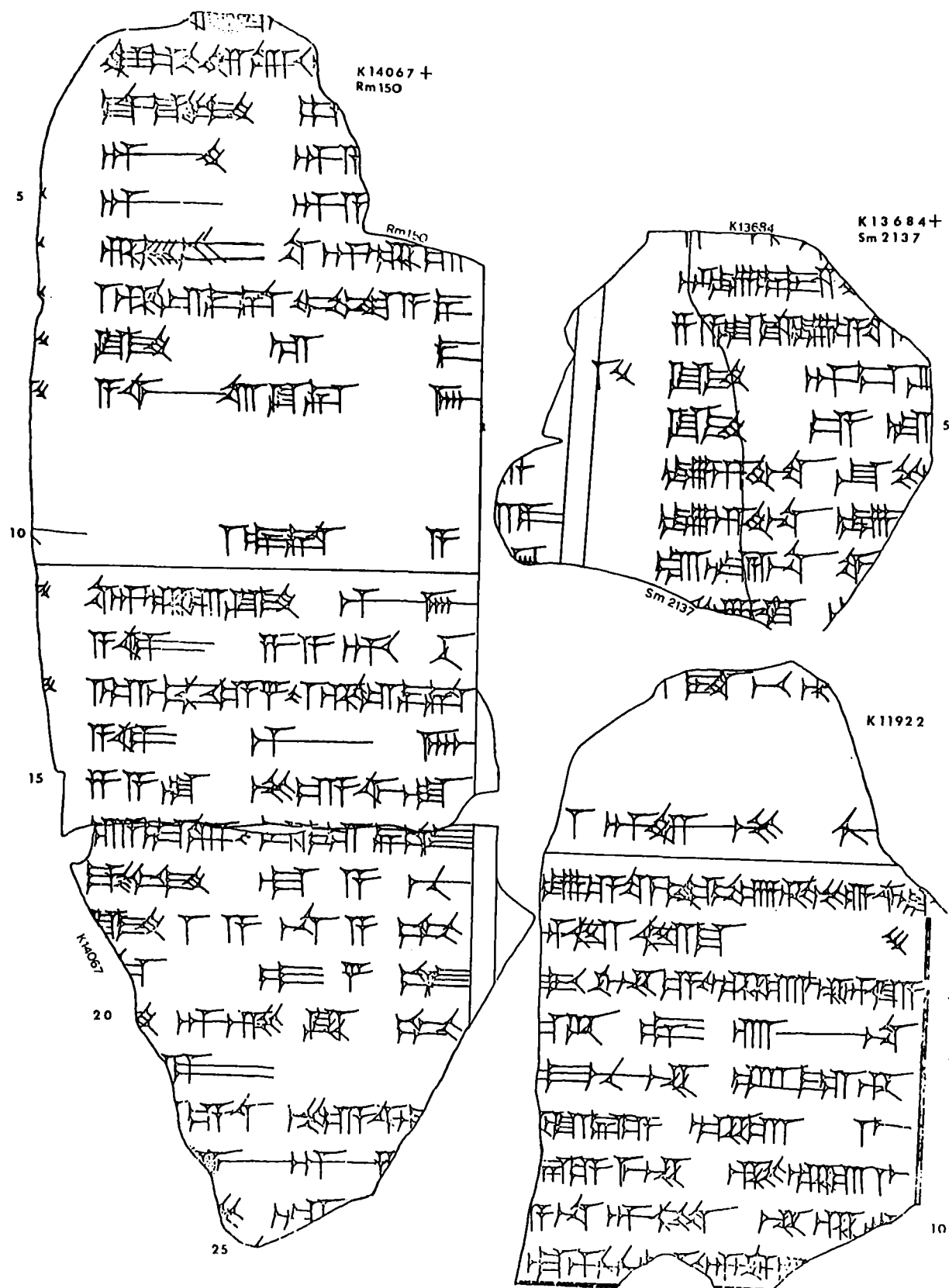
K 11922

3-4 and K 13684+ 3 These are two epics, Sumerian in Old Babylonian, and mostly bilingual in Middle Assyrian and late copies. Both were edited by Hrozný (MVAF 1903/5) and Radau (*BE Ser D* 5/2), and Lugale only by Geller (*AOTU* 1/4). New editions are in preparation, Lugale by Zubizarreta, Angim by J. Cooper. If šātu and mukallimtu indicate two different commentaries, it follows that Lugale had two such aids to its understanding in Late Assyrian times.

5a CT 51 220 offers a colophon of tablet IV of this series: d u b . 4 . k á m z à . m í e n . e [. . .]. The present writer does not know any other piece of the work, though such may exist unidentified.

5b-11 Few if any of these texts can be identified, so probably they are hymns or other short texts. That meant in 11b might be the bilingual Nabû hymn 4 R 14 no. 3, and something relevant to 8 occurs in an inscription of Esarhaddon: (the city Assur) ša . . . k i - d i n - n u - u s - s u - u n š á - a k - n a - a t - m a k a - n a k (-) K A ? š ú - n u ù . g á . e d e n . l í l . l á (Borger, *Esarh.* pp. 2-3). Unfortunately neither reading nor meaning of this is certain, and Borger's discussion remains valid.

From the remains of the tablet it is clear that it consisted of not less than three columns each side. Thus the surviving portions are only a fraction of the whole. No conclusions then can be drawn from the lack of any title. The general picture obtainable for the moment is clear. Along with the lexical lists, god lists, commentaries and Akkadian texts, all of which in their present form are not earlier than the second half of the Second Millennium, there are Sumerian texts of greater antiquity. The three epics, Lugalbanda, Lugale and Angim are well known, and titles of other works may belong to this early group, though until the texts are known nothing can be affirmed. A new item of information concerns the commentary, or two commentaries, on Lugale. This is the first traditional Sumerian text on which commentaries are attested. So far no single piece has been identified, but with the knowledge such did exist there is hope that pieces may be found, and they will undoubtedly help the elucidation of this important text.



The Fourth Tablet of Erimhuš

Erle Leichty, Philadelphia

During the course of cataloguing Sippar tablets in the British Museum, I was fortunate enough to discover a nearly complete example of the fourth tablet of Erimhuš. The tablet, BM 59809 and its duplicate, BM 56957 are published below with the kind permission of E. Sollberger, Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities and the Trustees of the British Museum.

Until now the fourth tablet of Erimhuš has been known from three fragments published in CT 18 and an unpublished duplicate used by Landsberger in his reconstruction of the series for the CAD. This latter text is not available to me, but I have been able to reconstruct most of it from CAD entries as noted in the variants and commentary. The unpublished Chicago piece apparently comes from the lower part of a tablet. This has led Landsberger to overestimate the number of missing lines. As a consequence, the line numbers given in CAD are too high. Where they are definitely known, I have included the CAD line numbers in brackets after the correct numbers.

The complete Erimhuš IV contained 150 lexical entries. In addition, source A (BM 59809) and source B (K. 4321) contain traces of colophons. I cannot read the traces on source A, but on source B there are ends of the catch line of tablet V plus the end of the series name and the ends of three lines of a standard Assurbanipal colophon. The catch line for Erimhuš V is *š u . g a r = ga-ma-lu* and is quoted in CAD sub *gamālu* both as Erimhuš V 1 and IV 232. The latter is from source B.

The composition itself is extremely difficult and I frankly admit that I do not understand large portions of it. Not only are there many previously unattested words, but it is also often very difficult to reconcile the Sumerian with the Akkadian. It is also not always clear as to why certain terms were grouped together.

Nonetheless, the tablet is of extreme interest and it is hoped that its presentation here will add to our knowledge of Sumerian as well as Akkadian.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank my friend and colleague, Åke Sjöberg, for a great deal of help and many bright ideas about this text. Needless to say, I take full responsibility for the idiocies.

A = BM 59809 (pl. X*)
 B = K.4311 and K.4321 (CT 18,42)
 C = K.4201 (CT 18,38)
 D = BM 56957 (Pinches copy)

A B

1.	[x.šú].a	si-ḫi-ip ma-a-tum
2.	[x.x].UD	ka-la-ma
3.	niḡ ¹ .nam	mi ¹ ma šum-šu
4.	[šú.d]u ₇ min šu.du ₇	nap-ḫar-tum
5.	[du ₈] da	tu-uḫ-ḫu-du
6.	ri ¹ ra-a	ra-mu-ú
7.	[x].za.al.la	ša-al-la-du-ú
8.	ib ¹ .tak ₄	ka-lu-ma
9.	gul	ra-pa-qu
10.	[x].la	ra-ta-qu
11.	kiri ₄	la-ba-an ap-pi
12.	[x].ḡid.ḡid	su-up-pu-ú
13.	ri ¹ kiri ₄ .ba	ap-pu e-nu-ú
14.	[. . .] LU ID DI	x x x ¹ .ni
15.	ir	i-ri-šu
16.	si	za-ú
17.	si ¹ .im	ši-ri ba-an-tim
18.	igi ¹ .x	ḫa ¹ .ni-nu
19.	ki.sal ¹ ki.sal ¹	pu-uḫ-rum
20.	ni.it.ta ¹ nita	ti-i-rum
21.	gi ¹ gi ¹ gal ¹ gi ¹ gal	na-an-za-zu
22. [44]	da.agdag	šub-tum
23. [45]	gu.ruḡar	mu-ša-bu
24. [46]	[ta].ka.anGIŠGAL	ták-ka-nu
25. [47]	[x].x ¹ GIŠGAL	su-uk-ku
26. [48]	[x].ù.na	pan-pa-nu
27. [49]	x ¹ .lá	du-u-um
28. [50]	[ki].ús.sa	pa-rak-ka
29. [51]	[x].gul	šub-tu
30. [52]	[ub].líl.lá	ib-ra-tu
31. [53]	[ki].ús.sa	ni-me-du

Variants

8. íb ib-ta-qa ta k₄ ka-lu-lu (after CAD)
 24. B: ták-kan-nu for ták-ka-nu
 25. B: su k for [x].x¹GIŠGAL
 26. B: pa-an-pa-nu for pan-pa-nu
 27. B: du-ú for du-u-um
 28. B: pa-rak-ku for pa-rak-ka

A B

32. [54]	[HÚB].sar	ḫa-an-na-as-ru
33. [55]	[HÚB].sar.ra	ša-an-na-as-ru
34. [56]	gu	qu-ú
35. [57]	[a].ḫa ¹ .an	nu-šu-ú
36. [58]	[ḡa].ḫa.an	ga-ú
37. [59]	[NE.en.sur]	e ¹ .de-du
38. [60]	[. . .]	[ša]-ra-pu
39. [61]	[BÚR.na.àm]	ḫa ¹ .ra-pu
40. [62]	[KA.al]	[ga]-ú
41. [63]	[KA.za.ra.an]	[ga-ša-šu]

col. ii

42. [64]	en.nam.tar.ra	na-ad-ru-[ru]
43. [65]	dím di.im tar	na-dar-ru ¹ [ru]
44. [66]	dím.sar.ra	na-zar-bu ¹ [bu]
45. [67]	sù.sù.ga.àm	sa-ap-pí-ri-[tu]
46. [68]	ta.ra ¹ tar	ta-ra-[ru]
47. [69]	tar.tar min.min ri	pa-ra-[du]
48. [70]	mud.da	ga-la-ti
49.	ḡid ḡi.id min ḡid	ša-pu-[u]
50.	è.NE	e-bu-[u]
51.	ḡal.è.NE	na-pa-[šu]
52.	bi.il.lu.dipA.AN	pil-lu-du-[u]
53.	PA.AN GUD	up-ša-šu ¹ [u]
54.	si.im.si.im	uṣ-šu ¹ [nu]
55.	di ₅ di.di di ₅	nu-uk-[x-x]
56.	di ₅ .di ₅ min.min gu ₄	bu-ul [. . .]
57.	RU u.u RU	su-up-[pu-u]
58.	x x x ¹ ag.a	su-ul-[lu-u]
59.	[x] min ki.li kíl	uṣ-tam-x ¹ [x]

Variants

32. HÚB. gu x gu for [HÚB]. sar (after CAD)
 33. [HÚB]. sar.ri for [HÚB]. sar.ra (after CAD)
 sa-an-na-as-ru for ša-an-na-as-ru (after CAD)
 39. ḫa-la-pu for ḫa¹.ra-pu (after CAD)
 42. en.nam.UM.sar.ra for en.nam.tar.ra (after CAD)
 43. dím.kúr for dí m di.im tar (after CAD)
 na-da-ru-ru for na-dar-ru¹[ru] (after CAD)
 44. dí m.sar.ra for dí m.sar.ra (after CAD)
 45. ú.sù.ḡi₄.a for sù.sù.ḡa.àm (after CAD)
 sa-pi-ḫu-tu for sa-ap-pí-ri-[tu] (after CAD)
 47. pa-ra-ru for pa-ra-[du] (after CAD)
 48. mud.da.àm for mud.da (after CAD)

A	B	C	D
60.	ka.ad r _x ¹ . [x]		šu-uš[. . .]
61.	li. ¹ x x x ¹		i-tap[. . .]
62.	gú.me.ir.me.[ir]		ha-na-[bu]
63.	sa _h .ha.hu		ha-nu-[x]
64.	gú nín ¹ .tuk		i te hi [x x]
65. [117]	sù.sù.di.bi		sa-ta-[x]
66. [118]	sig ₄ .lá		sak-la-[a]
67. [119]	ia.hu.du.um		ia-hu-du-ú
68.	gùgu		ri-ig-mu
69.	šeg _x (KAxŠID).gi ₄ .a		mu-ut-tu-ú
70.	r _{KA} ¹ .gal.gal.la		gu-uq-qu- ¹ ú ¹
71.	ki.še.e.še		šá-ru-[u]
72. [123]	KA.šu.gál		bi-ru-[tu]
73. [124]	KA.ri.ri.ga		šu-ta-mu-[u]
74. [125]	lu ₁ ul.lu ki.la kíl		šá- ¹ u
75. [126]	KA.kéš.da		ú-tal-lu-u
76. [127]	da.a.ri.a		da-ru-u
77. [128]	su ₈ .su ₈		šur-ru-u
78. [129]	pa.ag.da.ru		pa-ag-da-ru-u
79. [130]	im.nu.gál.la		si-iš-šá
80. [131]	im.sùh		si-hi-tú
81. [132]	im.zi.ir.a		sir-ri-tú
82. [133]	mu.sa.dul.la		si-i-ru
83. [134]	ninda.zag.ga		[a-kal sa]-a-ki
84. [135]	r _{ninda} .sal.sal.la ¹		[MIN É e-mu-ti]
85. [136]	[. . .]r _x ¹		r _x ¹ [. . .]
86. [137]	[nì.me].gar		ri-[iš-tú]
87. [138]	íl		ma-[a-ú]
88. [139]	íl.íl		ga-[ma-a-ú]
89. [140]	[níg].ra.ra		šit- ¹ lu ¹ [ú]

Variants

65. x.[s]a.[U]D.BI for sù.sù.di.bi (after CAD)
 66. sig.lá for sig₄.lá (after CAD)
 67. ia.hu.du.a for ia.hu.du.um (after CAD)
 71. B: ki.še.e.šá for ki.še.e.še
 73. According to CAD sub amû A v., the unpublished duplicate adds a line here: 73a. KA.KA. du g₄.ga = šu-ta-mu-[u]
 74. B: lu₁.kil for lu₁ul.lu ki.la kíl
 76. da.ri.a for da.a.ri.a (after CAD)
 83. ur-qí for [sa]-a-ki (after CAD)

A	B	C	D
col. iii			
90. [141]	KI.BI.KAK		nu-uk- ¹ ku ¹
91. [142]	KI.BI.KAK		pa-qa-[du]
92. [143]	KI.BI.KAK		ki-ri-e-[tum]
93. [144]	KI.BIGi ₃ .bu.unGAR		ta-kul- ¹ tum ¹
94. [145]	r _{mí} ¹ nu.ús.sa		muq-qu
95. [146]	nu.šá ₄		le-em-ma
96. [147]	sag.ra _h ra.ab		ar-ri-qu
97. [148]	r _{gál} ¹ .gál		mu- ¹ ur ² .qu
98. [149]	gál.gál.[x].r _x ¹		lu-[. . .]
99. [150]	[za].sa.ag ₈ ag		sa-ka-a-pu
100. [151]	[gi].ba.an		šu-har-ru-ru
101. [152]	[x].lim.ma		tak-[x]
102. [153]	[ba].ra.dfm.ma		nu-ut-tu-lum
103. [154]	r _h é ¹ .àm		a-an-nu
104. [155]	bi.ri.ig		a-an-šu
105. [156]	[šu].lum		ha-ma-šum
106. [157]	[šu]. ¹ tab ¹ .ba		e-še-pú
107. [158]	[šu].gur		kup-pu-ru
108. [159]	[šu].gi ₄		ha-ba-šu
109. [160]	[šu].gi.a		ka-pa-šu
110. [161]	r _{inim} ¹ .nu.gar		nu-ul-la-tum
111. [162]	[x]. ¹ x.x ¹ . [x]		r _x ¹ [. . .]
112. [163]	KA. ¹ x ¹ .ra. ¹ x ¹		[. . .]
113. [164]	KA.da.ra		r _{sa} ¹ [. . .]
114. [165]	sa.ús.bi		sa-ab-bi- ¹ tú
115. [166]	nu.sa.ús.bi		sa-ab-bi- ¹ tú
116. [167]	dìm.ma		ú-la-lu
117. [168]	sig.ga		en-šá
118. [169]	dìm.dìm.ma		du-un-na-mu-u

Variants

90. Text C omits nu-
 95. nu.še for nu.šá₄; le-e-mu for le-em-ma (after CAD)
 102. nu-ut-tu-lu for nu-ut-tu-lum (after CAD)
 104. ri.ig for bi.ri.ig (after CAD)
 un-šu for a-an-šu (after CAD)
 105. C: ha-ma-šu for ha-ma-šum
 106. e-še-pu for e-še-pú (after CAD)
 107. šu.kár for [šu].gur (after CAD)
 ku-pu-[ru] for kup-pu-ru (after CAD)
 108. ha-ma-šu for ha-ba-šu (after CAD)
 109. ka-ba-šu for ka-pa-šu (after CAD)
 118. B: dun-na-mu-u for du-un-na-mu-u

A B

119. [170]	im.ri.a ba.ad _{bad}	ar- ¹ bu ¹
120. [171]	íl.nu.tuk	ṭi-iḫ-ḫu- ¹ u ¹
121. [172]	Á.KAL.nu.tuk	la i-šá-nu-[u]
122. [173]	ús.sa.É.SIG ₄	in- ¹ du ¹
123. [174]	maš.gar.ra	šab- ¹ su ¹
124. [175]	dīm.ma	ti-i-[ru]
125. [176]	dīm.dīm.ma	sak-[lu]
col. iv		
126.	[. . .]	[. . .]
127.	[. . .]	[. . .]
128.	[. . .]	[. . .]
129.	[. . .]	[. . .]
130.	[. . .]	[. . .]
131.	[. . .]	[. . .]
132.	[. . .]	[. . .]
133.	[. . .] ¹ x ¹	¹ nu ¹ -. [. . .] ¹ x ¹
134.	[. . .] ¹ ri ¹	¹ ḫu ¹ -. [x] ¹ tú ¹
135.	[. . .]	¹ la ¹ -. [x] ¹ x ¹
136. [217]	[. . .]	[su-ur-ru]
137. [218]	[sur.ra]	[ša-ra]- ¹ ru ¹
138. [219]	[sur.ra] ¹ búr ¹	¹ ša ¹ -ra- ¹ mu ¹
139. [220]	[níg.bà.ra.ga]	¹ at-mu ¹
140. [221]	[níg.íl.la]	[ku]- ¹ su ¹ -. [ú]
141. [222]	[a.na.àm.ne.e]	¹ mi ¹ -. [nu-ú an-nu-ú]
142. [223]	[. . .]	[. . .]
143. [224]	[. . .]	[. . .]
144. [225]	[. . .]	[. . .]
145. [226]	[si].ra	¹ sa-a-bu ¹
146. [227]	[si] ¹ ra.bal ¹	¹ aḫ-ra-a-tú ¹
147. [228]	[UN.da].gan.ba	kul-lat ni-ši
148. [229]	[. . .].e.ne	[te-ni-iš-tu]
149. [230]	[gú.íl] ¹ la ¹ .ab	[e-li KUR]
150. [231]	lugal.me	be-el-ni

Traces of the colophon

- Variants
119. B: im.ri.a bad for im.ri.a_{ba.ad}_{bad}
120. B: ṭi-ḫu-u for ṭi-iḫ-ḫu-¹u¹
122. B: im-[du] for in-¹du¹
141. me-nu-ú an-nu-ú for ¹mi¹-. [nu-ú an-nu-ú] (after CAD)
146. aḫ-ra-tu for ¹aḫ-ra-a-tú¹ (after CAD)

COMMENTARY

1. For this restoration compare the common phrase a.n.ki.šú.a = *šamê u eršetì*, AHw, p. 1034a sub *se/iḫpu*.
4. To the best of my knowledge this equation is unattested elsewhere. šu.du₇ is normally *šuklulu* in Akkadian.
7. This word seems to be unique. Neither the context nor the broken Sumerian serve to establish the meaning.
10. The verb *ratāqu* is seemingly otherwise unattested. It is tempting to read [s a l]. l a = *ra-qá(!)-qu*, but the tablet has clearly *ra-ta-qu*.
11. k i r i₄ appears to be an abbreviated writing for k i r i₄. š u . g á l.
12. Cf. š à . š u . g í d || *suppl* Iraq 32 (1970), 63:38.
13. The meaning of this idiom is unclear, but cf. *appī la enū* BWL, p. 38:14 where it also seems to refer to prostration or prayer. The writing b a for *enū* is otherwise unknown to me.
14. The traces of this very cramped line are unclear. The reading given here is very uncertain.
18. To the best of my knowledge *ḫāninu* is otherwise unattested. Perhaps it is to be connected with *ḫanānu* 'to run' said of the nose.
19. Cf. [k i - s a - a l] KISAL = *ki-sal-lu, pu-úḫ-rum* JAOS 88 (1968), 142:239.
24. For parallels cf. AHw, pp. 151ff. sub *dakkannu*. Apparently CAD will treat this word sub *takkannu*.
35. For the meaning of a . ḫ a . a n and g ú . a . ḫ a . a n see Sjöberg, JCS 25 (1973), 137.
- 37-41. These lines are restored on the basis of CAD entries.
43. The writing here and in line 44 is relatively rare in Sumerian. The variant k ú r for t a r is possibly due to a misreading of the unpublished duplicate.
45. The reading of the Akkadian is quite clear. It seems likely that *ri* has been misread as *ḫu* in the unpublished source. To the best of my knowledge the word *sappirītu* is otherwise unattested. The meaning suggested by the Sumerian would be out of context with the other Akkadian terms in this section.
49. Cf. Falkenstein, ZA 49 (1950), 140, and von Soden, ZA 53 (1959), 225.
57. The restoration of the Akkadian here and in line 58 is uncertain.
69. To the best of my knowledge the participle *muttū* is otherwise unattested. From the context and the Sumerian is should be connected with some sort of noise.
78. To the best of my knowledge this is the only occurrence of this word.
79. For a discussion of *siḫšu* see von Soden, ZA 62 (1972), 82f.
81. Because of the context, *sirritu* seems to be connected with the verb *sarāru* 'to lie'. If this is correct, this is the first attestation of such a word.

84. This line is restored after CAD. However, CAD offers two transliterations for this line: MIN É *e-mu-ti* (CAD A/1, p. 239a) and *a-kal É e-mu-ti* (CAD E, p. 162a). I am uncertain which is correct.
86. This restoration is very uncertain.
90. In MSL 8/1, p. 17 n. 115, Landsberger states that this section of Erimḫuš is a duplicate of Diri V 200f. (= OECT 4, 152 vi 35f.). In fact, while they are parallel, they do not seem to be duplicates.
93. For the reading given by this gloss see van Dijk, OLZ (1965), 32f. Cf. also, TCS 3, p. 75 n. 107.
99. Note the writing with *s à g*.
102. This seems to be the only known occurrence of this word.
106. For this line see Civil, Studies Oppenheim, p. 81.
118. In CAD s.v. read Erimḫuš IV for Erimḫuš III.
133. Col. iv is restored largely on the basis of CAD entries.
139. *atmu* seems to be attested only here.
140. *kusû* seems to be attested only here.

Essai de poétique sumérienne

H. Limet, Liege

1.1. L'étude de la technique poétique a repris vigueur ces derniers temps sous l'influence des tendances nouvelles de la linguistique qui lui a manifesté un regain d'intérêt, précisément parce que la poésie présente d'infinis jeux de langage. Il semblerait peu justifié de laisser la littérature sumérienne en dehors de ce courant de recherches. Aussi ai-je tenté ici de soumettre les chants épiques sumériens à un type d'analyse qui m'a paru fécond dans d'autres domaines littéraires.

1.2. Le fait de style repose sur la notion d'écart par rapport à l'usage normal, simple et habituel du langage.¹ Cette théorie est généralement admise; elle est encore plus évidente quand on l'applique à la poésie. Celle-ci suscite toujours un grand souci de style et elle est, avant tout, constituée d'artifices. Le thème traité est souvent, en effet, banal et l'on s'aperçoit sans peine que les plus beaux poèmes sont bâtis sur des riens. La "poéticité" d'un texte provient certainement d'une autre origine. Selon R. Jakobson, le propre de la fonction poétique est de "projeter le principe d'équivalence de l'axe de la sélection sur l'axe de la combinaison".² En prose, on choisit, dans la masse des mots qui peuvent remplir telle fonction et occuper telle place dans la phrase (réserve paradigmatique), celui qui convient le mieux.³ En poésie, au contraire, on recherche les similarités pour les disposer à des places semblables dans l'énoncé: on s'efforce de rapprocher deux unités ou deux éléments semblables (plan syntagmatique).⁴

Rappelons cette remarque de Levin: en poésie, on impose au discours une structure additionnelle à celle qui dérive de l'usage ordinaire du langage; il en découle divers types de relations entre éléments du poème.⁵

¹ Le plus compliqué est de définir la norme — le "degré zéro de l'écriture" — par rapport auquel se juge l'écart (voir J. Dubois et al., Rhétorique générale [Paris, 1970], p. 20 et sv.).

² Cette remarque de R. Jakobson est fréquemment citée. Elle figure originellement dans sa contribution Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics, à l'ouvrage Style in Language, ed. by Th.A. Sebeok (Cambridge [Mass.], 1964), p. 358, sous la forme: *The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination. Equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence.*

³ Par ex., en français, pour trouver le sujet d'une phrase telle que: "Les . . . jouent dans la rue", on choisira selon les circonstances, selon les interlocuteurs, selon le niveau du style, entre: les enfants, les garçons, les filles, les petits, les mêmes.

⁴ Le meilleur exemple, en poésie française, est le cas de la rime: mettre à la même place dans le vers, à la fin, des mots qui se terminent par les mêmes sonorités. De telles rencontres, en prose, encore que fortuites, sont jugées inacceptables. On pourrait citer ici l'analyse, par R. Jakobson et Cl. Levi-Strauss, du poème de Baudelaire: Les chats (Voir le recueil R. Jakobson, Questions de poétique [Paris, 1973], p. 401 et sv.). Citons, en particulier, ce passage (p. 408): "Les six premiers vers du sonnet sont unis par un trait réitératif: une paire symétrique de termes coordonnés, liés par la même conjonction et: *Les amoureux fervents et les savants austères; Les chats puissants et doux; Qui comme eux sont frileux et comme eux sédentaires; Amis de la science et de la volupté*, binarisme des déterminants, formant un chiasme avec le binarisme des déterminés dans le vers suivant — *le silence et l'horreur des ténèbres* — qui met fin à ces constructions binaires".

⁵ S.R. Levin, Linguistic Structures in Poetry (= Janua Linguarum 23, La Haye, 1969). Voici le passage qui nous intéresse (p. 18): *The kinds of supra-sentence relations that interest us here are those which result in imposing on the discourse some structure additional to that which derives from the language as it is normally used.*

Ce sont ces rapports qu'il faut examiner.

2.1. Pour nous introduire au creux du problème, prenons comme exemple les douze premiers vers de l'épopée de Lugalbanda⁶. Le nom du héros est cité en tête du premier vers mais n'en fait pas partie, rythmiquement (sorte d'anacrouse). Au locatif *kur ki-sù-ra* correspond, au v. 2, *išši Za-bu^{ki}-a*; le syntagme verbal des deux vers est composé des mêmes préfixes et, en outre, il s'agit de verbes "composés": *gá-la ba-ni-in-da g*, *nir ba-ni-in-gál*. Le parallélisme est parfait pour la construction grammaticale, il est renforcé par la répétition de certaines sonorités (*da g* et *gál*, par ex., qui agissent comme des assonances).

Les v. 3 et 4 comportent chacun un syntagme verbal identique: *nu-mu-un-da-a-n-ti*, suivi d'un autre syntagme verbal; *na nu-mu-un-ri-ri* est différent de *inim nu-mu-un-di-ni-i-b-bé*, avec, toutefois, la même suite de préfixes: *nu-mu-(n)*, et la même rencontre de voyelles: *u* et *i*. Le fait que les deux vers comportent de nombreux éléments semblables met en relief ceux qui varient: *a-a* opposé à *a ma*, les verbes *na...-ri* et *inim...-e*.

Le vers 5 se rattache au précédent par le même invariant: *nu-mu-un-da-ti*, mais aussi au vers 6, dont le syntagme verbal est également négatif: *nu-um-mi-í-b-sè-g-e*. En outre, les idées exprimées sont similaires.⁷

Les v. 6 et 7 présentent un cas analogue. La base verbale est la même: *sè*. On note plusieurs rapprochements sonores: *inim šà-ga-na-k_e*, *šà ní-te-na-ka inim*. La divergence éclate d'autant mieux: la phrase est négative, à la 3^e pers.sing., au v.6; elle est affirmative, à la 1^{re} pers.sing., au v.7.

Celui-ci, tout en étant raccroché à ce qui précède, annonce ce qui suit. La structure est, en réalité, très raffinée.

Les v. 8 et 9 se répètent presque entièrement, sauf le premier mot: le terme général *mušēn* est remplacé par le nom propre Anzu. Le procédé est fréquent dans ce chant épique.

Au vers suivant, le syntagme verbal débute encore par l'ensemble de préfixes *ba-ni-in*. On relèvera la correspondance des deux suffixes *-da* dans *da-m-a-ni-da gú-da* qui forme une sorte de rime interne. Le groupe *da-m-A n z u m u šēn-dè*, au v.11, reprend en le précisant, le groupe *da-m-a-ni-da* du v.10; le poète ajoute le groupe *du mu-A n z u m u šēn-dè* construit symétriquement.

Le vers 12, qui conclut la séquence, paraît isolé; en fait, il n'en est rien, car l'idée se poursuit logiquement aux vers suivants et, surtout, la base verbale *dú-r-ru* est reprise au v.13.

2.2. De ce court extrait, il est déjà possible de dégager les traits principaux de la technique poétique sumérienne:

- répétition de deux vers avec une variante (v.8 et 9);
- répétition d'hémistiches, avec une variante (v.4 et 5);
- identité de construction entre deux vers (v.1 et 2);
- identité de construction entre deux hémistiches (v.11);
- rapprochements de sonorités, emploi des mêmes morphèmes grammaticaux, rappel (d'un vers à l'autre) de la même base verbale.

⁶ L'oeuvre est citée ici (abrég. Lugalbanda) d'après la remarquable édition que nous en a procurée Cl. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, (Wiesbaden, 1969).

⁷ Dans sa traduction, p. 91, Cl. Wilcke a mis, peut-être à tort, une forte ponctuation à la fin du v. 5.

3.1. Examinons à présent ces procédés en les analysant et en les classant en deux grandes catégories: ceux qui relèvent de la *similarité formelle* et ceux qui présentent, en outre, une *similarité de contenu*.

3.2. *Similarité formelle entre deux unités.*

3.2.1. Le procédé le plus simple consiste à répéter un mot, un membre de phrase ou une phrase entière.⁸ On en compte peu.

Lugalbanda 224: *šeš-a-ne-ne zú ba-ab-ra-[aš z] ú ba-ab-ra-aš*

"ses frères claquèrent des dents, claquèrent des dents".

Lugalbanda 302: *mu-nin nu-uš hu-mu-dù mu-nin nu-uš hu-mu-di*

"pendant 50 ans, j'ai bâti, pendant 50 ans, j'ai bâti".⁹

G.E. Enfers 247: *nu-uš-ma-ab-bé-en ku-li-mu nu-uš-ma-ab-bé-en*

"je ne puis te le dire, mon ami, je ne puis te le dire".¹⁰

3.2.2. La répétition — voire le triplement — s'opère avec une variante: a) tel est le cas d'un procédé fréquemment employé dans Lugalbanda: il consiste à reprendre un vers complet dont seul le premier mot est changé, tout en désignant la même personne ou la même chose. Cl. Wilcke a déjà attiré l'attention sur ce point.¹¹

b) une séquence A (qui peut être répétée) est reprise sous la forme B (analogue à A); enfin, A revient comme écho: G.E. Enfers 27:

u₄-bi-a giš-diš-àm giš_ha-lu-ub diš-àm giš-diš-àm

"en ce temps, il y avait un arbre, il y avait un *hulub*, il y avait un arbre".

On note d'autres formes d'écho; ainsi, toujours dans G.E. Enfers, les v.14-15 et 16 (repris en 57-58-59): *ba-u₅-a-ba ba-u₅-a-ba a-a kur-šè ba-u₅-a-ba* "quand il mit à la voile, quand il mit à la voile, quand le Père, vers les Enfers, mit à la voile".

3.2.3. La répétition est un moyen d'expression fort primitif; il en est de plus subtils: il suffit de répéter un (ou plusieurs) élément(s) des ensembles parallèles, ceux-ci présentant une structure identique.¹²

a) Le syntagme verbal est repris, le sujet change:

G.E. Enfers 227(235): *na-m-tar nu-un-da-b₅ á-sìg nu-un-da-b₅ kur-re im-ma-a-n-da-b₅* "le destin ne le prit pas, l'*asakku* ne le prit pas, les Enfers le prirent" (remarquer que *kur-re im-ma-a-n-da-b₅* revient "en écho" aux v.228-229 et 236-237).

⁸ C'est la *conduplicatio* de la Rhétorique à Herennius, IV, 38: *eiusdem unius aut plurium uerborum iteratio*.

⁹ Remarquer que le texte T donne la leçon: *mu-nin nu-uš hu-mu-di mu-nin nu-uš hu-mu-dù*.

¹⁰ Nous citons Gilgameš, Enkidu et les Enfers (abrég. G.E. Enfers) d'après l'édition de A. Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš* (dissertation connue par la xérocopie, Ann Arbor, 1963).

Pour conserver à cet article des limites raisonnables, les exemples qui y sont invoqués sont tirés uniquement de cette oeuvre et de Lugalbanda, en outre, nous nous bornons à mentionner deux ou trois brefs passages.

¹¹ Cl. Wilcke, op.cit., p. 17.

¹² C'est un procédé constant en arabe. Voir la très belle étude de V. Monteil, *L'arabe moderne* (Etudes arabes et islamiques. Etudes et documents 3, Paris, 1960); mon collègue Ph. Marçais a attiré mon attention sur cet ouvrage, je l'en remercie vivement.

Monteil range, p. 270 et sv., la plupart des procédés décrits ici en 3.2.3. sous le terme de *paronomase*, dont il élargit la signification. Les traductions françaises des exemples (voir la remarque, p. 280) montrent que ces paronomases existent en français, mais elles n'y sont ni si variées, ni si abondantes. Du reste, en arabe, ce n'est qu'une partie de toute une gamme de procédés expressifs.

L'objet change: *ibid.*, 165-166: *š u-ni mu-ni-in-du₁₁ sá nu-mu-un-da-du₁₁/gìri-ni mu-ni-in-du₁₁ sá nu-mu-un-da-du₁₁* "il essaya de la main, il ne put l'atteindre; il essaya du pied, il ne put l'atteindre".

b) Le syntagme verbal change, tandis que le sujet ou l'objet ou tel complément est repris:

Lugalbanda 170: *á-mu ga-sù-sù á-mu na-an-gig-ge* "je vais agiter mon bras, puisse mon bras ne pas faiblir!"

Dans G.E. Enfers, le v.240: *ì-ne-šè ab-làl-kur-ra gál ù-bí-in-ta g₄* "alors, quand tu as ouvert un trou dans les Enfers" est répété au v.242: *ab-làl-kur-ra gál im-ma-an-ta g₄* "il ouvrit un trou dans les Enfers" (seules les modalités du syntagme verbal ont été modifiées). Même cas pour le v. 241 semblable au v. 243 et pour le v.246 semblable au v.248.

c) L'équivalence de deux ou plusieurs séquences est soulignée par l'identité des morphèmes grammaticaux:

Suffixes: Lugalbanda 171 et sv.: *u₄-gim du dInanna-gim/u₄-imin-e dIškur-ra-gim/izi-gim ga-íl nim-gim ga-gír* "allant comme la lumière du soleil, comme Inanna, comme les sept tempêtes, comme Iškur, je veux me lever comme le feu, je veux m'abattre comme un éclair".¹³

Ibid., 332-333: *ki-gub-ba-me-a nam-ba-e-dè-gub-bu-nam*
ki-tuš-a-me-a nam-ba-e-dè-tuš-ù-nam
 "à l'endroit où nous nous tenons, tu ne te tiendras pas avec nous;
 à l'endroit où nous demeurons, tu ne demeureras pas avec nous".

Préfixes. Ces exemples montrent que les préfixes assurent la cohésion du parallélisme; au v.173 commence une série de cohortatifs (préfixe *ga-*): *ga-íl...ga-gír...ga-gin*, puis aux v.175 et 176: *ga-ab-gub* et *ga-ab-gi₄*.

Citons ce vers exemplaire de Lugalbanda, qui témoigne chez son auteur d'une habileté raffinée, il s'agit du v.237:

a-bi a-gim mu-c-nag-a-gim mu-e-bal-e

Le groupe 1 est lié au groupe 2, le 2 au 3 et le 3 au 4.

d) Comme on le voit, les rencontres de mots à l'intérieur d'une phrase, loin d'être évitées, paraissent intentionnelles.

Lugalbanda 236: *peš_x (KI.A)-peš_x-bi peš_x-ta sur-ra-àm*
 "sa rive est éloignée de l'autre rive".

ibid. 409-410: *kù-dím-<ma>bé kù-dím ù-bí-in-da b₅/za-dím-ma-bé za-dím ù-bí-in-da b₅* "quand il s'empara des orfèvres en plus de l'argent travaillé, quand il s'empara des joailliers en plus des pierres précieuses"; dans ce cas, on a affaire à une paronomase, car on joue sur la valeur passive de *dím-ma* et sur la valeur active de *dím*, dans *kù-dím* et *za-dím*.

Autre cas, lorsque verbe et complément proviennent de la même racine. G.E. Enfers 159: *giš ħur-in-ħur-re* "il traça une marque" et 161: *ki-giš-ħur-in-ħur-ra* "à l'endroit où il avait tracé la marque". *Ibid.*, 13(56): *sag-rig₇-bi-šè im-ma-ab-rig₇-a-ba* "il donna en cadeau".

e) Dans le même ordre d'idée, on relève d'incontestables recherches de sonorités, qui se conjuguent avec des procédés déjà mentionnés. En voici deux exemples supplémentaires:

¹³ Wilcke, *op.cit.*, p. 181, a bien vu que le poète joue avec des mots homonymes: *u₄* désigne à la fois "la lumière" et, rapproché du nom d'Iškur, "la tempête". Voir aussi la note 14, ci-dessous.

Lugalbanda 125: *zi-mu mu-ri-túm zà-mu mu-ri-ús* "je me suis mis sous ta protection, je me suis rapproché de toi".

Ibid. 256-257: *...im-gim im-šèg/im-dug-ge im mu-a gin-na-gim* "il plut (des armes de jet) comme (d'un) nuage, des balles de fronde (autant) que la pluie qui tombe en un an".¹⁴

3.3. Similarité de contenu entre deux unités.

L'identité sémantique de deux ensembles parallèles est soutenue par l'identité de leur construction, par le rappel des mêmes phonèmes ou des mêmes morphèmes grammaticaux.¹⁵ Aussi des exemples qui vont être cités dans cette partie de notre exposé auraient fort bien illustré certains aperçus de la première. Le poète joue sur plusieurs registres et n'a cure des classifications.

Si nous cherchons à proposer quelques distinctions élémentaires, l'observation déjà faite par Quintilien paraît un bon guide; pour développer une idée, les moyens dont on dispose sont, en définitive, limités: dire la même chose, dire plus ou dire moins, dire le contraire. Il est légitime de préciser les lignes de ce canevas.

3.3.1. Dans les deux membres du parallélisme sont exprimées des idées ou sont décrites des situations de même genre et dans des termes qui, sans être des synonymes, sont néanmoins de signification voisine.

G.E. Enfers 244: *gú-ni gú-da mu-ni-in-lá ne mu-un-su-ub-bé* "il lui donne l'accolade, il l'embrasse".¹⁶

Lugalbanda 338-339: *šà-gù-di-šeš-a-ne-ne-ta/šà-sìg-ku-li-ne-ne-ta* "tandis que le coeur de ses frères battait, tandis que le coeur de ses compagnons était angoissé".

Ibid. 50: *Lugal-bàn-da gal-in-zu, gal-in-ga-an-túm-mu* "Lugalbanda est sage, il porte (en lui) de vastes pensées".

3.3.2. Dans deux ensembles synonymes, on doit considérer que le second ajoute une précision ou introduit une nuance qui ne figure pas dans le premier.

Dans Lugalbanda 213, le second hémistiche est plus précis que le premier: *gù i-ri-dé-a nam i-ri-tar-ra* "ce que je t'ai dit, le destin que je t'ai fixé". De même, le v.215 apporte une nuance que ne contient pas le v.214: *ku-li-zu-ne-er nam-mu-ni-ib-bé-en/šeš-zu-ne-er pa nam-bí-ib-è-en* "tu ne le diras pas à tes compagnons, tu ne le proclamera pas devant tes frères".

3.3.3. La symétrie entre deux ensembles souligne une analogie entre deux gestes, deux situations, deux objets, et non plus la synonymie.¹⁷

¹⁴ Dans *im-gim*, la syllabe *im* est un "nom" désignant la pluie; dans *im-šèg*, *im* représente deux préfixes précédant la base verbale; dans *im-dug-ge*, une partie de "nom".

Les rencontres de sonorités sont ici combinées avec des jeux de mots. La Rhétorique à Herennius, IV, 21, appelle cette figure l'*exornatio* qui consiste "à employer un mot tantôt avec un rôle, tantôt avec un autre" (*cum idem uerbum ponitur modo in hac, modo in altera re*).

R.R. Jestin, le seul à ma connaissance, a étudié la possibilité des rimes internes dans la poésie sumérienne, cf. BiOr 24 (1967), 9-12.

¹⁵ Dans la rhétorique arabe, on distingue, semble-t-il, la répétition avec sens identique (*takrâr*) et la répétition avec changement de sens (*tardîd*), cf. V. Monteil, *op.cit.*, p. 284. La Rhétorique à Herennius établit une différence entre la *conduplicatio* (voir ci-dessus, la note 8) et l'*interpretatio*: "qui ne redouble pas le même mot en le répétant, mais remplace celui qui a été employé, par un autre mot, qui a le même sens" (*quae non iterans idem redintegrat uerbum, sed id commutat quod positum est alio uerbo quod idem ualeat*).

¹⁶ Remarquer que l'essentiel de ce vers se retrouve dans Lugalbanda 247: *gú-ni gú-da im-da-lá-e-ne, ne mu-un-su-ub*.

¹⁷ Dans son ouvrage *Der Parallelismus in der Finisch-Karelischen Volksdichtung* (= Folklore Fellows Communica-

Lugalbanda 319-320: $g i \check{s} g \acute{i} d - d a - m u u_4 - n e b a - a n - t \acute{u} m / k u \check{s} e - \acute{i} b - u r u_{12} - m u u_4 - n e e - n e b a - a n - z u r - z u r - r e$ "ma lance, ce jour-là, fut emportée; mon bouclier, ce jour-là, par elle fut brisé".

Ibid. 249: $m u - n i - i b - k \acute{u} - \grave{u} - n e m u - n i - i b - n a_8 - n a_8 - n e$ "ils le nourrissent, ils lui donnèrent à boire".

3.3.4. La poétique sumérienne a adopté le procédé des "couples en contraste". Deux faits, deux situations, deux sentiments ont des traits communs, mais d'autres qui s'opposent.¹⁸

G.E. Enfers 217-218: $d a m - k i - \acute{a} g - g \acute{a} - n i n e i m - m a - a n - s u - u b / d a m - h u l - g i g - g a - n i n \grave{i} i m - m a - n i - i n - r a$ "sa femme qu'il aimait, il l'embrassa; sa femme qu'il détestait, il la frappa" (v. 219-220 sont identiques, $d u m u$ "le fils" remplace $d a m$ "l'épouse").

L'opposition *toi/moi* est fréquente: ibid. 249: $[z a] - e t u \check{s} - a \acute{i} r g \acute{a} - e g a - t u \check{s} g a - \acute{i} [r]$ "asieds-toi, pleure; moi, je vais m'asseoir, je vais pleurer". Lugalbanda 217: $g \acute{a} - e g \grave{u} d - m u - \check{s} \grave{e} h \acute{e} - m e - e n / z a - e e r \acute{e} n - z u h \acute{e} - m e - e n$ "moi, je me dois à mon nid; toi, tu te dois à tes troupes". Après ces mots, l'oiseau se hâte vers son nid et Lugalbanda vers ses troupes; cette façon d'opposer des endroits n'est pas rare; plus haut, au v.205-206: $A n z u m u \check{s} e n a n - t a \grave{i} - g i n / L u g a l b a n d a k i - t a \grave{i} - g i n$ "l'oiseau Anzu s'éloigna vers le haut, Lugalbanda vers le bas".

3.3.5. L'antithèse la plus évidente consiste à nier ce qui précède. C'est le cas des v.227, 228 et 229 de G.E. Enfers, déjà cités ci-dessus, où le groupe $k u r - r e i m - m a - a n - d a b_5$ "les Enfers le saisirent" prend tout son relief grâce aux négations qui, chaque fois, le précèdent.

De même, à la fin de ce chant épique, à la question maintes fois répétée: $\dots i g i b \acute{i} - d u h - \grave{a} m$ "(telle personne) l'as-tu vue?", Enkidu répond invariablement: $i g i b \acute{i} - d u h - \grave{a} m$ "je l'ai vue" (opposition entre forme affirmative et forme interrogative, toutes choses restant égales).

3.4. Dans les groupes ternaires, le parallélisme ne se limite pas à deux membres, on en compte trois, le troisième étant soumis aux principes de symétrie qui régissent les deux premiers. Si nous en examinons le contenu, nous constatons qu'il s'agit le plus souvent de l'amplification d'une idée simple, qui est explicitée d'abondance, par accumulation de détails.

Ainsi, dans Lugalbanda 259-260, le poète veut faire percevoir l'étirement du temps: $u_4 b a - z a l - z a l i t u b a - s \grave{u} - s \grave{u} m u a m a - n i - i r b a - g i_4 / b u r u_x (E B U R) - s i g_7 - g a a n - n a b a - c - a - e_{11} - d \grave{e}$ "les jours passèrent, les mois s'allongèrent, l'année retourna à sa mère, la moisson dorée crût sous le ciel". Les exemples ne manquent pas dans Lugalbanda: v.122 à 124; 220 à 222; 297 à 299 (= 363 à 365). Citons ce dernier passage où Enmerkar décrit Uruk telle qu'il la voyait au début de son règne: $U n u^k i - e s u g h \acute{e} - m e - \grave{a} m a h \acute{e} - e m - d \acute{e} - a / p \acute{a} r - r i m_4 h \acute{e} - m e - \grave{a} m g i \check{s} a s a l h \acute{e} - m \acute{u} - a / g i \check{s} - g i h \acute{e} - m e - \grave{a} m g i - \acute{u} \check{s} g i - h e n b u r h \acute{e} - m \acute{u} - a$ "à Uruk, il y avait un marais, l'eau s'y répandait; il y avait du terrain sec, le peuplier y croissait; il y avait une cannaie, le roseau 'mort' et le roseau 'vert' y croissaient".

On connaît le début de G.E. Enfers: $u_4 - r i - a u_4 - s \grave{u} - d u - r i - a / g i_6 - r i - a g i_6 - b a d - d u - r i - a / m u - r i - a m u - s \grave{u} - d u - r i - a$ "en ces jours, en ces jours lointains; en ces nuits, en ces

tions, 115, Helsinki, 1934), p. 92, W. Steinitz marque nettement la nuance: *Die große Mehrzahl der Verse . . . steht parallel, d.h. die Verse stehen zu einem Nachbarvers in haltlich und formal in enger-Beziehung. Die enge inhaltliche Beziehung kann synonym sein, d.h. dasselbe mit anderen Worten ausdrückend, oder analog d.h. etwas Ähnliches ausdrückend.*

¹⁸ Rhétorique à Herennius, IV, 21: l'antithèse consiste à fonder le discours sur des idées contraires (*contentio est cum ex contrariis rebus oratio conficitur*).

Pour l'arabe, voir V. Monteil, op.cit., p. 287.

Pour la poésie finnoise, voir W. Steinitz, op.cit., p. 99.

nuits éloignées; en ces années, en ces années lointaines". Il faut signaler encore le lever du jour évoqué, dans la même oeuvre, au v.47-48: $u_4 - z a l - l e - d a a n - \acute{u} r z a l a g - g e - d a / b u r u_5 u_4 - z a l - l e a r a_9 g i_4 - g i_4 - d a$ "quand le jour luit, quand l'horizon brilla, quand, à l'aube, les oiseaux reprirent leurs clameurs".

En revanche, toujours dans G.E. Enfers, la description de l'arbre *huluppu* (v.42-43-44 = 85-86-87 = 129-130-131) a une valeur plus narrative: l'arbre est occupé par un serpent, un oiseau et une sorte de fantôme ($\acute{u} r - b i - a \dots$ "dans ses racines"; $p a - b i - a \dots$ "dans ses branches"; $\check{s} a b - b i - a \dots$ "dans son tronc(?)"); le couplage ternaire n'est pas une simple amplification.

3.5. On compte enfin des séquences qui dépassent largement le triple parallélisme; elle constituent des ensembles fortement structurés. C'est le cas du dialogue entre Gilgameš et Enkidu au sujet du traitement réservé aux morts dans les Enfers (G.E. Enfers, v.255 et sv.). Un autre exemple nous est fourni par l'épisode de Lugalbanda où l'on raconte comment Enmerkar cherche un messenger parmi les troupes (v.274 et sv.).

4.1. L'essentiel de notre propos était de démontrer un des mécanismes de la poétique sumérienne et de voir comment il fonctionne.¹⁹ En principe, chaque vers est un tout, mais il n'est pas isolé: un des vers suivants présente une construction analogue ou un sens équivalent, ou, encore, rappelle le précédent par quelque détail. Ce procédé, qui consiste à lier les vers entre eux, n'est pas le seul auquel recourt la poésie sumérienne; la cohésion du poème est due aussi à la répétition de passages entiers, de discours, de descriptions de situations. L'unité de l'oeuvre apparaît à la suite d'une analyse globale qu'il est hors de question d'entreprendre ici.

On remarque cependant, dans les chants épiques sumériens, peu de tropes, mais presque exclusivement des "figures de grammaire". La pauvreté des uns est compensée par la richesse des autres.²⁰

Ce sont les conventions du genre. Elles servent de "code" et avertissent le lecteur — ou, mieux, l'auditeur — qu'il a affaire à de la poésie et, en outre, à quel type: elles dégagent la connotation épique impliquée dans leur emploi.²¹

4.2. Les parallélismes ont, du reste, une très grande force. Du fait qu'ils sont "un mélange d'invariants et de variables, plus la distribution des premiers est rigoureuse et plus les variations sont perceptibles et efficaces".²²

¹⁹ Ce genre d'analyse peut avoir des conséquences sur l'établissement du texte de certaines oeuvres.

Lugalbanda 111-112: suivant la majorité des "manuscripts", Wilcke a édité le texte sous la forme suivante: $n \acute{i} - d i \check{s} - t a h \acute{u} l - l a - d i \check{s} - t a / n \acute{i} - d i \check{s} \check{s} \grave{a} - h \acute{u} l - l a - d i \check{s} - t a$ "tantôt par crainte, tantôt par joie; (tantôt) par crainte, tantôt par joie du coeur". Or, le "manuscrit" AA donne la leçon: $n \acute{i} - d i \check{s} - t a \check{s} \grave{a} - h \acute{u} l - l a - d i \check{s} - t a / n \acute{i} - d i \check{s} - t a \check{s} \grave{a} - h \acute{u} l - l a - d i \check{s} - t a$ "tantôt par crainte, tantôt par joie du coeur" (le v.112 étant identique au v.111). Rien ne prouve que ceci soit le texte véritable, tel qu'il fut conçu, mais il est certain que le copiste de AA a perçu une des constantes de la poétique sumérienne.

G.E. Enfers, 227-228: on note trois fois la forme $n u - u n - d a b_5$ opposée à $i m - m a - a n - d a b_5$; au v. 229, selon le texte adopté par Shaffer, $n u - m u - u n - \check{s} u b$ s'oppose à $i m - m a - a n - d a b_5$, tandis que le "manuscrit" Y donne la variante $n u - u n - \check{s} u b$. Il est possible que ce soit cette leçon qu'il faille préférer.

²⁰ R. Jakobson, dans le recueil *Questions de poétique*, p. 227. La remarque est générale, mais elle nous paraît s'appliquer parfaitement à la poésie sumérienne.

²¹ Voir la remarque de G. Genette, *Figures I*, Paris, 1966, p. 191. Ce critique écrit (ibid., p. 258): "La littérature — comme toute autre activité de l'esprit — repose sur des conventions que, sauf exceptions, elle ignore. Il ne s'agit que de les mettre en évidence".

Citons aussi ce passage du livre de Levin (réf. note 5, ci-dessus), p. 59: *The traditions and conventions of the poetic form entail features like rhyme, alliteration, meter and so on. The contributions of these features to the poetic effect all ultimately derive . . . from a body of received conventions which, while they originally may have been derived from ordinary language, have now become features incorporated in the body of characteristics making up the poetic convention.*

²² R. Jakobson, "Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet", dans *Language* 42 (1966), 399-429. Citation d'après la traduction française, R. Jakobson, *Questions de poétique*, p. 271.

Dans le passage Lugalbanda 330 et sv., cette observation de Jakobson se vérifie très bien. A $dUdu$ g correspond dLa m a ; à la base verbale gub , l'autre base gin ; outre la qualification ša_6 -ga qui est commune aux deux, l'essentiel de la similitude repose sur le suffixe -me et le groupe des préfixes nam -ba-è-dè-. On en dira autant pour les deux vers suivants; on remarquera aussi $ki-gub$ -ba et $ki-tu\text{š}$ -a formée tous deux sur le même modèle.

Il semble que le Sumérien se prête à la construction de vers parallèles comme ceux qui ont été analysés ci-dessus: l'importance du jeu des préfixes et des suffixes, la brièveté des bases verbales ou nominales offrent des facilités dont disposent des langues de même type, mais non d'autres. L'arabe, par ex., tire parti de diverses figures (répétition, énumération) dont nous avons parlé à propos du sumérien, mais, en particulier, son système consonantique très riche, lui ouvre de vastes possibilités de répétitions avec métaplasmes (rapprochement de mots avec altération d'une des consonnes radicales), soit: $qulūb^u$ -l'ahrāri $qubūr^u$ -l'asrāri "les coeurs des hommes libres sont les tombeaux des secrets".²³

En somme, chaque langue choisit le système d'équivalence et d'opposition qui lui paraît le plus pertinent. Mettre en valeur le sens, telle est la fonction de la forme; nous touchons là le difficile problème du rapport entre les deux.²⁴

4.3. Jakobson, dans ses études sur le parallélisme, songe en premier lieu aux parallélismes bibliques, à propos desquels R. Lowth avait frayé la voie dès 1778. Sur ce point, il note une parenté entre les écrits hébraïques et ougaritiques dont l'organisation prosodique "remonte visiblement à une ancienne tradition chananéenne qui n'est pas sans rapport avec les textes akkadiens."

D'autre part, l'initiateur, dans "l'approche structurale du parallélisme grammatical" fut W. Steinitz, dont Jakobson s'inspire. L'étude de Steinitz et celle de R. Austerlitz sur la poésie populaire finno-ougrienne²⁵ lui fournissent un autre point de comparaison, auquel il ajoute enfin la poésie et la prose poétique chinoises. Ces rapprochements de Jakobson sont instructifs et éclairants.²⁶ A-t-on le droit d'en tirer autre chose qu'une aide pour comprendre la poétique sumérienne? Les Hébreux, pourrait-on dire, sont en "aval" par rapport aux Sumériens et une influence de ceux-ci sur ceux-là n'est, a priori, pas exclue. Le rapprochement avec des "chants à parallèles de la zone ouralo-altaïque" ouvre des perspectives assez aventureuses, voire fallacieuses: il faut pourtant les mentionner. Le parallélisme est devenu un système poétique chez certaines populations turques, dans toutes les ethnies mongoles comme chez les Sumériens. Cela est-il dû seulement au fait que ces langues appartiennent au même type et que, dans ce cas, des structures identiques de langage engendrent des formes poétiques semblables? Les chants épiques sumériens se rattachent-ils, pour la forme du moins, à une tradition orale et populaire qui se manifeste dans l'immense "zone ouralo-altaïque"?

4.4. Ces hypothèses doivent être provisoirement laissées de côté. Ne retenons que le raffinement de la poétique sumérienne dont seuls quelques aspects ont été analysés ici. Cette poésie paraît, au moment où nous la saisissons, fort savante. D'autre part, même écrite, elle reste "orale" et, comme le dit V. Monteil de la phrase arabe, elle procède "par percussion"²⁷. Enfin, elle repose sur une technique de conventions que le poète maîtrise et auxquelles l'auditeur est familiarisé. Ainsi, les chants épiques sumériens, que S.N. Kramer a tant contribué à ressusciter, bien loin d'être des oeuvres "primitives", portent témoignage d'une poétique pleine de ressources.

²³ Proverbe arabe que citait, dans ses leçons sur les "pluriels brisés", mon Maître, feu H. Janssens. Voici un autre exemple donné par Ch. Pellat, Arabica 4/2 (1957), 131: *'aqfara aqtārā wa-'afqara amšārā* "(les sauterelles) ont transformé des pays en déserts et ruiné des métropoles". Pellat ajoute (ibid., 132): "les acrobaties de ce genre entrent dans le vaste cadre de ce que les rhétoriciens nomment *tağnīs* . . ."

²⁴ R. Jakobson, Questions de poétique, p. 415, dans son analyse du poème "Les chats" de Baudelaire, fait cette observation: "ces phénomènes de distribution formelle ont un fondement sémantique".

²⁵ L'étude de Steinitz est citée dans la note 17, ci-dessus. L'étude de R. Austerlitz s'intitule Ob-Ugric Metrics (= Folklore Fellows Commun. 174, Helsinki, 1958).

²⁶ R. Jakobson, op.cit., 234 et sv.; voir aussi p. 222.

²⁷ Voir V. Monteil, op.cit., p. 269.

The Keš Temple Hymn and the Canonical Temple List

William L. Moran, Cambridge (Mass.)

Among the participants in the festivities briefly described in the great Keš Temple Hymn, there are three in the Old Babylonian version whose identity creates one of the main problems in a still imperfectly understood passage.¹ They are called $a-tu$, tu , and $lāl$, and their description — the first "takes crozier in hand," the second "brings the gathered waters," and the third "sits there in a holy place" — does little to relieve their obscurity. Commenting on them in his recent edition, Gragg could point to little except four lines in Proto-Lu which, in the manuscript available to him, listed the sequence: $a-tu$, $a-tu$, $lāl-zu$ - ša -ga, šibir - šu - du .² The first two entries are obviously relevant, as in Gragg's opinion is the last, which he sees as associating the $a-tu$ with holding the šibir , just as he is described in the hymn.³ However, the lexical text is of little help in identifying the tu , and only as "a remotely possible reference to a $lāl$ -official" is the $lāl-zu$ - ša -ga mentioned.⁴

Discussion of the latter's relevance has gained firmer ground with the publication of MSL 12. The correct reading is now established as $lāl-e$ - ša -ga.⁵ This puts in a different light the variants: 1. $lāl$ é - $kù$ -ga . . . (X = UET 6/1, 116); 2. $lāl-e$ $kì$ - $kù$ -ga . . . (A = OECT 1, 45; E = HAV 8; H = SEM 109); 3. $lāl-a$ - ša -ga $kì$ - $kù$ -ga . . . (B = RA 16 [1919], 209; Y and BB, unpubl.).⁶ Since, in context, "in a/the field" makes little sense, $lāl-a$ - ša -ga must be the full or expanded form of the title, and the ob-

¹ G. Gragg, TCS 3, p. 173:109-111. New fragments in ISET 1 (for the assignment of sigla based on Gragg's edition, see C. Wilcke, JNES 31 [1972], 41 n. 9) do not duplicate 109-111. In the ED version (see R. Biggs, ZA 61 [1972], 202) only one of the problematic figures ($a-tu$) appears. — To the very difficult line 108 Professor Jacobsen has kindly communicated his solution. He reads: en HE ša g_4 - tur_7 me / ma_6 - am - mi -in-lá, and renders, "The *entu* and *HE* priestesses, the wombs, tied on the ritual gowns." He refers to the sig₇-en and sig₇- HE of Enki and Ninmah [S. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology, Pls. XVII-XVIII i 30, sig₇-en sig₇- HE im mu -e- $kì$ r- $kì$ r-e-ne, "the *beneficial* en's and the *beneficial* HE 's will here pinch off clay for you"] and to K.4932, an unpublished bilingual (courtesy W.G. Lambert), which identifies them as ša - $tù$ r, "wombs." On the basis of the latter he therefore reads KU, not TUG, and cites ea I 148, ša g_4 -KU = *ša-as-su-rum*, for the value KU = tur_7 . For me/ma_6 he points to E (HAV 8), G (SEM 108), and H (SEM 109), as in the ED text. (The implications are that the correct reading is preserved in G and H, KU me , whereas E, TUG me , X, TUG! LA, and A, ÉŠ LÁ, are increasingly corrupt. One source of corruption was undoubtedly conventional $tù$ g_m a_6 .)

² TCS 3, p. 186, citing Proto-Lu 226-229 (now MSL 12, p. 41). For $a-tu$, Gragg also cites d_a - t_u ga ša n ga l -e in TCL 6, 54 obv. 21.

³ The entry is present in only one ms. and is probably secondary. Its position does not seem to favor its being a kind of gloss to $a-tu$.

⁴ TCS 3, p. 186, where the question is also raised, perhaps because of the repetition of $a-tu$ in Proto-Lu, whether the $a-tu$ and tu are not identical.

⁵ MSL 12, p. 41 refers to three mss., two in UM, one at Yale; the latter (NBC 6071, not 6701), as Professor Hallo kindly informs me, preserves the entire line.

⁶ Collation of B (Ashmolean Prism) shows that Langdon's copy is accurate. What is preserved is an almost entire single vertical (and therefore not E), and there is room only for [lā]l. Hence $lāl-e$ a - ša -ga, which is excluded on other grounds, has no support.

vious variant form in Proto-Lu makes this certain. Of the short forms it may also be said that the second (l à l - e) is to be analyzed as containing the same morph that appears in l à l - e - š à - g a, and not the agentive, against which argue the absence of the agentive in 1. and 3., the absence of direct object, and the intransitive verb (t u š). Whether l à l - e - š à - g a implies l à l - e₄ - š à - g a in the hymn remains to be discussed.

The three servants of the birth-goddess emerge a little further from their obscurity in what we propose to call the Canonical Temple List (CTL).⁷ This text, which originally contained over 500 entries, with the names, residents, and (usually) location by city or town, of the temples of Babylonia and, occasionally, beyond, is organized according to a number of systems, but the most basic is the order of the gods.⁸ Though in the first part, in the sequence of the circles of Enlil, Bēlet-ilī, and Ea, the arrangement of older lists is discernible, specific details and especially the later sections of CTL make it evident that the god-list which was followed was, apart from minor deviations, that of AN:Anum.⁹

The section of CTL which is of interest in the present discussion is found in the second column of three mss., here (re)published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum (see pl. XI*):

A. S. 278 (Pinches, PSBA 22 [1900], 370), obv. i b-ii a, rev. destroyed;¹⁰

B. S. 522, obv. ii b-iii a, rev. destroyed;¹¹

C. S. 289 (Craig, AJSL 13 [1896-7], 220) + K.15262, obv. ii a-b, rev. iv a-b, v b.¹²

Alike in the loss of the rev., S. 278 and S. 522 belong, together with three other fragments, to the same exemplar: all share the distinctive feature of a black surface and greyish core.¹³ Moreover, as we shall argue below, S. 278 ii a 9'18' = S. 522 ii b 1'-10'. Hence the following reconstruction:¹⁴

[é	] [É x šá] 4'
[é	] [É x šá] 5'
[é	] [É x šá] 6
[é	] [É d _{lu}]-pa-è
5 [é	] [É 2]
[é	] [É 3]

⁷ By which we mean only that it was standardized and was in its comprehensiveness the temple-list.

⁸ This was Landsberger's insight, at least as an *Arbeitshypothese*, which he generously passed on to us for testing and elaboration. The results of our reconstruction are in the final stages of preparation.

⁹ Professor Lambert has kindly permitted us to check this conclusion against the fuller evidence of his edition of AN:Anum, which incorporates the Yale Tablet. References to the latter are due to his courtesy.

¹⁰ Col. i b, partial dupls. K.3012 (2 R 61,7) + K.14325, preserves the end of the Enlil-section (so!), followed by the temples of Ninlil and Sud (A. Poebel, AS 14, p. 3). K.4413 (2 R 61,3) + K.8376 (Pinches, PSBA 22 [1900], 365; for joins, see Bezold, Catalogue II, 630) lists Enlil's (so!) temples 6-35, 6-33 at Nippur.

¹¹ S. 522 iii a-b duplicates end of S. 289, and continues with temples belonging to Šamaš and his entourage (note especially 10', é-LAGAB [t]u-kur- ra, and cf. é-tu-kur-re in JCS 1 [1947], 330:3' [Nougayrol: *bīt puhri'i*], and Šamaš as d-tu-kur-LAGAB, CT 24, 25:16). Adad's temples follow.

¹² Same exemplar, S. 277. S. 289 iii a-b, prior to the temples of Šamaš, should be assigned to the Sin-circle. The join with K.15262 (iv b) duplicates K.3436 + (for joins, see Bezold, Catalogue II, 532, and A List of Fragments Rejoined in the British Museum, p. 20), even to the omission of a 61st temple for Ištar and to the blank after É 62 šá, from Ištar's 60th temple at Girsu to the 65th, and adds three lines, identifying é-ki-tu-š-girix-zal = É 67 [šá KI].BAL MAŠ.DÀ^{ki} (read Ilip, according to YOS 13, 84), é-z-a-gìn-na = [É] '68' [šá M]ÜŠ.ERIN^{ki}, é-un_x(BÀD)-na = [É 6] 9 šá [S]U.BI[R₄ ki].

¹³ K.4374 (2 R 61,6) + K.8377 (Pinches, PSBA 22 [1900], 362, 364), K.12024 + (see A List of Fragments . . .), Rm 2 II 417 (Meek, RA 17 [1920], 186, obv.!).

¹⁴ Annotations will be limited to matters of possible bearing on the understanding of lines 23-28, and variants.

[é	] [É 4
[é	] [É 5
[é	] [É 6
10 [é	] [É 7
'é-[	] É 8
'é-[	] É 9
'é-x-[x]-y	É 10
é-ur-s[a]g-[x(x)]-x	É d _{pa₄} -nigìn-gar-ra šá adab ^{ki} ¹⁵
15 é-me-te-[x(x)]	É 2
é-ji-li-[x(x)]	É 3
é-ní-gù[r-ru] ¹⁶	É 4
é-ÁB-[x]	É 5
é-mi-is [mes]	É dLIL
20 é-Á.KAL ^u [š-x]	É d _{uta-u_x} -lu ¹⁷
é-UD-gim-x-[x]	[É d]aš-ŠIR-gi
é-ur ₅ -[šà-ba] ¹⁸	[É] d _{li₉} -si ₄
é-lú-[maḥ]	[É L]Ú.MAḤ
é-ME-[x(x)]	[É MI]N ¹⁹
25 é-gi ₆ -[pàr(x)]	[É E]N
é-gi ₆ -[pàr(x)]	[É] a-te-e
é-x-[	²⁰ É dTU
é-[	] É d _{lāt-a-šà-ga}
é-[	] É d _{é-a} šá eridu(NUN) ^{ki} ²¹

It is immediately evident that CTL is here concerned with the circle of gods around Bēlet-ilī. Moreover, apart from the intrusive Uta'ulu, the sequence of Šulpa'e, Panigingara, Lillu, Aš-ŠIR-gi, and Lisi is that of AN:Anum.²² Hence there is no doubt about who precedes Šulpa'e. Appearing at this point in the list and important enough to have six temples at a second site, the only possible deity is Bēlet-ilī herself.

Not less evident is the bearing of the final lines of this section on the Keš hymn. Since Ea appears only in line 29, those mentioned in 23-28 must belong to Bēlet-ilī. Moreover, since S. 522 has all the pertinent entries, independently of any reconstruction, it offers a striking parallel to lines 109-111 of the hymn which extends even to the order in which the personnel is listed:

¹⁵ Written on two lines in S. 289: [é-u-r-sa]g/[x(x)]-x = É d_{pa₄}-nigìn-gar-ra / šá UD.NUN^{ki}. Considerations of space imply that the geographical notation was omitted in S. 278.

¹⁶ Despite references to Šulpa'e (48-52) and Mululil/Lillu (53-57), the é-ní-gùr-ru in 4 R 27 No. 4:61 is probably a different temple, which belongs to Bēlet-Nippuri.

¹⁷ S. 289: d_{uta}-URU-lu.

¹⁸ On this restoration and those that follow, see below.

¹⁹ We note here only the possibilities implied by the ambiguous MIN: 1. the *lumahhu* had two residences, the second of which bore a name celebrating its function(s) (m e) or fittingness (m e - t e); 2. he had only one residence, 24a giving its proper or more solemn name; 3. he shared quarters with the one mentioned in 24a, i.e., i š i b - [x].

²⁰ x like the beginning of GI/ZI, and therefore a different residence, not a *gipāru*.

²¹ S. 522 continues with temples 2-5. Starting with 5, restore ii b from K.3436 + (see n. 12), and correct the old error, first made by Luckenbill (AJSL 24 [1907], 295) and then repeated by Weir (A Lexicon of Akkadian Prayers, p. 406), Ebeling (RIA 2, p. 262a), and von Weiher (AOAT 11, p. 32 n. 6), which takes 2 R 61,1 to be the copy of the same side of the fragment, whereas it reproduces ii a (Ea) + and vi b (Nergal) +.

²² CT 24, 26:104-112.

Hymn	CTL
lugal	<i>lumaḥḥu</i>
	<i>išippu(?)</i> ²³
en	<i>enu</i> ²⁴
HE ²⁵	
a-tu	* <i>atū</i> ²⁶
tu	<i>dTU</i> ²⁷
lāl-a-ša-ga	<i>dāl-a-ša-ga</i> . ²⁸

From CTL ii b, therefore, it follows that, were hesitation still possible, in the hymn *lāl-a-ša-ga* is certainly the name of an office, and the figures of the *a-tu* and *tu* are to be distinguished.²⁹ It may also follow from the fact that the last place mentioned is Adab, that the clergy of Keš had their counterparts at Adab, a conclusion which would not be surprising in itself and might be expected on other grounds.³⁰ However, this is probably only one possibility, for there is some evidence in CTL of a system of geographical notation according to which, at least among the minor deities of a circle, zero-notation means that the site to be understood is not necessarily the last one mentioned, but the first site of the principal deity's temples.³¹ If we assume such a system operative here, then we should have to know the location of the first temple(s) listed for Bēlet-ilī, for which honor the one candidate excluded would be Adab, since it is given explicitly for one minor deity. The only other likely candidate would seem to be Keš, which we would opt for on other grounds.³² Where then the residences of Lillu and all who follow were located — *non liquet*.³³

²³ See n. 19.

²⁴ Though the corresponding *en* of the hymn seems to have been a woman (see n. 1), the writing EN, not EN-ti(m), favors *enu* rather than *entu*. The presence of *entu*'s in the service of a goddess and the enigmatic "the en-priests of the house are Anunnaki" (Keš Hymn 105) suggest a complex history behind the en-ship at Keš.

²⁵ See n. 1.

²⁶ As the correspondence with the hymn makes clear, the **atū* is not a doorkeeper and is a new entry in the lexicon.

²⁷ The presence of the determinative in 27-28, absent in 23-26, is noteworthy; one does not expect deities, even minor ones, to be listed after human personnel. In fact, the inclusion of the latter in the list is somewhat surprising, and one wonders whether the *lumaḥḥu*'s *et al.* in the mind of the compiler were not the dead ones and the objects of cult. This would help explain the sporadic determinative.

²⁸ The writing is perhaps logographic for *lal(a)šagaku* (see below).

²⁹ See n. 4.

³⁰ On the intimate connection between the cults of Keš and Adab, see A. Falkenstein, ZA 55 (1962), 22; G. Gragg, TCS 3, pp. 162 ff.

³¹ This seems to be the explanation why, at the end of the Enlil-circle, though a deity intervenes (Kalkal?) with a temple not at Nippur, the text continues without geographical notation for the following temples located at Nippur. Similarly, though less clearly, no sites are listed for the temples of Igalima, Šulšagana, Sirara and Eurukuga (text: *dNin-e-ku-ga*, but read *dNINe*. <u r u> - k ḏ - g a; cf. CT 25, 3:53). Were they at Kiš (last place mentioned), or at Girsu? Cf. S. 289 v b.

³² Since insofar as preserved CTL credits no other deity with more than one temple at a third or more sites, it probably listed the temples of Bēlet-ilī at only two places, at the second of which she had six temples. In view of the tradition in which they dominate so prominently, the two places must have been Keš and Adab. That the primacy should have been given to Keš seems likely when one considers the tenacity of the tradition which kept alive the goddess's association with the place long after it had ceased to exist. Even at a relatively late date, as the complete text of AN:Anum makes clear, Keš completely overshadows Adab. Since the cult-centers of the principal deities are usually not noted explicitly in AN:Anum, no inference may be drawn from the fact it expressly associates the goddess with neither of the places; of a different opinion, Gragg, TCS 3, p. 164.

³³ In addition to the fact that *a-tu et al.* are actually attested only at Keš, note that according to a late gloss (K.2004:29 [BA 5 619]) = K.3001:14 [BL pl. LV]) this was the location of the *é-u r₅-ša-ba*.

Turning to col. ii a, we must first defend the theoretical join of S. 278 and S. 522.³⁴ The restoration in line 22, *é-u r₅-[ša-ba]* imposes itself; we know of no other temple name beginning with *u r₅*. However, though Lisi is *m u - l u u r₅-ša-ba-k e₄*,³⁵ her mother is *ga-ša-a n u r₅-ša-ba*,³⁶ so that conceivably S. 278 should be moved higher, among Bēlet-ilī's temples. Decisive, however, is the consideration that, if the *é-u r₅-ša-ba* is assigned to Lisi, then *é-l ú -[m a ḥ]* = [É L]Ú. MAḤ and *é-g i₆-[p à r - (x)]* = [É E]N. Cf. K.5848:6'-7': [é]-g i₆-p à r = [É EN?], [é]-l ú -m a ḥ = [É LÚ.MAḤ?].³⁷ The *gipāru* is well established as the residence of the *enu* or *entu*.³⁸

Col. ii a yields a little more information about *a-tu et al.* It confirms the distinction of the *a-tu* and *tu*; the residence of the latter, whatever its name, was certainly not the *gipāru*.³⁹ If we may make the likely assumption that we are to understand the same city or town in lines 19-28, then the *en* and the *a-tu* perhaps shared the same residence, in which case the latter probably held a subordinate position.⁴⁰

Perhaps the main contribution of CTL, which of itself tells us little that we did not know already, is to force these obscure figures on our attention and to invite us to reconsider our sources for possibly relevant information. Under this heading, perhaps a little more may be said, however tentatively.

The *lāl-a-ša-ga* we would identify as a priestess whose title associates her with the birth-goddess as "midwife." The basis of the identification is Malku I 128: *lāl-ša-ga-ku* = MIN (*šabsūtum*; see AHw and CAD). The meaning, though perhaps too specific or too generic, is so appropriate for a servant of "The Midwife of the Gods," and the Sum. *lāl-ša-ga* which seems to underlie the Akk. loanword (cf. *lāl-ša-ga* in PBS 12, 34:1,3?), so similar to *lāl-a-ša-ga*, that the two are hardly to be dissociated.⁴¹ Among the attested forms note the possibility of *lāl-e:lāl-e-ša-ga::lāl:x=lāl-ša-ga*.

Analysis is more difficult. The latter form, in addition to other difficulties, argues against the possibility of *lāl-e₄-ša-ga*, "Lal, the Sperm."⁴² If from *lāl*, *lāl-e*, *lāl-ša-ga*, *lāl-e-ša-ga*, and *lāl-a-ša-ga*, we remove the amissible {*ša-ga* (k)}, we are left with *lāl*, *lāl-e*, and *lāl-a*, which may be analyzed, resp., as *lāl* + {zero}, + {e}, + {a}. The only explanation we can suggest for such variation and reconcile with any meaning like "midwife" is that of act. participle: *lāl:zero*, *lāl:e* (d), *lāl:a* (d).⁴³ But the difficulties with "Lal-er for the womb" are obvious: the meaning of the hypothetical verb (assistance with birth-pangs?), the rarity of the construction.⁴⁴

³⁴ The surface of both is quite flat, and by a somewhat complicated argument both can be shown to belong somewhere in the middle of the tablet.

³⁵ RA 19 (1922), 184:27.

³⁶ CT 42, 3 iv 40 = SBH, p. 137:51 (*ga-ša-a n é-u r₅-ša-ba*) = Langdon, BL 101:7; line not preserved in other dupls.

³⁷ The placement of this fragment in CTL is uncertain.

³⁸ See CAD sub voce; J. Renger, ZA 59 (1967), 128.

³⁹ See n. 20.

⁴⁰ For the *en*'s sharing quarters, cf. SEM 19 iv 6. Although to our knowledge no place is known to have more than one *gipāru*, we hesitate to assert the obvious inference because of the possibly special situation at Keš or Adab (see n. 16).

⁴¹ The known tendency of Malku to give equivalences that obscure differences urges caution, as does the failure of *lāl-ša-ga*, etc., to appear elsewhere with the Sum. terms defined as *šabsūtu*.

⁴² Since the name contains only one genitive — *lāl-A-ša-ga*, not *lāl-A-ša-ga-ka* — *e-ša-ga* (k) would have to be in apposition with *lāl* and define it as "sperm." This seems an unlikely term for a woman, a difficulty that would not be present with "x of the sperm," in which case one could think of her as in some way the receiver; cf. the "wombs" who assist the birth-goddess.

⁴³ We exclude a pass. participle (*lāl:a*) through considerations of meaning. For *lāl:a* (d) as an allomorph of *lāl:e* (d), note that the one form not attested is *lāl-a*.

⁴⁴ Until a syllabic spelling or one with *lál* occurs, uncertainty about the verb should probably also be extended to the reading. — On the construction, see A. Poebel, Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik, pp. 282-4; A. Falkenstein, AnOr 29, p. 71, n. 3. An obj. gen. would be even rarer.

Relevant to the problems raised by the *a-tu* and *tu* are the following:

1. ED List C, MSL 12, p. 15:16-17: *tu*, *a-tu*. This is evidence of the early association of the two figures.

2. Proto-Lu (cited above): the repetition of *a-tu* argues for two persons with this title. Since these entries and the following *lāl-e-ša-ga* seem to reflect specific features of the birth-goddess's cult (see also below on *ama-síki*), the evidence that follows for two divine *a-tu*'s in her service seems pertinent here and suggests a distinction of *a-tu-gu-la* and *a-tu-tur*.

3. The latter designation appears in the Passion of Lil. A divine *a-tu-tur* (no determinative) is among the god's mourners, being named just after Egime, Lil's sister, and just before Damgalnuna; she is female.⁴⁵

4. Among the servants of Bēlet-ilī were, according to AN:Anum (Yale Tablet) = KAV 64 ii 21-24:

da-tu-gu-la = *ní-te-AN-na tuša*

da-tu-gu-la = *ní-te-dingir-mah-ke₄*

da-<tu>-tur = *ama-síki-lá-ke₄*

da-tu-gu-la = *pa-líh dNIN.DINGIR.MEŠ*

d_{nin}-tu-tur = *ama-síki-dingir-mah-ke₄*

d_{nin}-tu-tur = *ši-ib-ti dNIN.DINGIR.MEŠ*

dSAL+KU-lá = *me-te-é-mah-ke₄*

dSAL+KU-gi-lá = *ní-te-mah-ke₄*

dSAL+KU-lá = *pa-líh-KID-ša GAL-tu*.

The name of the last goddess has been corrupted in both texts, and the same is to be said of the identification and translation in KAV 64.⁴⁶ The goddess is *dEgi-me*, as is clear from the Emesal god-list (MSL 4, p. 6:36): [*d*] *n u - n ú s - g e₇ - m e - a* = *dSAL+KU(= egi) - m e - a* = *m e - t [e] - é - m a h*. The confusion of ME and LÁ is of course an easy one.

The presence of Egime, with whom we have seen *a-tu-tur* associated in the Passion of Lil, provides one argument in favor of the correction of the previous line. It is also supported by the *-tu-tur* of KAV 64.⁴⁷ And finally, there is the likelihood that *a-tu-tur* is called *em_x* (*SAL+HUB*)-*síki-me-me* in the Passion of Lil, which clearly may not be dissociated from the *ama-síki* appearing in both identifications.⁴⁸ This, in turn, must be connected with the office of *ama-síki*,⁴⁹ attested in Proto-Lu just five lines before *a-tu et al.* (MSL 12, p. 41:21). Its functions and an explanation of the curious title escape us.

⁴⁵ RA 19 (1922), 184:11, 25. On the problem of Damgalnuna's presence, see A. Falkenstein, ZA 55 (1962), 22 n. 71. In her first appearance, Atatur is described as — so Thureau-Dangin — *SAL ur₄-kin-me-me-ke₄*, which Professor Jacobsen corrects to *em_x* (*SAL+HUB*)-*síki-me-me-ke₄* (note the hatching on the copy of the putative *kin*). In view of the identification of Atatur in the god-lists as *ama-síki* (see below), we take *em_x-síki* as an allomorph of *ama-síki*.

⁴⁶ KID is a mistake for *ta*; cf. CT 24, 26:133, *dga-tur-nun-KID-è*.

⁴⁷ The NIN is a problem. Landsberger (MSL 4, p. 6), who did not have the evidence of AN:Anum, argued that *dNin-tutur* is to be read, understood as "Little Sister," and identified with *ama dge-en-tur* (5 R, 52:1). Apart from difficulties with the last equation (see J. Krecher, Kultlyrik, p. 156 n. 451), though the absence of *tu* in AN:Anum might seem to bear Landsberger out, A = NIN would be unexplained. We therefore consider NIN a corruption, introduced perhaps from the following entry. KAV 64 is an extremely poor text, and the many corruptions extend beyond the lines under consideration; see, e.g. Landsberger, op.cit., on ii 18-19 just above. — Of course A = NIN at least raises the possibility of *e₄* = *e₅*, and since the former prevails elsewhere without exception, this would presumably be the correct reading. Gragg (TCS 3, p. 186) has already considered the possibility of *a-tu* = *a-tu₅*, but as instances of the former spelling multiply, this becomes increasingly unlikely. Whatever the meaning and etymology of the term may be, the *atū* of CTL is additional evidence that the form is *a-tu*, not *a-tu(d)* or *a-tu(r)*.

⁴⁸ See n. 45.

⁴⁹ That the term refers to some institutionalized function and does not mean simply "old woman," seems in-

The identification of Atugula also has its problems. In view of its correspondence to *dingir-mah*, AN-na reflects AN-ni-a(k), AN-ni being one of Bēlet-ilī's many names.⁵⁰ That Atugula should be seated is also suspect, and KAV 64 suggests a corruption of *ke₄*. And finally, at the risk of appearing hyper-critical, we must question the *ní-te*, though it is supported by both mss. and seems to make sense. However, to our knowledge, it is not only without parallel in AN:Anum, but a very bland and uninformative generality. In this it contrasts sharply with the quite specific character of the other identifications, which either establish a deity's role in the manor and/or define his special nature. We would propose — very tentatively, of course — to emend IM TE to *HE-z i*. The difference is minimal, essentially only the final vertical of TE. A slightly damaged source — and perhaps not even this need be postulated — abetted by unfamiliarity with the rare *HE* could easily produce the generic *ní-te*. *HE-z i*, "the effective *HE*," would be specific and define Atugula as one of the priestesses, the "wombs," in the service of the birth-goddess.⁵¹

5. *da-tu gašan-gal-e* (TCL 6, 54 obv. 21): since almost all the evidence on the *a-tu*, divine or human, points to the circle of Bēlet-ilī, this goddess is probably either Atugula or Atatur. Unless we accept the testimony of KAV 64 on the sex of the former, a decision seems impossible.

6. *a-tu-zu* (J. Maynard, JSOR 3 [1919], 15:17): very poorly preserved text, mostly only the beginnings of lines. Members of the household? One addressed not clear.

7. *da-tu-uriki* (AN:Anum, IV 265, Lambert's edition): towards end of Ištar-section, one of 6 *maškim edin-na-ke₄*.

8. BM 54698 i 18' (OB): *a-tu ga-ša-a-na ma(?) - mu àm-ma-gub-ba⁵²*. Context, at least as understood at present, does not identify the goddess. Comment above on 5. perhaps in place here.

A *tu*, then, usually refers to a woman. This is certain for 3 (Atatur), 4 (Atatur), 5 (*datu gašan*), 8 (*atu gašan*), and it seems likely for one or both of the *a-tu*'s in Proto-Lu and, therefore, for the *a-tu* in the Keš Hymn.⁵³ Moreover, where specific associations are discernible, they are, apart from one exception (7),

indicated by the inclusion in a long list of temple functionaries. If Atatur's full title was *ama-síki-me-me*, this would be additional evidence. It is true that in Proto-Lu, immediately after *ama-síki*, there are two entries which hardly refer to offices, *síki-ul-he-nun-na* and *síki-dub-ul-he-nun-na* (see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 90; OB Lu reference now MSL 12, p. 65 Frag. I 5), but these may be explained by attraction (*síki*). — Because of *ama-síki* in KAV, with possible confirmation from Proto-Lu, the *ama-síki-lá* of AN:Anum is suspect. Professor Jacobsen suggests a corruption of "ditto" (i.e. AN-na). The corruption of ME to LÁ in the following line, and Atatur as *em_x-síki-me-me* suggest also the emendation to *ama-síki-me-<m>-ke₄*. This would imply that behind the KAV reading was perhaps the interpretation of *me-me* as a form of Mami.

⁵⁰ Cf. CT 24, 25:94, and in the following line, AN-ni-ur_x(EN)-gal; CT 36, 36:47-50. This solution and the following proposal on *tuša* we owe to Professor Jacobsen.

⁵¹ See n. 1. We therefore would consider the *pāliḥ* of KAV 64 a simple reflex of a corrupt text and no evidence on the sex of Atugula. On this personage note that the Yale Tablet entry corresponds to CT 24, 26:137, *da-tu-x-[-]*, which has been tentatively read as *da-tu-u[d]* by Thureau-Dangin (RA 19 [1922], 181 n. 2, with reference to Atatur) and C. Frank (ZA 40 [1931], 92, with reference to no. 5 below). Professor Lambert informs us that a small chip has removed the possibility of controlling King's copy.

⁵² We owe this reference to Professor Kramer, who was unaware of contributing to his own Festschrift. His work on the text is in its initial stages.

⁵³ It is most unlikely that, in view of the rareness of the term used, the two *a-tu*'s among Bēlet-ilī's clergy and the two *a-tu*'s (one certainly female) in her pantheon are not closely connected; cf. also *tu* and *dTU* in CTL. It is also significant that in Proto-Lu the *a-tu*'s are surrounded by females. Bracketing the possible exceptions: *ama-síki*, [*síki-ul-he-nun-na*, *síki-dub-ul-he-nun-na* (see above)] *nin-d_{nin}-urta*, *nin-dingir-d_{nin}-urta*, *a-tu*, *a-tu*, *lāl-e-ša-ga*, [*šibir-su-du₇*], *egi-zi*, *egi-zi-an-na*, *nin-dingir*, etc.

with the birth-goddess. This suggests, at least in these instances, that the title may have been connected with a function proper to her service, an implication which fits well with the appearance of the *a t u* in the ED version of the Keš Hymn and with the elaboration of the text in tradition. For in selecting for special mention the *e n*, *ĤE*, and *a t u* among all the clergy, the poem seems intent — certainly in the first two — upon stressing what is distinctive of the cult at Keš and reflects the particular character of the goddess it honors.⁵⁴ Tradition then explicates; the *e n* and *ĤE* are called “wombs,” and to the *a t u* it joins immediately the *t u* and *l a l a š a g a*, two more distinctive features of the cult, of whom at least the second seems also to have been associated with birth. It would thus make sense — one can say no more — if, textual emendations aside (*ĤE-z i*), the *a t u* too were devoted in some way to rites or practices attending pregnancy and child-birth, and if the growth of tradition were not a casual excrescence, but an integral development, an explication of the underlying theme of a cult distinguished by its special concern for the beginnings of human life.⁵⁵

Little more can be said about the *t u*. She appears only three times, and then side by side with the *a t u* (ED List C, Keš Hymn, CTL).⁵⁶ Comparison of the sequence in the Kes Hymn and CTL — *a - t u*, *t u*, *l a l - a - š a - g a* — with that of Proto-Lu, *a - t u*, *a - t u*, *l a l - e - š a - g a*, suggests that *a - t u* was or became a replacive of *t u*. This may also be alluded to in the hymn, which describes the *t u* as bringing (*t ú m*) the gathered waters (*a - u r₄ - a*). Sharing a common title, the two functions were then distinguished as “big” and “little,” with probable implications of real subordination.

We offer these glosses on a Sumerian literary text in honor of the scholar most responsible for the recovery of Sumerian literature, hoping he will imitate Horace's friendly critic —

... *parum claris lucem dare coget,*
arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit.

⁵⁴ To the three females would correspond the male *e n* (Anunnaki). *nu - è š*, and *l u g a l k i š k i*. With the males the special dignity and power of the participants seems to be stressed.

⁵⁵ We speak of course only of the expansion around the nucleus of *e n*, *ĤE*, and *a t u*. After *l a l a š a g a*, the male *e n k u m* and *p a š e š* introduced. Feeling for the balance of the older version may explain in part the (oral) poet's addition of the male-figures.

⁵⁶ For *d¹TU* of CTL, *d¹TU* (SLT 122 v 7), *d¹TU* (AN:Anum IV 251, Lambert's edition), *d¹t u* = *d¹n i n - t u* in ED texts (see R. Biggs, ZA 61 [1972], 205) are irrelevant.

Les “silhouettes de référence” de l'haruspicine

Jean Nougayrol, Paris

Le retour enthousiaste aux études de rhétorique si marqué de nos jours¹ laisse-t-il les assyriologues indifférents, ou jugent-ils que l'heure n'a pas sonné pour eux de s'attaquer à de tels problèmes? A part quelques travaux remarquables en leur temps mais qui prennent de l'âge, et, bien entendu, de nombreux excursus épars un peu partout, l'amateur de stylistique trouve peu de ressources en assyriologie. Une seule exception, cependant: les métaphores ou comparaisons, qui, après avoir retenu longuement l'attention de Dhorme en 1923², puis de A. Schott en 1925³, ont été reconsidérées tout récemment par W. Heimpel⁴, et par notre dédicataire dans The Sacred Marriage Rite, 41 ss. et JAOS 89 (1969), 1 ss.⁵

Il faut noter cependant que ces études traitent avant tout des images littéraires, longtemps dites: d'ornement, et laissent un peu dans l'ombre les comparaisons magiques des imprécations — souvent “tirées d'une impossibilité naturelle”⁶ — qui lient les choses en même temps que les mots. Nous nous bornerons ici à rappeler quelques figures plus modestes qui ne visent plus à embellir ou à fonder en vérité, mais qui sont simplement descriptives, comme “une sorte de picto-hiéroglyphie orale” (J. Derrida, De la grammatologie, 340), inspirée du principe plus tard célèbre qu'un court croquis en dit au moins autant qu'un long rapport.

Dans les quelque 1500⁷ textes d'haruspicine qui nous sont plus ou moins connus, près de 700 sentences, duplicata exclus, décrivent par des “silhouettes de référence”⁸ les signes observés sur les viscères de

¹ Il suffira de rappeler ici le succès universel de Roman Jakobson, les multiples rééditions des manuels de R. Wellek et A. Warren (Theory of Literature) depuis 1948, ou de P. Giraud (La Stylistique) depuis 1955, ou encore les 850 pages du Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik (1960) de H. Lausberg, et, en France, l'activité de la revue Poétique ou d'autres analogues, et de leurs équipes. Mais Paul Valéry reconnaîtrait-il comme ses héritiers légitimes les “nouveaux philosophes” que la passion des mots entraîne souvent assez loin des choses? On ne peut s'empêcher de voir là une marque de sénilité, un phénomène “eschatique et crépusculaire” comme avoue l'un des leurs.

² “L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en accadien” (ex Revue Biblique 1920-1923; réédité en 1963). P. Lacau, Les noms de parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique (1970) n'apporte rien de nouveau sur le point qui nous intéresse.

³ Die Vergleiche in den akkadischen Königsinschriften (= MVAG 29 [1925], 2).

⁴ Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur (= Studia Pohl 2, 1968).

⁵ Cf. aussi, bien entendu, les c.r. que ces travaux ont suscités, p. ex. J.S. Cooper, JNES 30 (1971), 147 ss., et W. Heimpel, JAOS 92 (1972), 288 s.

⁶ Cf. H. Lausberg, l.c., au mot ὁμοεικότως, F.O. Weise, Les caractères de la langue latine (trad. fr., 1896, p. 204 ss.) etc.

⁷ Ce chiffre élevé ne doit pas faire illusion: la majeure part des textes “hépatoscopiques” nous échappe encore. On s'en rend compte quand on tente de reconstituer le traité canonique *bārūtū*: on se trouve alors devant beaucoup plus de cases vides que d'éléments directement attestés. Des “chapitres” 9 et 10 (*ḫašū* et *multāb/piltu*), par exemple, dont nous avons la chance de posséder un index dans K 1352, 7 tablettes seulement sur 31 ont été publiées.

⁸ Cette expression, que nous avons souvent employée déjà, doit être entendue au sens large (cf. ci-dessous, 349).

l'animal sacrifié. Ces sentences peuvent être dispersées parmi d'autres; assez souvent cependant elles forment bloc. L'exemple le plus frappant d'une telle présentation est fourni par BRM 4, 13, dont *tous* les éléments (69) comparent le cœlon spiral des intestins à quelque chose. A une échelle moindre, toutes les sentences (9) de YOS 10, 14 décrivent de la même façon le Regard (ride caractéristique de la face stomacale du foie), et toutes celles qui subsistent (9) de IM. 44093 (= Sumer 13 [1957], pl. 33 b) ou (7), de K.13968*, la Présence (autre nom du Regard), ou surtout les 22 l. de K.1365, le Doigt (lobus caudatus), etc. A de rares intercalations près, c'est aussi le cas (7/8) de YOS 10, 28 sur l'Amère (vésicule biliaire) et (16/19) de K.3864 sur la même partie. Ailleurs, on remarque assez fréquemment que les sentences de ce type forment des sortes d'îlots. Cf. p.ex. Suse N° IV*: 28 b - 42 b (Assise-du-trône, du foie), K.3671 +: 19-26 et duplic. (Chemin, ride perpendiculaire au Regard), TCL 6, 3: 14-41, sauf 1.17 (Apaisement = vésicule lymphatique), etc. Au sein de ces groupes ou non se dessine parfois un sous-groupe plus strict dont tous les termes de comparaison sont empruntés au même domaine, par exemple celui des formes de l'écriture⁹ dans BM.17290, etc. *: l's., K.3945: I 1-4, KAR 423: II 53-6, TCL 6, 3: 36 et 38-40, et, également, tout le recto de K.85¹⁰.

L'ampleur et la variété du répertoire ressortent de la liste suivante¹¹: (1). *abnu pešû* "pierre blanche" - 2. *aban ibāru* (pierre) - 3. *aban pulukku* "cône ?" (2) - 4. *aban suluppi* "noyau de datte" (2) - 5. *aban šallūri*¹² "noyau de prune ?" (3) - 6. *addu* (bâton) - 7. *agasalakku* (hache) - 8. *pī agasalakki* (tranchant de a.) - 9. *aiartu* (coquillage) (2) - 10. *akūtu abiltu* "atrophie sèche" - 11. *amūtu* * "foie" - 12. *anšabtu* (anneau) - 13 et (13). *anu* "signe AN" (6) - 14. *apsamikku* (quadrilatère) (7) - 15. *arītu* (bouclier) - 16. *aru* "palme" - 17. *askaru* "croissant" (23) - 18. *assukku* "projectile de fronde" - 19. *aškuttu* (loquet) - 20. *azan zakili* (oignon) - 21. *balsû* (marque) - 22. *baddu* "signe BAD" (8) - 23. *binūt qerbi* (animal des profondeurs) (2) - 24. *binūt tāmī*¹³ (serpent de mer) (2) - 25. *bukinnu*¹⁴ (cercle ?) (3) - 26. *dādu* (crustacé)¹⁵ (5) - 27. *dēpu* (perforation ?¹⁶) - 28. *didistû* (marque) - 29. *dikšû* *¹⁷ (marque) - 30. *dudittu* ?¹⁸ (penden-

⁹ Il nous a paru normal d'en conclure que tous les éléments de ce sous-groupe devaient être tenus pour des noms de signes, et non pour des idéogrammes de sens très divergents. Cf. ci-dessous, n. 62.

¹⁰ D'autres séquences, logiques (analogies de fond et développements) ou non (homonymies et analogies de forme), se rencontrent çà et là. Parmi les secondes, on peut citer à titre d'exemple les couples *rēmu* et *rīmu*, *harḥarru* et *halḥallatu*, dans BRM 4, 13: 9 s. et 50 s.; les premières sont beaucoup plus fréquentes, surtout les "développements".

¹¹ Les numéros qui précèdent les rubriques sont mis entre parenthèses quand il ne s'agit pas de comparaison explicite, mais d'un autre emploi figuré du terme. Les chiffres qui suivent indiquent combien de fois, au-delà d'une, ces comparaisons ou figures se trouvent dans les textes, les duplicata n'étant pas comptés. Un astérisque signifie que le mot est entré par ailleurs dans la nomenclature courante de l'haruspicine, et si abondamment parfois qu'il est pratiquement impossible de chiffrer cet emploi.

¹² La comparaison d'un lambeau de chair (*šīru*) détaché (*nasih*) du Joug ou de l'Assise-du-Trône avec un noyau de *šallūru* paraît exclure la traduction "nêfle" (Biro, ARMT 13, 8). Nous suivons donc plutôt Landsberger, dans Stamm, MVAG 44 (1939), 256. Mais 196: "Si le cœlon spiral a la forme ramassée d'un š." s'accommoderait peut-être mieux de "poire" (CAD K, p. 553).

¹³ On admet avec CAD B, p. 244 que Comm.Rm.480:8' (GIM *bi-nu-ut*) UD-*mi* est un lapsus pour *tam-ti(m)*. Notre traduction résulte de la glose Comm.K.3946 +: I 13 [*mu-u*]š-gal-li ša IGI d'EN.

¹⁴ L'interprétation par "cercle ?" d'un terme qui est en général traduit par "auge, seau" est suggérée par deux passages cités dans CAD B, p. 306: le *b.*, phase de la lune (comme 17 et 110), et la mer vue de très haut par Etana qui n'aperçoit plus que le "plan d'eau" d'un seau.

¹⁵ On suit ici CAD D, p. 20, plutôt que A. Salonen, Fischei, pp. 170 ss. Le texte séleucide TCL 6, 3 écrit AB pour AB (1.33).

¹⁶ D'après Oppenheim, Glass, p. 65 (*dīpu*). Ce sens paraît convenir à YOS 10,25: 65 "... une chair comme une poupée mâle (142) avec des trous (*de-e-pi*) à son nez.". Nous ramenons provisoirement à ce terme le *e-di-pu* (pour *de-e-pu* ?) de K.3656 *: ?, ainsi que le GIŠ.TUKUL *de-e-pi* du c.r. 5 R 63b: 30.

¹⁷ Cf. CAD D, p. 138, mais aussi A. Kilmer, Studies Oppenheim, pp. 140 ss.

¹⁸ CAD B, p. 100 corrige, apparemment sans raison majeure, *du-di-it-ti* en GIM(?) *di-it-ti* (= *uditti*) dans Comm. K.9815: II(?) 6 et s. et duplic., mais les adjectifs qui suivent, *baqilti* et *takkusti*, nous demeurent obscurs.

tif) (2) - 31. *dūru*¹⁹ "mur" - 32. *egû* "stibium?" - 33. *ellambuḥu* (vessie) - 34. *ellamkuḥu* (vessie) (2) - 35. EN + IN "signe ŠINIG ?" - 36. *erištu* * ("envie") - 37. *erḫu* "lit" - 38. *erû* "aigle" (2) - (39). *gabaraḥ-ḥu* (marque) - 40. *gamlu* (bâton courbe) (14) - 41. *gammu*²⁰ "signe GAM" - 42. *giddê*²¹ (galette ?) - 43. *gišimmaru*²² "palme" - 44. *halḥallatu*²³ (cymbale ?) (2) - 45 et (45). *ḥallu*²⁴ "signe HAL" (12) - 46. *ḥallû*?²⁵ (tache noire ?) - 47. *ḥallurtu* (gros pois) (4) - 48. *ḥamaš* ? "5 ?" - 49. *harḥarru*²⁶ (instrument à cordes) (2) -

50. *ḥaribānu*²⁷ ? - 51. *ḥasīs sammî* ("oreille" d'une lyre) (3) - 52. *ḥašḫuru* "pomme" (17) - 53. *ḥašû* * "poumon" (2) - 54. *ḥazīqat sammî* ("bonnet" d'une lyre) - 55. *ḥirdû zumbi* "chiures de mouche" - 56. *ḥumāšû*²⁸ "pince" - 57. (*pan*) *ḥumbaba* "(face de) H." - 58. *iku* "fossé" (5) - 59. *illuru* (fruit rouge²⁹) - 60. *imgurru* "enveloppe de tablette" - 61. *imšukku* "couvercle" (15) - 62. *irāt šēri* "écailles de serpent" (2) - 63. *irru atru* * "boyau supplémentaire" (3) - 64. *irru qatnūtu* * "intestins grêles" - 65. (*i*)šī't *erši* "coussin de lit" - 66. (*i*)šī't *kussî* "coussin de chaise" - 67. *iški immeri* "testicule de mouton" - 68. *išqarrurtu* (instrument agricole) (7) - 69. *kabābu* (bouclier) - 70 et (70) *kakkabu* "étoile" (7) - 71. *kakku* * ("Arme") (2) - 72. *kakkūtu* (petit pois) (3) - (73). *kaksû* (marque) (10) - 74. *kalbu* "chien" (2) - 75. *kalīt alpi* "rein de boeuf" (3) - 76. *kalīt birki* "testicule" - 77. *kamūnu*³⁰ (champignon) (5) - 78. *kappi allaltî* "aile d'a." - 79. *kappi šuttinni* "aile de chauve-souris" - (80). *karšû* (marque) (3) - (81). *kasû* (granulation) (3) - 82 et (82). *kaskala* "signe KASKAL" (4) - 83. *kibaltu* ? (agate ?) - 84. *kibirru*³¹ (fourche ?) (6) - (85). *kidisû*³²

¹⁹ Cf. AHw, p. 1052 (*šūtu*).

²⁰ CAD K, p. 399, hésite entre "like a circle (*kippati*)" et "like the GAM sign", mais le contexte de TCL 6, 3: 36b, c'est-à-dire: 36a, 38-40, donne plus de vraisemblance à la seconde interprétation.

²¹ Comm. K.11374 *: 11' et Comm. DT 49 +: IV 4 s. *kīma gidi raḥiṣ-ma kibir la irši*. Nous disons encore "plat comme une galette".

²² Selon Weidner, AfO 16 (1952-53), 74 s., BE.36404 *: 28 porterait *ari* (16), au lieu du *gišimmari* des duplic. BRM 4, 13: 32 = BM.54635 *: 30'. Nous avons donc choisi un sens restreint pour ce dernier mot. Mais nous n'oublions pas que le palmier dans son ensemble est un schéma physiognomonique (Kraus, AfO, Bh 3, 27a: II'), et, d'autre part, il n'est pas exclu que le texte cassite rapidement analysé par Weidner "téléscope" là la protase de BRM 4, 13: 33 (A.MUŠEN: *a/erû*(38)) et l'apodose de la ligne précédente, remplaçant à sa propre 1.29 l'apodose de cette 1.33 par un présage historique aussi, mais sensiblement différent ("présage de Gušur qui fut maître du pays", au lieu de: "présage du roi Etana qui est monté au ciel").

²³ Pour la traduction, cf. Suse N° III *: v.54 "Si deux Doigts médians du poumon (= lobes azygos) *kīma ḥ. šutashupā*."

²⁴ A titre tout à fait hypothétique je range provisoirement ici la tournure KA ḪAI. ŠUB.BA de KUB 4, 66: II 11 ss. et KUB 37, 178: 7'. Peut-être s'agit-il plutôt d'une double bouche ou d'un double "nez" (KA DIDLI)?

²⁵ Dans ses deux sentences successives 7 s. et 9 s., YOS 10, 61 porte ḪAI puis *ḥa-lu-um*, avec des apodoses apparemment contraires. On a donc affaire ici à des homonymes plutôt qu'à des graphies du même mot (dans des sentences de provenance diverse). Sur l'attraction homonymique, cf. supra, n.10.

²⁶ Nous voyons une haplographie dans TCL 6, 1: 52 *kīma ana ḥar<ḥar>-ri* "Si le foie est étroitement lié (*šubbutat*) de filaments, comme pour un ḥ."

²⁷ RA 27 (1930), 149: 4. On hésite entre *ḥaribānu* (Borger, EAK 1, 39 n.1, pour CAD J, p. 248 qui pourrait être rapproché du KI.KAL de Comm. TCL 6, 6: IV 7, et, plus vraisemblable, la plante (*ḥ*)*aribānu* "patte-de-corbeau"; mais le présage sur Sargon l'ancien que suit permet aussi de se demander si ḥ. ne serait pas plutôt un doublet inédit de (*ḥ*)*urbabillu* "caméléon", à cause de l'étroite association du "lézard" (ci-dessous, 168 et 194) avec ce roi.

²⁸ Sur (*ḥ*)*umāšû* "pince, crampon", cf. von Soden, ZA 51 (1955), 142.

²⁹ Malgré Landsberger, AfO Bh.17, 17 n. 52, la vésicule biliaire étant plus normalement comparée à un fruit qu'à une fleur.

³⁰ Cf. Iraq 31 (1969), 62, et RA 63 (1968), 155 s., malgré CAD K, p. 132.

³¹ CAD K, p. 330 propose: (an ax), mais c'est une ramification qui caractérise le *k*. (82-5-22, 500: 7 s. = KAR 432: 7 s. = Comm.K.3978 + *: 27' (?), et sans doute le schéma du Comm.K.2094: II 1' qui est une forche à deux dents).

³² CAD D, p. 135 corrige en *di(!)-di-su-û* (soit 28), mais, dans TCL 6,1: v.45, le signe KI est très net, et bien différent du DI qui suit.

(marque) – 86. KI E . . .³³ ? – 87. *kippu*³⁴ “boucle” (2) – 88. *kīsu* “bourse” (4) – 89. *kiššu* ?³⁵ (tronc de cône ?) – 90. *kubšu* * “casque” (3) – 91. KUD DUG.ÚTUL “. . . de casserole” – 92. *kukku* (gâteau) (2) – 93. *kultu* (natte) (2) – 94. *kuptatinnu* “houlette” – 95. *kursinnu* * (fanon ?) (2) – 96. *kuru*³⁶ “signe KUR” – 97. *kusarikku* “bison” – 98. ^dLAMMA.GADA.MAJ³⁷ (une lamassu) – 99. *larū* * “ramification” (4) –

100. *libbu* * “coeur” (2) – 101. *lilissu* “timbale” – 102. *lipištu* “scrotum” (2) – (103). *lipištu* “sperme ?” (2) – (104). *liptu* (marque cutanée) (2) – 105. *lišān alpi* “langue de boeuf” – 106. *lišān iššūri* “langue d’oiseau” (6) – 107. *lišān kalbi* “langue de chien” – 108. *lulmū* (anneau) – 109. (*šalam*) *māḫiṣ* // *nākis rīmi* “(image de) tueur de boeuf sauvage” (5) – 110. *maqūru* ? (bateau) – 111. *maṣḫatu* (farine) – 112. *mašgašu* (arme) – (113). *mašqūtu* (point d’eau) (2) – 114. *māšu* ? “jumeau ?” (2) – (115). *maṭṭalat šamē* “reflet du ciel” – 116. *matnu* “corde d’arc” (2) – *mazzāzu*, cf. 137 et 138 – (117). *mēdeḫtu* (réseau ?) (6) – (118). *miḫiltu* “signe d’écriture” – 119. *mišaddu*³⁸ “timon ?” – 120. *murudu ša pāšti*³⁹ “? de hache p.” (2) – 121. *mu-ša’irānu* “grenouille” – 122. *mušālu*⁴⁰ (miroir) (2) – (123). *mušniggu* ?⁴¹ ? – (124). *mušningu* ?⁴¹ ? – 125. (*šinni*) *mušti* “dent(s) de peigne” (4) – 126. *muššulu*(?)⁴⁰ (miroir ?) – 127. *nādu* “outre” – 128. *nal-battu* (tronc de pyramide ?) (3) – 129. *nambāsu*⁴² (laine rouge ?) – 130. *namšāru* “glaive” – 131. *naṣraptu* * “creuset (du foie)” (2) – 132 et (132). *ni* “signe NI ?” (2) – 133. *nunnatu* (fourche ?) – 134. *nūnu* “poisson” (ou bien “signe HJA”⁴³) – 135. *nurmū* “grenade” – (136). *nūru* “lueur” – 137. *padānu* * “Chemin” et *mazzāzu* * “Présence” (4) – 138. *padān šumēli marti* * “Chemin de gauche de la vésicule biliaire et *mazzāzu* */ “Présence” – 139 et (139). *pallurtu*⁴⁴ “croix” (34) – 140 et (140). *pappāsu* “farinette” (2) – 141. *pappu*

³³ KBo 7, 5: (2). M.R. Biggs, qui vient d’examiner longuement cette maquette de foie à Ankara, propose avec beaucoup de réserves : KIGUB *qī-e* x (non ne !) x x *ma//ba i-ta//ša-ad//la-x*. Je pense qu’on peut maintenir *i(t)ad(d)u* “est jonché de” à la fin de la protase, mais le schéma qui l’illustre porte des “cavités” (*šīlū*), non des “filaments” (*qū*), comme M. Biggs veut bien me le confirmer, et tout reste ainsi en question. J’avais pensé concilier dessin et texte en lisant GIM(?) *e-ne(?) za(?)-ri(?) qū(?)-ti* “comme d’oeils divergents (soit : de gouttelettes dispersées) est jonchée”, que la nouvelle collation exclut définitivement.

³⁴ Je laisse de côté (RA 61 [1967], 31) la même comparaison, fréquente, dans des textes comme KAR 426: 17 ss.

³⁵ YOS 10, 9: 24 s. “Si le rumen est tronconique(?) (*kīma kišim*)”.

³⁶ Toujours écrit KUR. Le contexte de TCL 6, 3 : 40a et de Comm.K.3861 *: 9’ paraît bien indiquer qu’il s’agit du signe, et non de “montagne”, malgré la glose inadéquate qui suit.

³⁷ Sans doute, la classique déesse protectrice en robe à volants. Cf. p. ex. Wiseman, Iraq 22 (1960), 166 s.

³⁸ Pour *mašaddu*. Une glose ajoute par la suite *addu ša išnarkabti*.

³⁹ Si on suivait AHw. p. 677 (*murudū* “ein Gitter”), on verrait dans *abrī šaknat* qui précise la comparaison : “(Si une côte) est pourvue de trous . . .”, et on penserait à une hache fenestrée, mais il semble plus vraisemblable de tenir ici (YOS 10, 45 : 44 et 46) *abru* pour “aile”, la *pāštu* étant considérée en général comme une hache bipenne.

⁴⁰ D’après les schéma joints (Comm. K.1999 + K.3967:III 14 ss., d’une part, et Comm. K.2086 +:III 3 ss., de l’autre), le *mušālu* (122) serait un miroir à manche, de forme classique, le *muššulu*(?) (126), un miroir triangulaire. Mais le second de ces termes est d’une lecture fort problématique qu’un duplicat inédit K.2092: recto * II 9’ s., ne semble pas confirmer.

⁴¹ Il n’est pas impossible que *mu-uš-ni-gi* (ainsi que le *muš-nim-g(i?)* qui suit) soit un équivalent de *šarūru* (199), d’après le parallélisme rigoureux de YOS 10, 41 : 65’ et BM.22694 (RA 67 [1973], 43): 24’.

⁴² RA 27 (1930), 149 : 24 s. est à lire, avec K.K. Riemschneider, ZA 47 (1942), 142, DIŠ EŠ (= *martum*) *imitta-ša ana zihḫī daqūtim kīma nambāsi itadāt* “Si l’Amère, sa droite est jonchée de kystes menus comme (des fils de) laine rouge(?)”.

⁴³ La seconde traduction peut être préférée à cause du contexte de K.3945 : I 4, mais les signes cunéiformes pris comme silhouettes de référence sont envisagés d’ordinaire sous leur forme archaïque. Ainsi les deux interprétations se confondent.

⁴⁴ Écrit en clair (*pa/il(l)urtum*) à l’époque ancienne, BAR-*tum*/-*ti* ensuite, ce qui exclut une lecture *mašu* (signe MAŠ), qui, d’ailleurs reviendrait au même (“croix”). Cette comparaison, il faut l’ajouter, ne figure pas dans le “groupe graphique”. D’autre part, une lecture *uššurtu* (CAD K, p. 57) est bien improbable, d’après le verbe de K.3671 + : 21 GİR 2-*ma* GIM BAR-*tum* *it-gu-ru*, qui définit bien un entrecroisement.

“signe PAP” (11) – 142. *passu zikaru*⁴⁵ “poupée mâle” (14) – 143. *pasuttu ša elippi* “couverture (?) de bateau” – 144. *pāštu* (hache) – 145. *patru* “dague” (2) – 146. *patar aškāpi* “tranchet” – 147. *patar* (?) *sammā* (plectre?) – 148. *pelū* “oeuf” (2) – 149. *pī(?) erbi* “bouche(?) de sauterelle” (2) –

150 et (150). *piqqannu*⁴⁶ “crotte de bique” (8) – 151. *pirḫu*⁴⁷ (bourgeon) (5) – (152). *pirniqqu* (arme) (3) – 153. *pisan nuḫši* (boîte de Pandore ?) – 154. *pišilti ṭuppi* “enveloppe de tablette” – 155. *pitiltu* “fil” (7) – 156. *puquṭtu* (chardon) – 157. *purparḫu* ? “pourpier ?” – 158. *pūt alpi* “trapèze” – 159. *qanni eṣemti* “apophyse” – 160. *qaqqad akkulli* “tête de pioche” (3) – 161. *qaqqad arsuppi* “tête de carpe ?” – 162. *qaqqad erbi* “tête de sauterelle” (2) – 163. *qaqqad immeri* “tête de mouton” (2) – 164. *qaqqad kalbi* “tête de chien” – 165. *qaqqad nēši* “tête de lion” (2) – 166. *qaqqad pilakki* “tête de fuseau” (5) – 167. *qaqqad šēri* “tête de serpent” (3) – 168. *qaqqad šurāri* “tête de lézard” – 169. *qaqqad šelepṭi* “tête de tortue” – 170. *qarnu* * “corne” – 171. *qaran enzi* “corne de chèvre” (10) – 172. *qaran maqūri* “corne de bateau m.” (3) – 173. *qaštu* “arc” – 174. *qū* * “filament” (2) – (175). *qū marḫu* “filament effiloché” – 176. *qū qatnu* “filament grêle” – 177. *quliptu* ? “peau écailleuse ?” – 178. *rāṭu* ?⁴⁸ “rigole” – 179. *rēmu* “matrice” – 180. *rimmatu*⁴⁹ “perle ovoïde ?” – 181. *rīmu* “boeuf sauvage” – 182. *ritti amīlūti* “main humaine” – 183. *rubuṣ būri* “utérus de génisse ?” – 184. *saḫlūtu* “graine de cresson ?” – 185. *sikkatu* “clou d’argile” (8) – 186. *sikkat karri* “pommeau” – 187. *šūru*⁵⁰ ? (2) – 188. *šēl patri*⁵¹ “nervure de dague” – 189. *šēru* “serpent” (7) – (190). *šibtu* * (“Excroissance”) – 191. *šillū* “aiguille” (6) – 192. *širrit parisi* “lanière de rame” (2) – 193. *šiṣītu* “trame ?” – 194. *šurūrītu* “lézard” (4) – 195. *šahḫū* ? (capuchon ?) – 196. *šallūru* “prune ?” (2) – (197). *šaprātu* ?⁵² (petits clous ?) – (198). *šartu* “toison” – (199). *šarūru* (lueur ?) (2) –

200. *šašallu* “tendon” – 201. (*pī*) *šaššari* “(lame de) scie” (13) – 202. *šēp amīlūti* “pied humain” – 203. *šēp bašmi* ? “pied de dragon” – 204. *šēp erbi* “patte de sauterelle” – 205. *šēp iššūri* “patte d’oiseau” (2) – 206. *šēp lurmi* “pied d’autruche” – 207. *šeršerratu* ? “chaîne” – (208). *šeršerru*⁵³ (anneau ?) (8) – 209. *šibirru* “houlette” (2) – 210. *šibir rē* ? “houlette de berger” – 211. *šir’u* “sillon” – 212. *šīšitu* * “mem-

⁴⁵ Cf. Landsberger, WZKM 56 (1960), 118 s., et y joindre maintenant, pour l’haruspicine : STT 308 + : 63 = Comm. K.4063 * : II 3; Comm. K.4063 * : IV 3’ s. = K.9048 : v.3’ s. ; BM.75224 * : 15 = K.4081 + : 3’ ; c. r. JCS 11 (1957), 89 N° 17:16 = c.r. K.1454 : 9 ; K.2152 + * : v.1’ = KAR 423 : III 58 s. ; K.2152 + * : 2’-17’.

⁴⁶ Le mot est toujours écrit A.GAR.GAR, et la comparaison, très souvent accompagnée de *šihir* “est petit (comme)”. Les schéma à peu près identiques des Comm. K.2090 : II 12 ss. et K.99 : II 5’-9’, n’évoquent guère mieux un petit poisson (*agargarū*) qu’une “crotte de bique”, que nous avons conservé ici à cause de l’usage familial qu’on en fait encore dans ce sens.

⁴⁷ Pas plus que pour *illuru* (59), on ne peut suivre Landsberger, malgré sémit. *parḫ*.

⁴⁸ Écrit RAD (TCL 6, 3 : 14).

⁴⁹ Pour *erimmatu* ? Mais AHw, 986a propose : “asticot ?”.

⁵⁰ Le vb. *raḫiṣ* qui accompagne parfois cette comparaison (Rm.2, 112 : 20’ = K.3854 : v.15) peut signifier “est plat”, comme avec *apsamikku* (14) ou *giddē* (42), mais cela ne suffit pas à préciser le sens de *kīma* SUR(-*ri*).

⁵¹ Le schéma joint (Comm. K.99 : II 10’ s.) – un petit losange debout sur un de ses angles – correspond assez mal à la description du texte : “Arme de droite [dressée ?] comme une poin[te] de dague . . .” (variante :) pointant comme une nervure de dague”. Pour justifier le second verbe (*zaqip*), on pourrait admettre que *še-el* est la pour *šēlti* // *šēlūt*, mais l’illustration ne convient pas davantage. Peut-être faut-il y voir, en définitive, la section très grossièrement rendue d’un poignard à double nervure.

⁵² Je ne connais à ce propos que le paragraphe cité par Bezold, Cat. à K.3868 *. Sur le terme, cf. p.ex. Garelli, RA 58 (1964), 61 n.1.4, et 60 (1966), 110, n.1.4.

⁵³ Dans plusieurs cas, ce mot est associé au vb. *malū*, et il pourrait, comme *egū* (32) désigner une substance colorée (“terre rouge”, en dernier lieu dans Oppenheim, Glass, pp. 41 s. et 56), mais ici, c’est plutôt un pluriel ou une pluralité (Comm. Rm.2, 103 : III 49 = K.3873 *+ : III 13, avec SA₅.MEŠ, et KAR 152 : v.13 etc. avec ŠUB.MEŠ-at “(rein) jonché de”).

brane" (2) – (213). *šizbu* "lait" (3) – 214. *šukutti* (?) *šē*⁵⁴ ? – 215 et (215). *šullu* (marque) (11) – 216. *šušallu* "grand filet" – 217. *šuttinnu* "chauve-souris" – 218. *takalti gallābi* "trousse de barbier" – 219. *takalti patri* ? "gaine de dague" – 220 et (220). *tallu* ? "traverse" (2) – 221. *tār ūši* ("retour" de flèche) – 222. *tiḡitallī agī* ". . . de couronne" – 223. *tikip šillī* "piqûre(s) d'aiguille" – 224. *tilpānu* (javelot) (2) – 225. *timbuttu* (lyre) – 226. *tinūru* ? "réchaud" – (227). *titurru* "digue" (3) – (228). *tultu* "ver" – 229. *tiḡ pukki*⁵⁵ ". . . de cerceau" (2) – (230). *īlū* (estrade) (2) – 231. *ḡulīmu* * "rate" – 232 et (232). U (brèche * ?, cavité * ?, sinon: Doigt = 233) (2) – 233. *ubānu* * "doigt" (10) – (234). *uddisū* (marque) – 235. *ukū* (bâton) – 236. U KUR KI⁵⁶ (patte d'oie ??) – 237. *unqu* (anneau) (15) – 238. *urī marri* (. . . de bêche) – 239. *urriqu* (pierre vert-jaune) – 240. *Ū RU UD* [⁵⁷ ? – 241. *urup sīsī* "encolure de cheval" – 242. *ūšu* "flèche" – 243. *uṣurtu* * (figure géométrique) (3) – 244. *uṣultu ša dami* "vaisseau sanguin" – 245 et (245). *uṣṣitu* "grain (d'orge)" (4) – 246. *uznu* * ⁵⁸ "oreille" (2) – 247. *uzun lābi* "oreille de lion" (6) – 248. *uzun laḡ* "oreille de chevreau" – 249. *zēr šarbatī*⁵⁹ "samare ?" – 250. *zibbatu* "queue" – 251. *zibbat ḡumuṣṣiri* "queue de rat" – 252. *zibbat immeri* "queue (grasse) de mouton" – 253. *zibbat zuqaqīpi* "queue de scorpion" – 254. *ziḡḡu*⁶⁰ "kyste" (9) – 255. *ziqip patri* "pointe de dague" (3) – 256. *ziqit zuqaqīpi* "dard de scorpion" – 257. *zuqaqīpu*⁶¹ "scorpion" (2) – 258. 4 (?) "quatre".

D'après leur nature, on voit que ces termes de comparaison relèvent de:

- I. Signes d'écriture⁶² et mots apparemment dérivés⁶³, chiffres (18 exemples): 13, 22, 35(?), 41, 45, 82, 96, 118, 132(?), 134(?), 141 – 21, 28, 73, 85, 234 – 48(?), 258(?).
- II. Figures géométriques (11 ex.): 3(?), 14, 17, 25(?), 70, 87, 89(?), 128(?), 139, 158, 243.
- III. Topographie (5 ex.): 58, 113, 178, 211, 227.
- IV. Minéraux (5 ex.): 1, 2, 32, 83, 239.

⁵⁴ BRM 4,13 : 39 "Si le cōlon spiral est *kīma šu-kut-ti₄ še-e*" reste malheureusement sans parallèle. On ne peut s'empêcher de penser à une "gloire" (lit. "insigne(?) de lever (de soleil) ?"). Sur *šukuttu*, joindre à la bibliographie rassemblée par Cagni, Erra, p. 182 s., Oppenheim, Or.NS 19 (1950), 142 n.7, Bottéro, RA 43 (1949), 9, Kupper, Syria 41 (1971), 112, Cassin, Splendeur divine, p. 49 et n. 86, etc.

⁵⁵ Landsberger, WZKM 57 (1961), 23.

⁵⁶ IM.44093 (= Sumer 13 (1957), pl. 33b): 9, où je crois pouvoir lire *ki-ma ubān kurkī*. Sur cette façon de rendre la "patte d'oie", cf. déjà Kraus, AfO, Bh.3, 18 : v.8' = 22 : III 2.

⁵⁷ Comm. Rm.2, 103 : III 39.

⁵⁸ K.6159 + * : 6 et s. *šumma ina imitti // šumēli amūti šīru kīma šikin uzni [šakin]*. Le groupe GAR GEŠTU se retrouve une quinzaine de fois en haruspice comme terme technique. La lecture en est peut-être *ḡasīsu*, écrit en clair ailleurs, et sans doute en avons-nous la figuration dans la maquette de poumon Rm.620 comme dans le Comm. illustré K.1999: III 9 ss. (forme particulière du lobe azygos du poumon).

⁵⁹ TCL 6,6 : I 20' *šumma ina rēš mazzāzi šullu nadi* : ŠUL GIM NUMUN *šar-bat*, où la forme (archaïque) de ŠUL répondrait bien à la samare de l'érable.

⁶⁰ Cp. YOS 10, 24 : 38 *ki-ma ni-di-i zi-ḡi-im na-si(!)-iḡ(!)* à TCL 6, 2 : 70 = K.134 + : v.12', ou, d'autre part, TCL 6, 1 : 43 et s. *kīma šikin DI-ḡu/i ZI-iḡ*.

⁶¹ Cf. RA 66 (1972), 141 ss.

⁶² Depuis RA 40 (1946), 79, nous prenons ces signes "au pied de la lettre", et CAD, *passim*, fait de même, mais les commentateurs y voyaient, à tort selon nous, des idéogrammes parmi d'autres, et quelques interprètes modernes paraissent enclins à les suivre: CAD hésite pour 41 et ne paraît pas voir un caractère dans 96; AHw, p. 824, comprend "boucle" dans 141 dont l'amphibologie se rapproche de celle de 134, etc. Ainsi que nous l'avons dit, supra n.9, c'est le regroupement habituel de ces silhouettes graphiques qui nous a amené à une interprétation globale – qui ne va pas sans quelque difficulté (35, 132). – La physiognomonie retient aussi le signe *kumma* (KUM) (CAD K, p. 534).

⁶³ D'après l'hypothèse esquissée dans CRAI (1966), 198 s., mais on peut se demander si 73, que les vocabulaires enregistrent aussi comme le nom d'une arme (CAD K, p. 61), appartient bien à ces néologismes présumés construits sur un nom de signe suivi de *sū*.

V. Végétaux ou leurs parties (20 ex.): 4, 5 et 196, 16 et 43, 20, 47 et 72, 52, 59, 77, 81, 99, 135, 151, 156, 157, 184, 245, 249.

VI. Animaux, leurs parties ou leurs produits (54 ex.): 9, 23, 24, 26, 38, 55, 62 et 167, 189, 67 et 163, 252; 74 et 107, 164; 75 et 105; 78, 79 et 217; 97, 106 et 205, 121, 134(?), 148, 149 et 162, 204; 150, 161, 165 et 247, 168 et 194; 169, 170, 171, 177, 181, 183, 198, 203, 206, 213, 228, 236(?), 241, 248, 250, 251, 253 et 256, 257.

VII. Anatomie (39 ex.): 10, 11, 33, 34, 53, 63 et 64, 76, 95, 100, 102 et 103, 114(?), 131, 137, 138, 159, 174, 175, 176, 179, 182, 190, 200, 202, 212, 231, 233, 244, 246. Marques: 29, 36, 39, 46(?), 71, 80, 104, 215, 254.

VIII. Nourritures (4 ex.): 42, 92, 111, 140.

IX. Objets fabriqués ou leurs parties: (89 ex.): 6 et 40, 235; 12 et 108, 208(?), 237; 19, 30, 31, 37, 56, 60 et 154, 61, 65 et 66, 68, 84 et 133, 88, 91, 93, 94, 110 et 172, 117, 119, 122 et 126, 115(?); 125, 127, 129(?), 142, 143, 153, 155, 160, 166, 180, 185 et 186, 191 et 223, 192, 193, 195, 197(?), 201, 207, 209 et 210, 216, 218, 220, 222, 226, 229, 230, 238. En particulier: *armes ou analogues* (21 ex.): 7, 8, 15 et 69, 18, 90, 112, 116, 120 et 144, 130, 145 et 146, 188, 219, 255; 152, 173, 221 et 242, 224; et *instruments de musique* (7 ex.): 44, 49, 51 et 54, 147; 101, 225.

X. Motifs artistiques (3 ex.): 57, 98, 109.

XI. Divers (2 ex.): 136 et 199(?).

XII. Obscurs (9 ex.): 27, 50, 86, 123, 124, 187, 214, 232, 240.

Il faut remarquer au passage que ce n'est pas toujours une silhouette, c'est-à-dire: la forme ou l'aspect général, qui est prise en considération. Ce peut être aussi une couleur (2, 32, 83, 129, 136), ou, plus généralement, une matière (103, 111, 140, 213). D'autre part, les éléments du "tableau hépatoscopique" ainsi comparés ne le sont pas forcément en proportion de leur importance omineuse. Nous enregistrons, à titre provisoire puisque les "hasards archéologiques" ont certainement une grande part dans nos connaissances (cf. *supra*, n.7), 71 exemples pour le cōlon spiral et les intestins, 52 pour la vésicule biliaire, 46 pour la Présence ou Regard, 34 pour la vésicule lymphatique, 27 pour des lambeaux de chair détachés ou non, 20 pour le troisième lobe du foie, 17 pour la rate, 15 pour la marque dite Arme, 14 pour l'Assise-du-trône (du foie), 13 pour la marque dite Pied, ainsi que pour une partie hépatique désignée comme Arme de droite ou de faveur, ou encore le foie considéré dans son ensemble (*amūtu*). Le Chemin n'est décrit ainsi que 12 fois, et le poumon avec toutes ses parties, que 11. Il n'est guère d'élément qui ne soit, çà ou là, l'objet d'une telle comparaison. A ce point de vue, nous avons pu relever 29 parties constitutives et 14 signes fortuits. Nous sommes d'autant plus surpris de constater que la "cavité" (*šīlu*) n'y figure pas. C'est sans doute parce que sa forme simple ne devait pas se prêter à beaucoup de variations, au contraire du cōlon spiral où on pouvait, pour ainsi dire, tout voir, sans qu'il soit guère possible de l'exprimer autrement que par un dessin, tracé ou parlé. Nous rappellerons d'ailleurs que dans la pratique – les consultations – ces enroulements étaient presque exclusivement comptés.

On notera encore que de rares comparaisons semblent spécifiques, soit: applicables à un seul élément, telles 61 à l'*amūtu*, ou le groupe X à l'intestin. Au contraire, les groupes I, II, VI et IX se rencontrent un peu partout, et même bien au-delà de l'haruspice, par exemple en tératomancie et surtout physiognomonie, ou encore en lécanomancie et astrologie, sans parler de la magie ou de la simple littérature.

Ici, les formulaires sont en général réduits à l'essentiel: *šumma A kīma B(-ma)*, quelquefois accompagné d'une forme verbale de *šakānu* (rarement avec *šikitti B*), *bašū*, *nadū*, *eṣēru*, qui n'ajoute rien au sens. Pour les

“jonchées” ou analogues, on trouve aussi *malû*, ou encore *itaddû* (et ŠUB.MEŠ). La tournure *A B ibtani* reste exceptionnelle. Plus intéressants, à notre point de vue, sont les verbes ou expressions qui viennent préciser, de temps en temps, la portée de la comparaison⁶⁴. Par exemple, les figures étymologiques (ou pseudo-étymologiques) comme: *edēhu* (117), *garāru* (68), *kupputu* (94), *napāhu* (77, avec *kīma nipiḥ kamūnim*), *patālu* (155), etc. Il arrive aussi une trentaine de fois⁶⁵, dans des commentaires ou maquettes, que des dessins schématiques ou de légers reliefs reprennent graphiquement la comparaison. Mais cela ne suffit pas toujours à fixer nos idées⁶⁶. Plus convaincants à ce point de vue sont les *regroupements logiques* de sentences des Recueils de Variantes Commentées que nous comptons analyser bientôt ailleurs, bien que, là non plus, les exégètes de jadis ne doivent pas être suivis les yeux fermés, en particulier quand ils ne veulent pas prendre pour ce qu’elles sont les silhouettes du groupe I a (*supra*, n.62).

Nous ne pouvons pas, ici tout au moins, poursuivre et développer davantage notre enquête. Nous nous en tiendrons donc à une conclusion d’ordre général: les “silhouettes de référence” ne sont pas employées de même façon que les termes figurés qui constituent l’essentiel de la nomenclature “hépatoscopique”⁶⁷. Dans cette nomenclature, en effet, le sens propre est virtuellement oublié et il n’y a plus de comparaison consciente⁶⁸, ni, d’ailleurs, de choix possible. Au contraire, les comparaisons véritables et presque toujours explicites que nous avons retenues ne sont jamais qu’un mode de description *parmi d’autres*, et elles demeurent évidemment conscientes. Leur principal avantage est la *concision*, et comme, d’autre part, on peut les tenir dans l’ensemble pour rituelles, au sens où l’entendent R. Wellek et A. Warren (*Theory of Literature*, éd. 1948, p. 202; éd. Peregrine, 1966, p. 196 s.), c’est-à-dire: consacrées par un long usage, elles ne prêtent pas trop à confusion⁶⁹.

⁶⁴ On retiendra seulement ici que le vb. *edēdu* (perm. *ēd*. également dans le c.r. m-b. JAOS 38 [1918], 82:12) n’a pas été toujours convenablement interprété. Associé à 191 : *kīma (appi) šillū*, il signifie naturellement “être pointu” et peut être remplacé par *qatānu* “être mince”, à l’époque ancienne, cp. YOS 10, 31 : II 16-23 à YOS 10, 28 : 4, et cf. RA 27 (1930), 149 : 6. Avec la même comparaison, on le retrouve plus tard écrit SIG-*ed*, qu’il ne paraît pas possible de lire *zaqit* malgré CAD Z, pp. 63 s., SIG : *zaqtu* n’étant pas attesté ailleurs, ni *e(!)-ed*, malgré AHw, 185a, l’identité du signe en question étant confirmée par d’assez nombreux parallèles : TCL 6, 3 : 32 = Rm.2, 223 : 24’, AO. 7264 * : v.12’ = Sm.986 + : v.14’, Comm.Rm.2, 103 : 13 et 14 = K.3068 : 12 et 13. Il faut donc admettre que *ēd(u)* “pointu” est rendu là par SIG : *ēd(u)* “unique”. Rectifier en conséquence W.G. Lambert, *Symbolae* . . . de Liagre Böhl (1973), p. 279, n. l. 8.

⁶⁵ Cf. 7, 8, 20, 21, 28, 30, 45, 57, 68, 77, 80, 84(?), 86, 95, 122, 125, 126, 150, 162, 185, 186, 188, 201, 227, 238, 257. De même, en physiognomie, F.R. Kraus, AfO, Bh. 3, 27a et 127b. On peut trouver aussi quelques illustrations extérieures au texte même en rapprochant p.ex. 61 du foie de Mari RA 35 (1938), 86 ss. N° 4, et 144 du *tīrānu* anépigraphie YOSR 16, 1076 a.

⁶⁶ Pour 238 p.ex., les schéma portés par les duplicata Comm. K.2086 + : III 17 s. = K.8945 : 17’-19’, et Comm. K.2093 : v.2’-5’, diffèrent sensiblement. Le même schéma peut d’ailleurs rendre un “grain (d’orge)” (245) et un double segment de cercle, RA 54 (1960), 141, Q 2.

⁶⁷ On peut se reporter provisoirement à CRAI (1966), 199-202.

⁶⁸ Pour la position intermédiaire des rubriques marquées d’un astérisque, cf. cependant *supra*, n. 11.

⁶⁹ Un séjour récent au British Museum m’a convaincu que les tablettes “hépatoscopiques” n’ont pas toujours été publiées de façon irréprochable. Je crois, par exemple, que les copies de Handcock (CT 28, 30 et 31) seraient à revoir de près. Ainsi, l’inventaire des “silhouettes de référence” proposé ci-dessus n’a qu’une valeur indicative: il est sujet à des corrections après examen des originaux, comme à de très nombreuses additions (cf. ci-dessus, note 7). D’autre part, j’ai provisoirement désigné par: Suse N° III et Suse N° IV des textes d’haruspice dont M.R. Labat achève la publication et qu’il a bien voulu me communiquer.

Excerpts from an Unknown Hymn to Rim-Sin of Larsa*

David I. Owen, Ithaca

In 1937 F.J. Stephens published an unusual inscription of Rim-Sin of Larsa inscribed on a small (5 x 3.2 cm.) highly polished agate tablet.¹ Stephens certainly considered the text genuine and compared the technique of engraving with two other stone cut inscriptions published in the same volume.² However, since its publication the inscription has been regarded as a fake³ due perhaps to its uniqueness, the crude quality of the signs and the obscurities of the text.⁴ As a result no attempt to study the inscription has been published nor, for that matter, does there appear to be any references to the words or phrases that occur within the text⁵.

In the course of a preliminary survey of the contents of the John Frederick Lewis Cuneiform Collection in the Rare Book Department of the Free Library of Philadelphia⁶ I was able to join three fragments of a small stone vase on whose surface was inscribed a near duplicate of the Yale inscription.⁷ The discovery of a second copy of the text excludes the possibility that we are dealing with a votive inscription.⁸ Both texts are

* I wish to thank Professors Miguel Civil, Jerrold Cooper, Thorkild Jacobsen, Åke Sjöberg and Dr. Sol Cohen for discussing this text with me. They are in no way responsible for either the errors or the speculations which I have made here.

¹ YOS 9 72 [= YBC 2303]. See his description of the agate tablet, *ibid.* p. 17, where he classified the text as a votive inscription. A photo of the tablet is published below Plate XII*, through the courtesy of Prof. W.W. Hallo for the Yale Babylonian Collection.

² YOS 9 68, a stone amulet of Lipit-Ishtar and YOS 9 69, a stone amulet of Ibši-Suen. For Stephen’s comments, see *ibid.* p. 17.

³ See the remarks of W.W. Hallo, BiOr 18 (1961), 11 note 23^a followed by R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* 1, p. 506.

⁴ Some of the obscurities resulted from the engraver’s disregard of the original line divisions thereby running words together or breaking them between lines. This is more pronounced on FLP 1300 than on YBC 2303.

⁵ I have been unable to find any discussion of this text nor are any of the words or phrases cited in the dictionaries.

⁶ I wish to thank Mr. Howard Heaney, rare book librarian at the Free Library of Philadelphia for his permission and encouragement to work in the Lewis Collection and to publish selected texts from it. The entire Lewis Collection is now being baked and catalogued at the Israel Steiffel Tablet Conservation Laboratory at the University Museum, Philadelphia.

⁷ The breaks on the vase do not appear to be modern and were made after the inscription was carved. This would argue for an ancient date for the “forged” texts but further study in the laboratory must be undertaken before any final conclusions can be made. The three fragments were assigned the catalogue number FLP 1300. All texts in the Free Library of Philadelphia will now have the sigla FLP.

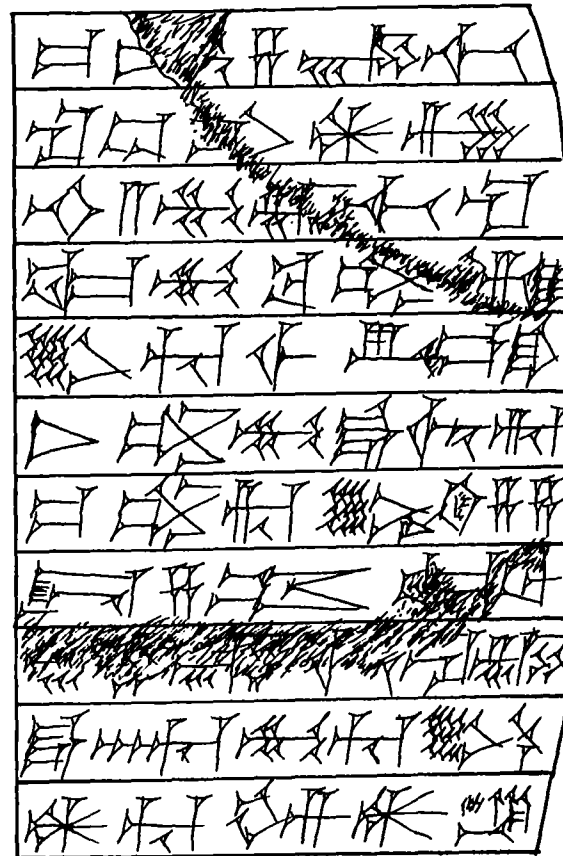
⁸ According to W.W. Hallo, HUCA 33 (1962), 13, true votive texts occur only once.

the work of a single engraver as a comparison of the sign forms clearly shows.⁹ However, regardless of whether the inscriptions were cut in ancient or modern times the fact that they were copied from a now lost or unpublished hymn to Rim-Sin, as I hope to presently show, makes a study of the inscription worthwhile. I take this opportunity to present this study in honor of Professor Samuel Noah Kramer who has provided Sumerologists with a seemingly unending series of Sumerian literary text publications for nearly forty years.

Transliteration¹⁰

(FLP 1300)

1. gi^šgu-za nam¹-ti-la
2. su^hu^š-bi an gi-na¹-a
3. mu nam-ti-la-ka mu-zu¹
4. h^é-im-mi-in-^hU. < NÁ >
5. igi sa⁶-ga-né¹
6. h^é-mu-e-^ši¹-bar¹-re
7. gi^šh^é-ri-in-ni- < ge₁₈ >
8. ki-za-za da-ša-tum
9. ka-ba < h^é-ri-ib-gi₄-gi₄ >
10. nam-nam-ti-la
11. nam-e-eš¹ h^u-mu-ri¹-in-tar
12. d^{ri}¹-im- d^{EN}.ZU
13. ki-ág an-gal



⁹ Both texts have the same *nam* signs. They both use the unusual *su^hu^š* sign. The *la* signs are identical. The curious writing of *š i + b a r* is the same as is the irregular *sa₆* sign. They both write *h^u* for *sa₄* and in every case they agree on the use of *h^u* for *ri*. The only places where the texts disagree are in the writing of TUK/NI, in the absence of *ni* after *igi-sa₆-ga* in YBC 2303 and in the absence of the last line in FLP 1300. The photos provided on plate XII* show the details quite clearly.

I am unable to provide an exact date for the vase. There appears to be a critical lack of profile drawings of Mesopotamian stone vases in the excavation reports. I have provided such a scale drawing (1:1 drawn by Ms. Gail Weaver) in the hope that it might provide additional evidence for the date of the engraving of the inscription. See plate XII*.

¹⁰ The transliteration is a composite based on both the Yale and Free Library texts. The lines are divided according to my understanding of the text and are referred to by these line numbers. The copy and photos show the original texts.

Translation

O Rim-Sin, beloved of great An, on a throne of life whose foundations An has secured, in the year of life (which) he verily named by your name, may his beneficent eye look upon you, may treacherous words, humbled like weeds, be shut up in the mouth(s of those who utter them and) a destiny of (long) life may he determine for you as (your) fate.

Commentary

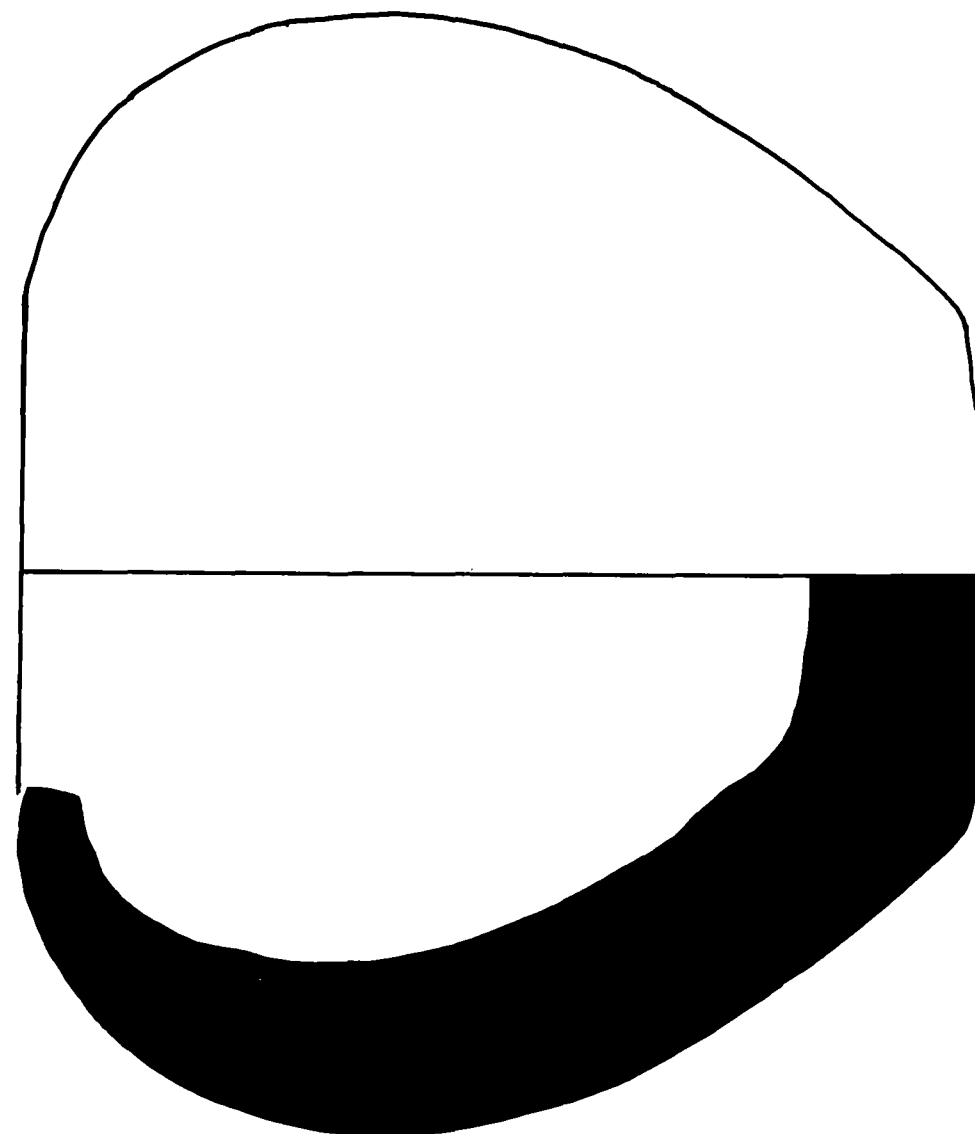
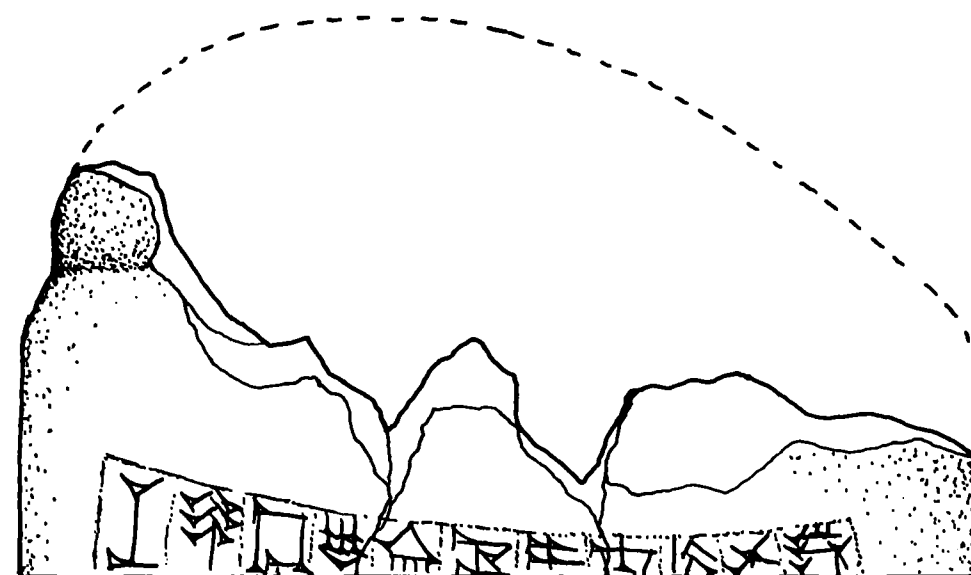
- line 1. The phrase *gi^šgu-za nam-ti-la* occurs for the first time in the recently published hymn to Rim-Sin, UET 6/1 102:19 where the line reads, *gi^šgu-za nam-ti-la-ka gal-bi h^u-mu-ra-a b-ba*. The fact that this phrase as well as others noted below are known only from hymns to Rim-Sin is sufficient proof that our text is, in fact, based on a similar, albeit so far unknown, hymn to Rim-Sin.
- line 2. For *gi-n a: k^ānu*, "to be secure (said of foundation, rule or position)", see CAD K, p. 159 s.v. This verb together with *gi^šgu-za* can also mean "to secure lasting rule," for which see CAD K, p. 592 s.v. *kussû 2'*. I have translated this line with An as the subject. This interpretation is not without difficulties. However, in view of An's role in line 13 it does fit in here. For a DN who secures foundations, see, for example, W.F. Lambert, JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 128 line 11 [. . .] *su^hu^š ka-la-ma b i - i n - g i - n a - t a* and Åke W. Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana* (1970-71), 19-20 146 line 23, *b á r a - g a l - b a su^hu^š-bi mu-ra-a-n-ge-en*, "on its great dais, whose foundations he (Enlil) has made firm for you." Another equally attractive possibility is to read *a-n-gi-n a*, "were secured" with foundations as the subject. However, here one would expect the form *a-b-gi-n a*. For these forms see T. Jacobsen AS 16, p. 76. Either choice is difficult. Perhaps, as elsewhere, the text is defective. In the first case the final *-a* would be for *am*, "An being the securer".
- line 3. Is this line a reference to the first year of Rim-Sin, i.e. *mu d^{ri}-i m d^sî n lu-gal-e*? If so, we may have an example here of an inaugural hymn in honor of Rim-Sin's first year.
- line 4. The only likely interpretation here is *sa₄* for the verb. Perhaps the second half of the sign, NÁ, was too difficult for the engraver; written on the edge of the tablet and hence overlooked; or perhaps covered with salt or damaged. For *sa₄*: *nabû*, "to name" see AHW, p. 699 s.v.
- line 5. Note that the *sa₆* is curiously written in identical fashion on both inscriptions. The final *ni* here is left out on the Yale text.
- line 6. Both texts have the curious writing of *š i + b a r¹*. The original text must have been damaged or obscured at this point. Once again *ig i . . . b a r* is the only likely interpretation for these two lines. For *ig i . . . b a r*: *napsu*, see AHW, p. 814 s.v. *palāsu* N and CAD A/2 s.v. *amāru* where the translation, "to look with favor upon human beings," is offered. For a similar phrase in a recently published hymn to Rim-Sin, see UET 6/1, 101:50.
- line 7. According to FLP 1300, we read *gi^šh^é-ri-in-ni*: *herinu*, "spikenard grass" for which see CAD H, p. 197 s.v. *hirinnu* and CAD L, p. 103 s.v. *lardu*. The writing with *gi^š* instead of *ú*, is supported by the reference to *gi^šh^u-ri-in*, M. Civil, JCS 20 (1966), 124 sub 6.2 where the same plant is surely meant. YBC 2303 has here *gi^š h^é-ri-in-tuk*, "may he listen (to you)", which would make excellent sense here. However, lines 8-9 would then be unintelligible. The restored KI = *gi₁₈* is possibly a case of sandhi with the following *ki-za-za*. For *ki . . . za-za*, "to prostrate oneself," see C. Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos*, p. 214 commentary to line 349. For the imagery involved here, compare M. Civil, JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 32 col. v 42 ff. *h^u-r-sag-gal-gal h^u-r i - i n - g i n x g ú k i - š è b a - a n - d a - a b - g a r*, "the great mountain ranges, he made lowly like h^urin-grass," according to the translation of S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Arrata*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1973, p. 178 commentary to line 77.
- line 8. For *dāšātum*, "treachery," see CAD D s.v. *dāštu*. The word does not appear before the Middle Babylonian period according to the citations of both the CAD and the AHW. I can not see any other alternative here. With *dāšātum* as the subject of this clause the syntax appears to be influenced by West Semitic!

- line 9. The restoration of this line is based partly on the suggestions of Prof. T. Jacobsen. For the phrase *ka(g)-a...gi₄* see Gudea, Cyl. A xii 25 *inim ka-ga bi-gi₄* and Enmerkar 464 *ka mu-un-gi₄*. For *ka...gi₄: si-kúr pi-i*, "closing of the mouth," see S. Cohen, op. cit. p. 281 commentary to line 464. For a similar Old Testament phrase compare Psalms 107:42, "and every evil man clap shut his mouth," (translation of M. Dahood, Anchor Bible 17 A) and Job 5:16.
- line 10-11. For these lines compare the hymn to Rim-Sin, UET 6/1 102:16, *KA - kù - ga - ne - ne - a nam - nam - ti - la hu - mu - ra - a - b - ta - r*. See also, UET 6/1 103:42 for *nam - nam - ti - la*. Note also that YBC 2303 seems to have *nam - e - še* here.
- line 12. It is curious that the engraver broke the DN in Rim-Sin's name on both texts. In FLP 1300 it does not seem as though he bothered to add line 13, known from YBC 2303. But since the vase is not fully preserved we can not be sure the text was not continued on the other side. In both texts the EN is confused.
- line 13. The epithet *ki-ág an-gal* is not listed in M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes royales*. However, it is known from UET 6/1 102:12, *an-gal-e šà! ki-ág-gá-ni dalla hu-mu-ra-in-è*.

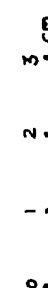
In conclusion it appears that the texts inscribed on YBC 2303 and on FLP 1300 are excerpted from a now lost or unpublished hymn to Rim-Sin perhaps composed for his inaugural year. If the copies are in fact ancient the reasons for them are not at all apparent. If they are modern¹¹ the reasons are abundantly clear. In either case they have preserved for us, albeit imperfectly, part of an interesting and so far unique hymn to Rim-Sin of Larsa.¹²

¹¹ Both texts were purchased. For the circumstances of the purchase of YBC 2303, see F.J. Stephens, op. cit. p. 17. FLP 1300 was purchased by John Frederick Lewis possibly from the London antiquities dealer Joseph Shemtov. But the circumstances of the purchase are not known.

¹² For examples of modern forgeries which preserve genuine ancient texts, see the article by E.V. Leichty, "A Remarkable Forger," in *Expedition* 12/3 (1970), 17-21. It is interesting to note that the texts discussed by Leichty were purchased from Joseph Shemtov!



FLP 1300



A "Royal" Hymn of Išbi-Erra to the Goddess Nisaba*

Daniel Reisman, Minneapolis

- Texts: A: OECT 1, pl. 36-39 (complete)¹.
B: Oxford 1932.156a (lines 14-36, 49-88, 108-118)².
C: 3NT-213 (lines 16-30, 31-41)³.
D: ISET 1, pl. 12 (Ni. 9632) (lines 38-56, 74-86)⁴.
E: ISET 1, pl. 7 (Ni. 4458) (lines 115-118)⁵.
F: CBS 13351 (lines 1-9, 32-38, 86-93, 114-118)⁶.
G: 4 R, pl. 35, no. 7 (K. 4755) (lines 66-78)⁷.

In his monumental study of "royal hymns" of the Isin period, W.H.Ph. Römer arrived at the following thematic classification of these compositions⁸: A. Hymns addressed to deities, and serving a cultic function. These are "royal" inasmuch as they may contain prayers for the welfare of the king, make mention of favors performed by the deity for the king, enumerate acts committed by the king on behalf of the deity addressed, or describe beneficent acts performed by one deity for another on behalf of the king. It is to be noted that the king is mentioned specifically, by name. Formally, these hymns are characterized by the suscript a - d a - a b DN, t i g i DN, etc., and are marked internally by liturgical notations, a feature which has been interpreted as indicating that the setting of these compositions was in the temple.⁹ B. Hymns addressed to the king, or spoken in self-praise by the king himself. These characteristics lead to their designation as "royal hymns in the strict sense."¹⁰ Formally, they are marked by the absence of any internal liturgical notations, and they usually close with the z à - m í doxology.¹¹

The hymn under consideration below, belonging to the corpus of "royal" hymns of the Isin period, does not fit into either of the two above mentioned categories. Rather, it possesses features of both. It is addressed to a deity, and incidentally makes mention of the king (line 74 ff and line 104 ff), both of which characteristics are typical of A. On the other hand, it bears no internal liturgical notations and closes with the z à - m í doxology, both of which features are characteristic of type B.

* This hymn was treated in the writer's doctoral dissertation, *Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns* (University of Pennsylvania, 1969). Professor Kramer made many of the texts available, and spent many hours helping me in the initial stages of work. It is appropriate, therefore, that this article be dedicated to him.

¹ Collated from a photograph provided by the Ashmolean Museum. This provides the primary text for the hymn. Where lines or parts of lines are missing or illegible, resort is made to other duplicates, and the material is put in square brackets. In the few cases where a word or words must be restored, square brackets and question marks are used.

² See photograph, below (pl. XIII*).

³ See copy below (pl. XIV*).

⁴ Text uncollated.

⁵ Text uncollated.

⁶ Transliterated by E. Chiera, *AJSL* 40 (1923-24), 265-266.

⁷ Identified by M. Civil.

⁸ *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 5-6.

⁹ E.g. W.W. Hallo, "The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry", *CRRA* 17 (1969), 118.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹¹ Falkenstein, *ZA* 50 (1952), 91.

Because of the hymn's exclusive address to and adulation of the goddess Nisaba, it would be difficult to find the "Sitz im Leben" of this composition in a place other than the temple. Thus, it would appear that the relegation of this particular *zà-mí* royal hymn to the courtly ceremonial on formal grounds, i.e. the absence of liturgical notations¹², cannot be maintained. Indeed, the relegation of "royal hymns in the strict sense" to the courtly ceremonial, and their exclusion from the temple cult, seems to ignore all of the evidence for the deification and worship of kings during the neo-Sumerian period.¹³

This hymn to Nisaba shows marked affinities with the hymn to Enlil, *dēn-líl sù-du-šè*.¹⁴ Typologically, they are similar; both lack the internal liturgical notations and close with the *zà-mí* doxology. Moreover, they both possess literary similarities in their structure and language. In the Nisaba hymn, the refrain *d̄nisaba ki nu-gar-ra-zu/ki nu-te-a-zu* (lines 22, 26) is followed by an enumeration of the gifts of civilization for which mankind is dependent upon the goddess. In the Enlil hymn, the refrain *kur-gal dēn-líl nu-me-a* (lines 109, 124) is followed by almost identical descriptions of the gifts of civilization for which mankind is indebted to the god.

In their royal aspects, both hymns tell of the king's pre-eminence in the land deriving from the respective deities, in analogous language. In the Nisaba hymn (line 77) we read *sag-gi₆ šu-ni-šè bī-ib-si-si-in gīr-ni-šè mu-un-sá-sá*, "You place the black-headed people in his hand, you capture them at his feet." The parallel in the Enlil hymn (line 86) reads *kur šu-ni-šè kur gīr-ni-šè*, "The land is at his hand, the land is at his feet." Indeed, the striking difference between the two hymns is the absence of any mention of the king by name in the Enlil hymn.¹⁵

Text	Translation ¹⁶
1. ^a [bur-šū-ma-gal ^a x x x ^b gar-gar-ra ^b]	Great matriarch, who establishes
2. ^a [ki ^b] ba-te-na ^b [bī ^c ?-li ^c ?] [íb-du ₈ -du ₈] ^c	The place which she approaches overflows with [joy(?)],
3. ^d nisaba ki-šub-ba dū-dū [uru ^c ?-šub ^c ?-ba ^c ?] gar-gar	Nisaba — who rebuilds the wasteland, who establishes [the ruined city(?)],
4. ^a [an-šub-ba] ^a ki-bi-šè gi ₄ -gi ₄ agrig-zi-an-na	Who restores the 'fallen heaven' to its place — the faithful stewardess of An.
5. ^a [nin-ki-t] ^a e-na ^b sag-dū gá-gá	The lady — in the place which she approaches there is writing,
6. [d̄nisa]ba sag šu-[l]u _h -ha gar-gar mī-zi du ₁₁ -ga-me-en	Nisaba — you are the one who establishes and cares for the . . . laving rite,
7. ^a [nin]-mu dub-ša ₆ -ga-kalam-ma-ke ₄ šu-gá-gá ^a	My lady who holds the good tablet of the land,

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Römer, SKIZ, p. 56, notes 445 through 448.

¹⁴ Originally treated by Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder*, pp. 6 ff. A new text with translation and commentary appeared in this writer's doctoral dissertation, *Two Neo-Sumerian Hymns*.

¹⁵ Falkenstein, *Götterlieder*, p. 10, suggested that the Enlil hymn was part of a coronation ceremony at Nippur for an unnamed king.

¹⁶ The first fifty-seven lines were translated by Falkenstein in *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, pp. 65-67, using OECT 1, pl. 36-39.

1. (a-a) E. (b-b) F.
2. (a) E. (b-b) E: b a - t e - a - n i. (c-c) F.
4. (a-a) E. (b) E: omitted.
5. (a-a) E. (b) E: - a - n i.
7. (a-a) E and F: omitted.

8. k[i]-gi-dub-ba-ta šà kúš-kúš ^a -me-en	You rejoice at the place of the tablet reed,
9. šà-dēn-líl-lá du ₁₀ -du ₁₀ -ge-me-en	You satisfy the heart of Enlil.
10. nin-mu é-kur-ra kú-bi za-e-me-en	My lady — you are the sustenance of the Ekur,
11. é-an-na-ka kú-bi-me-en	You are the sustenance of the Eanna,
12. é-kur-é-dēn-líl-le kuš _x -bi za-e-me-en	You are the servant of the Ekur, the house of Enlil.
13. dingir-gal-gal-e-ne zi-a-a-bi-me-en	You are the life of the great gods' fathers.
14. nin-mu ki-gar ^a -ra-dēn-líl-lá-me-en	My lady — you establish the place of Enlil,
15. ^{d̄} nisaba-bi-me-en ní-g ^a -ta- ^a diri ^a -bi-me-en	You are their Nisaba, greater than all.
16. ^a ^{d̄} nisaba nam-lugal ^b su _h uš ^c -bi gi-na-me-en ^a	Nisaba — you make firm the foundation of kingship,
17. ^a [nam-e]n-na aga sur-gar-ra-me-en ^a	You establish the crown of lordship.
18. [^{d̄} nisa]ba gur ₇ dub-dub ^a sag-ki-dēn-líl-lá	Nisaba — the one who heaps up grain, the 'forehead of Enlil,'
19. ^a [ezem-gal-bi-x-x] ^a dingir-re ^b -e-ne ^b	Their great festival [.] of the gods,
20. ^a [^{d̄} nisaba x ^a nu-ù-ba ^b]-za dingir nu-dab ₅ -ba ^c	Nisaba — against the [. . .] which you do not open, no god dares to advance,
21. ^a [uru-x x x ^a dē]n-líl-lá-ke ₄ ^b	The city [.] of Enlil.
22. ^{d̄} nisaba [ki-nu] ^a -gar-ra-za-a ^b	Nisaba — the place which you do not establish,
23. ^a lú-ù ₁₀ [nu] ^b -gá-gá uru ^c ki nu- ^c dū-dū ^c ^a	(There) mankind is not established, cities are not built,
24. ^a é-[gal nu]-dū-e ^b lugal nu- ^c íl-le ^d ^a	The palace is not constructed, the king is not elevated,
25. ^a [^b šū-lu _h] ^b -dingir-re-e-ne-ke ₄ ^a si nu-si-e ^a	The laving rite of the gods is not arranged.
26. ^{d̄} nisaba ki nu- ^a te-a-za ^a	Nisaba — the place which you do not approach,
27. ^a tūr nu-dū-e ^b amaš ^c nu-gá-gá ^a	(There) no stall is constructed, no sheepfold erected,
28. sipa-dē gi-dī ^a -da šà nu-mu-un-ib ^b -kúš ^c -ù ^c	The shepherd does not soothe his heart with the flute,
29. ^a sipa-ra ^a mī-zi-zi nu-gá-gá šu-lu _h -ha ^b -bi šu nu-du ₇ ^c	The tending staff is not set up, (the stall's) cleaning is not performed,
30. sipa-tur-ra ga ^a ni-ib-dun ₄ -dun ₄ ^a dug ^b akira ^b nu-da-da ^c	The little shepherd does not churn the milk, does not pour it in the jug,

8. (a) E: ù instead of k ú š.

14. (a) B: + g a r.

15. (a-a) B: - e - a - r a -.

16. (a-a) C: [^{d̄}n i s] a b a n a m - e n []. (b) B: + - l a. (c) B: omitted.

17. (a-a) C: n a m - l u g a l s u h u š - [].

18. (a) B: + - b u.

19. (a-a) C. (b-b) B: - n e - k e₄.

20. (a-a) C. (b-b) B. (c) - b é, instead of - b a.

21. (a-a) C. (b-b) B: - a - k a m.

22. (a-a) B. (b-b) B: - z u.

23. (a-a) C: omitted. (b) B. (c-c) B: - d è - d è.

24. (a-a) B: line precedes 21; C: u r u n u - [d ù]. (b) B: omitted. (c) B: m u -, instead of n u -. (d) B: - e, instead of - l e.

25. (a-a) B: omitted. (b-b) C.

26. (a-a) B: - t a - è - z u.

27. (a-a) C: omitted. (b) B: omitted. (c) B: g ú - g ú - b i, instead of a m a š.

28. (a) B: - d u -, instead of - d i -. (b) B: omitted. (c) B: omitted.

29. (a-a) B: š i b i r. (b) B: omitted. (c) B: - d ù, instead of d u₇.

30. (a-a) B: n u - d u₇ - d u₇ - e. (b-b) B: š i - k i - r a. (c-c) B: - d ù - e.

31. šà-bi-ta ì-GA^a nu-mu-un-^b è-a^b From it, milk and cream do not issue,
 32. [gi]š^abanšur-dingir-re-e-ne^a šu^b ba-ni-ib^c du₇-du₇^d The table of the gods is not set.
 33. d^anisaba nin uru^a gar-gar-ra^b nin giri_x-zal si-sá^c-me-en Nisaba — you are the lady who builds cities, the lady who establishes joy,
 34. tigi-nì-du₁₀-ge^a šà-^bhú^c[l - le-me-en^c] You are the pleasant drum which rejoices the heart,
 35. gi-gíd^a giš^azà^a am-ma^a šà^b ku₇-ku₇-da^c [me-en^c] You are the flute, the harp, which sweeten the heart.
 36. d^anisaba u₄ šà-zu na-^aga-an-tùmu^a -da Nisaba — when your heart is truly so inclined,
 37. ár-zu ka-ka gá-gá-dè So that your praise be placed in every mouth,
 38. sag-gi₆-ga ki-a šú-šú-bu^a -dè So that the black-headed people fall upon the ground,
 39. di₄-di₄-lá-bi^a sur-sur-re^c -dè So that the littlest of children crawl about,
 40. ama₅-é-nì-ga^a-ra^a im-ma-ni-in^b -ku₄-ku₄ (Then) you enter the chamber of the storehouse.
 41. ama dumu-ni^a igi nu-mu-un-šì-en^b -bar-re The mother does not (have to) watch her child,
 42. ad-da ar^ahuš-tuku^a úr-ra mu-un-du₁₁-a The father, in pity, takes him upon his lap,
 43. lú-níg-tuku nam^a-lugal^a al^a -aka-dè The rich man acts royally.
 44. d^anisaba u₄ šà-zu na-^aan-ga^a -tùmu-da Nisaba — when your heart is truly so inclined,
 45. ì^a-dagal-dagal-la^a ì-peš-peš-a^b -me-en^c You are the one who broadens, who makes wide,
 46. ambar-ra^a ambar-x-gim^a si-sá-e-me-en^b You arrange the pond like a . . . pond,
 47. é-sag^a si-sá-me-en^a gur₇-dub-bu^b -bu-me-en^c You arrange the storehouse, you heap up grain,
 48. nì-šà-^ahú^al-^ahú^al-^ac-ne^a nin^a zi-zi-bi^c -me-en Lady — you elevate those who rejoice,
 49. a-du₁₀-ga^a šà-ga^a gar-ra^a -me-en You place good semen in the womb,
 50. ù-tu-da šà^a-ga-a^b peš-peš-a-me-en^a You enlarge the foetus in the womb,
 51. ama dumu-ni^b ki-ág^a sum-sum-mu-dè^a In order that the mother may love her son.
 52. pad^a-dingir^b -gal-gal^c [si]^d -sá^a -me-en You arrange great offerings,
 53. dingir-gal-gal-e-ne^a ka-bi^a gál-tag₄-me-en^a You open the mouths of the great gods,

31. (a) B: - k á r a; C: -G[A[?]]. (b-b) B: - t a - e.
 32. (a) B: + - k e₄. (b) B: omitted. (c) B and C: l a -. (d-d) B: - t u - d è.
 33. (a) B: + k i. (b-b) B, C, and F: d ù - d ù - m e - e n. (c) F: + e.
 34. (a) B: - g a, instead of - g e. (b) B: - h u l -. (c-c) So F; B: - e - m e - e n.
 35. (a-a) B: - a; C: - m í; F: - m í - a. (b-b) B: k u₄ - k u₄. (c-c) B and F; C: omitted.
 36. (a-a) B: - g a - t u -; C: - a n - []; F: - a n - g a - à m -.
 38. (a) F: omitted.
 39. (a) C and D: omitted. (b) C and D: + d i₄ - d i₄. (c) D: - r [u].
 40. (a) D: + - k a. (b) D: omitted.
 41. (a) C and D: + - i r. (b) D: omitted.
 42. (a) D: - a, instead of - t u k u. (b) D: - e.
 43. (a) D: erasure.
 44. (a-a) D: - g a - à m. (b) D: + - a.
 45. (a-a) D: - x - d a g a l[?] - e - m e - e n. (b) D: - e -, instead of - a -. (c) D: omitted.
 46. (a-a) D: omitted. (b-b) D: s i m u - e - s á - s á - e.
 47. (a-a) D: a m a₅. (b) D: d u b, instead of b u.
 48. (a-a) D: - m e - e n. (b) D: + x. (c) D: omitted.
 49. (a-a) D: r i - a.
 50. (a) B: omitted. (b) D: omitted.
 51. (a-a) D: omitted. (b) B: + - i r.
 52. (a) D: n i n d a b a (= [PAD]. d^aINANNA). (b) B: omitted. (c) D. (d) D: + - e.
 53. (a-a) D: g á l i - b í - t a g₄.

54. sizkur-šà-^ahú^bl^a -la nin^b giri_x-zal si-sá-me-en Lady — you arrange prayers of joy, happiness,
 55. dingir-re-e-ne^a ha-la^b mu^b -ni-ib^c -sum-mu^a You distribute the portions to the gods.
 56. d^aen-líl lugal-kur-kur-ra-ke₄ Enlil is the king of all the lands,
 57. gá-nun^a gá^a -ma^bh-ni-[me]^b -en kišib-gál^c -la-ni-me-en You are his great storage room, you are his seal keeper,
 58. sag-ki-gál^a -ni-me-en ní^b g^b -ù-ba^b -dù-me-en You are his 'tenacious one,' you are the one who does all.
 59. uru^aki^a-d^aen-líl-lá-ke₄^a sag^b ba^c -da-gi^c -di-ya You gaze upon the city of Enlil,
 60. ní^a ba-an-da-gíd-da^b igi-dù-lá^b gá-di-da^b You protect, you guard it well.
 61. šu-dagal-dagal-la^a ba-ni-ib^a -kéš-da You clasp the wide (-stretched) hands,
 62. ní^ag-tuku^a é-e^a ba-ni-in^b -ku₄-ku₄ You bring riches into the storehouse.
 63. x-ù^a? -ba^b? -a^c ba-^cni-ib^c -KU-a^a You
 64. d^anisaba u₄ šà-zu na-^aga-an-tùmu^a -da Nisaba — when your heart is truly so inclined,
 65. ì^a-dagal-dagal-la^a ì-peš-peš^a -me-en^a You are the one who broadens, who makes wide.
 66. é^a ì-dagal-dagal-la^a gá-nun^b ì-kur₄-kur₄-me-en^b You broaden the house, you enter the storage building,
 67. šà-bi^a me^b -gal-gal^c za-e^d šì-ni-ib^e -gá-gá^e You set up the great 'me' inside of it.
 68. ní^ag-du₇ ní^ag-ga^a-ra^a im-ma-ab-bé^c -e You come with the things which are necessary.
 69. sizkur-a-ra^a zu-a^b - lugal-la-a-ke₄^b The prayers and offerings of the king,
 70. [LUH.LUH-bi^a za-e-me-en^a šì-ni-ib^c - gá-gá^d Their you establish.
 71. [d^aen-ki]^b á-da^ch-zu^a Enki is your helper.
 72. [gu-za-nam-lugal-la^a za^b -me-en^a šì-ni-ib^c -gub-bé^c You establish the throne of kingship,
 73. [bára-ma^ah-a]^b za-e-me-en^c šì-ni-ib^d -[gi₄] You make firm the lofty dais.
 74. [diš-bi-dèr-ra^a lugal-ì-si-in]^a Išbi-erra, the king of Isin,
 75. [igi-šà₆-ga-a^b mu-e^c -šì^d -bar u₄ mu^e -na-gá-gá-an^e] When he looks upon you graciously, you shed light upon him.

54. (a) B: h u l. (b) B and D: omitted.
 55. (a-a) D: omitted. (b-b) B: z a - r a. (c) B: m i -. (d) B: - í b -. (e) B: - š u -.
 57. (a) B: omitted. (b) B. (c) B: - g á -.
 58. (a) B: g á - l a. (b-b) B: m u - d a -.
 59. (a) B: omitted. (b) B: + - a n -. (c) B: - g í d -.
 60. (a) B: n ì. (b-b) B: u r ù b a - a n - d a - e - d ù g.
 61. (a) B: - í b -.
 62. (a-a) B: é - n i g - g a. (b) B: omitted.
 63. (a-a) B: line combined with 62. (b-b) B: m u - b a - e. (c-c) B: - a n -.
 64. (a-a) B: - g á - t u.
 65. (a-a) B: omitted.
 66. (a) B: d ú r. (b-b) ì - k u₄ - x.
 67. (a) B and G: - b a, instead of - b i. (b) B and G: ní^ag -, instead of m e -. (c) B: + - l a. (d-d) B: z i - m e - e n; G: z a - e - m e - e [n]. (e-e) B: š i - n i - í b - s i - s á; G: omitted.
 68. (a) - s ú g -, instead of - b é -.
 69. (a-a) B: omitted; G: - a omitted. (b-b) B: š u d_x - d è; G: n ì [].
 70. (a-a) B and G. (b) G: - b a, instead of - b i. (c) G: - í b -, (d-d) B: k u₄ - k u₄.
 71. (a-a) B: line combined with 70; G: omitted. (b) B. (c) B: - z a, instead of - z u.
 72. (a-a) B and G. (b) G: + - e -. (c) B: - í b -.
 73. (a-a) G. (b) G: + š è. (c-c) B and G: omitted. (d-d) B: m u - u n - n a - g i₄; G: m a h m u - [].
 74. (a-a) G; A: [] - m e - e n m u - r [a -]; D: [] x x - n a - a x [] - b i - e n.
 75. (a-a) D. (b) G: - z u, instead of - a. (c) G: - u n -, instead of - e -. (d) G: + - i n -. (e) G: š a - m u -

76. ^a[á-ág-gá-nam-lugala ^bmu-e ^cgá-gá ^dur-mah ^egá-dul-e-en] ^fHe performs the duties of kingship for you, you overcome the lion (for him),
77. ^a[sag-gi ^bšu- ^cni-še ^dbí-ib-si-in] ^e[gi-^fni-še ^gmu-un-] ^hsá-sá You place the black-headed people in his hand, you capture them at his feet,
78. ^a[á-ág-gá-gal-gal-la ^bba-gub-bé-en ^cme-lám ^dmu-mu₄-mu₄-un] You are at the service of the great decrees, you clothe yourself in radiance.
79. ^a[^dnisaba u₄ ^bša-zu na- ^can-ga-àm ^dtùmu-da-a] Nisaba — when your heart is truly so inclined,
80. ^a[edin-edin-e ^bú-làl ^cbí-mú-mú] The honey-plant grows in the steppes,
81. ^den-ki-ke₄ ^aki mu ^b-dur₅-dur₅ ^cza-e ^d[mu-ra₅-ab-gùn-gùn] Enki moistens the ground, you make it colorful.
82. ^augun-zu ^b[ab-sín-na ^cna-am] Your growth is surely the furrow,
83. ^aalam -zu ^b[še-dù-a ^cna-am] Your form is surely cereal,
84. ^amùš-me -zu ^b[kilib-ba-bi ^clè-dùg] Your features, all of them, are good,
85. ^a[alam] ^b-dím-ma ^c-zu ^dše- ^e[bi na-am] Your figure is surely its grain.
86. ^a[an-ta im-gal-gal-la ^bdúr-ra-àm ^cdíškur á-daḥ-zu] ^da On high, the great winds are piled up, Iškur is your helper.
87. ^a[ki-ta ^bše-gu-nu ^cma-ra^l-mú-mú] Below, barley grows for you,
88. ^a[i₇ ^b-da a-eštub ^cmu ^d-ši-in ^e-tùmm ^fnumun[?]-a-bi] ^ga In the river, the fish carry their seed.
89. ^a[sag-gi₆ ^b-ga ^cma-ra-an-kú-ne ^dše[?]-du₁₀ ^etuk-tuku] ^fa The black-headed people, possessing good grain(?), feed you.
90. ^a[urudu-kin-gal-gal ^bur₄-ur₄-ru-da ^cezem-gal ^dna-am] ^ea It (the grain) is harvested with sickles; there is truly a great festival!
91. ^a[ur-sag ^bdnergal ^cá-daḥ-zu-um] ^da Hero Nergal is your helper.
92. ^a[esag-gal-gal ^bdul-gim ^cim-du₈ ^d-e-en ^eki-gal ^fip₇-ge-e-en] You pile up great silos like mounds, you make firm the foundation,
93. ^a[esag-tur-tur-zu] ^ba ^cše-nir-ra ^d[na-nam] ^eb Your little silos are surely grain!
76. (a-a) D. (b) G: + l a. (c) G: - u n -, instead of - e -. (d) G: + - e. (e-e) A: omitted; B: [] m u - d u₇ - d u₇ - e. (f) G: omitted.
77. (a-a) D. (b) G: + - g a. (c-c) G: omitted. (d-d) B: m u - u n - d u₇ - d u₇. (e-e) D: omitted. (f-f) B and G. (g-g) B: omitted.
78. (a-a) D. (b-b) B: e z e m -[g a l -] g a l - l a. (c) B: - e n omitted. (d) B: + - b i. (e-e) B: m u - m u.
79. (a-a) D; B: omitted. (b-b) A: - g a - a n -.
80. (a-a) D. (b) A and B: - n a, instead of - e. (c) B: + - b i. (d-d) B: m u - m u₄.
81. (a) B and D: + - r a - a b -. (b-b) B: omitted; D: z a - a. (c-c) D; B: g ì r m u - r a - a b - š á r - r e.
82. (a-a) D. (b) B: omitted.
83. (a-a) D: d a l l a - è - a -. (b-b) B and D.
84. (a) B: omitted. (b-b) B and D. (c) B: - d u, instead of - d ù g.
85. (a) B and D. (b) B: omitted. (c-c) B and D.
86. (a-a) B and F. (b) F: omitted.
87. (a-a) B and F.
88. (a-a) B and F. (b) F: omitted. (c) A: omitted. (d-d) B; A: a n - x -[]; F: a [n].
89. (a-a) F.
90. (a-a) F; A: š e - d u₁₀ [?] [x x x] - n e t u k - t u k u s i - s á x [].
91. (a-a) F. (b) A: omitted.
92. (a-a) F; A: A N . G Ì R . K A L x m a - r a - a b - u š ú - d u₁₀ x [].
93. (a-a) F; A: x x - l á. (b-b) F.

94. IM.SÚR.KÙ.GÁ-me-en zi-kalam-ma du₁₀ [] You are the, the life of the land [.]
95. gur₇ [?] dub-dub gišpa ma[?]-an- [] Heaping up grain(?), you [.] the scepter.
96. x x x pa mu-ra-x- [] He [.] for you [.]
97. é^den-líl-lá-ta ^dnin-urta ensí-gal-d[en-líl-lá] [] At the house of Enlil, Ninurta, the great viceroy [of Enlil],
98. x x x x engar[?]-mah[?] [] [.] the mighty farmer [.]
99. x-zu [] x AN [] re[] [.]
100. ^dnisaba AN x [] Nisaba, [.]
101. [.] [.]
102. [] ka-téš-e[?] bí-sí-ig [.] acclaim you as one.
103. [] x-a-zu inim^den-líl-lá-[ta[?]] Your [.] by the word of Enlil.
104. [é[?]]- ^den-líl-lá-ta ^diš-bi-dèr-ra At the [house] of Enlil, Išbi-erra
105. [nam] -ur-sag nam-kala-ga nam-sipa-ukù-šár-ra-ke₄ [mi[?]-ni[?]-in[?]pa[?]] [Is summoned by you to] heroism, strength, shepherd-ship of all the people.
106. á-ág-gá-á-ág-gá-an-na za-e sá-mah-bi x x x You [.] the instructions of An, its lofty judgement you [.]
107. x x-e an-né mu-ra-ŠID[?] KU-a mu-na-ab- [] [.] . . . for you in heaven, you(?) [.] for him.
108. ^den-líl-le an-[dùl] ^amu-ra- [] Enlil [places] a canopy over you.
109. ^aé-dingir-gal-gal-e-ne me-te-èš ḥa-ra-ab-i-[i] ^aIn the house of the great gods they praise you as one.
110. ^dḥa-ya [nitadam] - zu ^amu-ra-an-[] ^bYour consort Ḥaya [.] you.
111. ^aKU-a ^bdumu-an-na-a ^cmu-ra-ab ^d-bé-en[?] ^a., the son of An addressed you.
112. ^a[nindaba-gal-gal si-sá-me-en] ^aYou are the arranger of great offerings,
113. ^a[šū-luḥ-nam-en-na šū bí-in] -du₇ ^aYou perfect the laving rite of lordship.
114. [.] ^a[.]
115. ^aú-du₁₀-ga-a ^b[kú-a] ^c[a-du₁₀-ga] ^dnag-[gá] ^eGood food to eat, sweet water to drink,
116. ^adingir-gal-gal-e-ne [ḥa-] ^amu-ra-ab-KU.DU-na ^bThe great gods make offerings of them to you,
117. ^a[me-gal-gal -zu ki-bi- [šé[?] ḥa[?]-] ^dma-ab-gi₄-gi₄] ^aMay your great 'me' be restored [to] their place.
118. ^dnisaba zà-ma ^adu₁₀-ga-a ^b[mu-zu[?] ^c[k]u₇-dam^d] ^dNisaba, your praise is good, your name is [swe]et.
108. (a) B.
109. (a-a) B: omitted.
110. (a) B. (b-b) B: - k i[?] - z u; A: - a.
111. (a-a) B: follows line 113. (b) B: omitted. (c) B: omitted. (d) B: - a n -.
112. (a-a) B.
113. (a-a) B.
114. (a-a) B: see line 111.
115. (a) B: n i n d a. (b) B and E: omitted. (c-c) E; B: g ù. (d-d) B. (e) F.
116. (a-a) B. (b) F: - n e, instead of - n a.
117. (a-a) A: omitted. (b-b) E. (c) B: + - l a. (d-d) F; B: - m a - g i - g i.
118. (a) B: - m í -; E: - m í - z u. (b) B: omitted; F: - à m, instead of - a. (c-c) E. (d-d) F.

Glossary

Below is a brief glossary of words appearing in the text. Following each word, in parentheses, is the text siglum, when necessary, and the line number. Syllabic writings are listed, followed by standard orthography.

a g r i g (4), "steward"; cf. Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 108, 153.

b u r - š u - m a (1), "matriarch"; cf. SKIZ, p. 173; D. Reisman, Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns, p. 121; W.W. Hallo, CRRA 17 (1969), 122, note 6.

d a - d a (A 30) = d é - d é, "to pour".

d ù (B 29) = d u₇, in š u d u₇, "to perfect".

d ù - e (B 30) = d é.

d u₇ - d u₇ (B 30) = d u₉ - d u₉; cf. MSL 2, p. 146, line 38: *ma-a-šum*, "to churn butter".

d u₁₁ (42) = d u₈; cf. ú r - r a d u₈.

d u n₄ - d u n₄ (A 30) = d u n₅ - d u n₅ (d u₉ - d u₉).

d u r₅ - d u r₅ (81), "to moisten(?)"; cf. AHW, p. 963, under *raṭbu*.

e (B 31) = è.

é - s a g (A 47) = e s a g.

e s a g (92, 93), "small granary"; cf. CAD I/J, p. 204, under *isru* D

g á - l a (B 57, 58) = g á l - l a.

g i - d i (A 59) = g í d - i; cf. s a g - g í d - i.

g i - d u - d a (B 28) = g i - d i - d a, "flute"; cf. CAD E, pp. 137-138, under *embūbu*.

g i - g i (B 117) = g i₄ - g i₄.

g ù (B 115) = k ú.

g ú - g ú - b i (B 27), duplicate text reads a m a š.

g ù n - g ù n (81), "to color"; cf. CAD B, p. 103, under *barāmu* B.

ḫ u l (B 34, 35) = ḫ ú l.

ì - k a r á (B 31) = ì - g a r á.

i g i - d ù - l á (60) = i g i - t ù m - l á; cf. n í - g í d.

k i - š u b - b a (3), "wasteland"; cf. AHW, p. 493, under *kišubbū*.

KU.DU (116), "to make a food offering"; cf. CAD Z, p. 105, under *zibū*: n ì - KU.DU = *zibū*.

k u₄ - k u₄ (B 35) = k u₇ - k u₇.

k u š_x (SAHAR) (12), "servant"; cf. Å. Sjöberg, JCS 21 (1967), 277 f.

m u (B 26) = n u.

m u (B 78) = m u₄.

n a - g á (B 115) = n a g - g á.

n ì (B 60) = n í; cf. n í - g í d.

n ì (48), relative pronoun; cf. Gordon, BiOr 17 (1960), 137.

n í - g í d (60), "to guard"; cf. Wilcke, Lugalbanda, lines 43-45. The end of the line in text B contains the verb u r ù - d ù g, taken to mean "to guard well"; text A reads i g i - d ù - l á, a phonetic writing for i g i - t ù m - l á, for which, cf. CAD I/J, p. 138, under *imru* A, "observation post".

n í g - d ù (58), "to do anything", *mimma-šum-šu epēšu*.

ḏ n i s a b a - b i - m e - e n (15); cf. YNER 3, line 12: ḏ i n a n n a - b i - m e - e n.

s a g - d ù (5), "cuneiform wedge"; cf. AHW, p. 1024, under *santakku*.

s a g - g í d (59), 'to gaze at'; cf. CAD A/2, p. 4, under *amāru*.

s a g - k i - g á l - l a (58), "tenacious, stubborn"; cf. Å. Sjöberg, Examenstext A, line 48: s a g - k i - k a l (var. g á l) - l a, *šepšēti*, "stubbornness".

s i p a - r a (A 29) = š i b i r.

s u r - s u r (39), "to slither, slide"; cf. CT 16,9 ii 20 f; OrNS 20 (1951), 263 f.; OECT 1, 42 i 27: u₅ - b à n - d a - k e₄ p e š_x - t a s u r - s u r - r a, "Cabin of the small boat, sliding from the beach."

š i - k i - r a (B 30) = š a k i r a.

š u - l u ḫ (29), "cleansing (of stall)"; cf. A. Falkenstein, ZA 57 (1965), 121, comment to line 258.

š u - m u (B 55) = s u m - m u.

t a - è (B 26) = t e - a.

t u (B 36, 64) = t ù m u.

t u - d è (B 32) = d u₇ - d u₇.

ú r - r a d u₈ (written d u₁₁) (42), "to hold on the lap"; cf. Kramer, PAPS 107 (1963), 514, note 48, line 22.

u r ù - d ù g (B 60), "to guard well(?)"; cf. n í - g í d.

z a - r a (B 55) = ḫ a - l a.

z à - a (B 35) = z à - m í.

z à - a m - m a (A 35) = z à - m í.

z à - m a (A 118) = z à - m í.

The Daughters of Urbaba:

Some Thoughts on the Succession to the Throne during the 2. Dynasty of Lagash

Johannes Renger, Chicago

What would be more fitting for me than to write, as a contribution to a Festschrift for Professor Kramer, an article concerned with Gudea and his dynasty? Ever since my days in the é-dub-ba in Heidelberg, the question "Did Urbaba really have no son" and the implicit problems of the succession to the throne during the 2. Dynasty of Lagash have intrigued me. I offer some thoughts here as another step in the solution of the enigma.

It is still not possible, due to a lack of pertinent information,¹ to establish the exact sequence of the rulers of the 2. Dynasty of Lagash. The sequence preferred by Falkenstein² and Sollberger³ is Urbaba, Gudea, Urningirsu, Pirigme, Ugar, Nammaḥ(a)ni. Falkenstein considers Gudea as the immediate successor of Urbaba because this fits "gut zu dem Machtstand des Stadtstaates von Lagaš." ⁴ He also sees some justification for the sequence Gudea, Urningirsu, Pirigme, Ugar, Nammaḥ(a)ni because the small number of year dates attributable to these rulers seems to reflect to some degree the dwindling powers of the state of Lagash.⁵ Sollberger, as opposed to Falkenstein, does not see convincing evidence at the present time to include Kaku, Lugalzagal and Nammaḥanidu in the sequence of rulers of the 2. Dynasty of Lagash.⁶ As far as the latter two are concerned, I am inclined to follow Sollberger. Since it is not possible to prove that Nammaḥ(a)ni is the same person as Nammaḥanidu, it is entirely justified to see in Lugalzagal, the father of Nammaḥanidu, the ensi of Lagash attested for the year Šulgi 25.⁷

¹ The inscriptional evidence can be found in SAKI, pp. 58-148, Sollberger, IRSA, pp. 115-21 (note the bibliographical entries for IIC6a and IIC6b have to be exchanged on p. 269); pertinent discussion is found in Falkenstein, AnOr 30, pp. 1ff., Sollberger, RA 62 (1968), 137ff., Diakonoff, MIO 15 (1969), 525ff.

² AnOr 30, p. 6.

³ AfO 17 (1954/56), 32, IRSA, pp. 115-21

⁴ AnOr 30, p. 5.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ RA 62 (1968), 138-40.

⁷ In RA 41 (1947), 24 Nam-maḥ-ni-dùg calls himself son of the ensi Lú-giri_x-zal, but he does not claim the title for himself. Therefore the ensi Lú-giri_x-zal is quite possibly the same ensi who is attested for the year Šulgi 25 (see Falkenstein, AnOr 30, p. 4 n. 9 for discussion and also Sollberger, RA 62 (1968), 139 for his reservations about Falkenstein's view).

Another widely held opinion is that the end of the dynasty came about with the defeat of Nammaḥ(a)ni by Urnammu.⁸ Notable exceptions to this opinion are Thureau-Dangin, Kramer, Hallo, von Soden⁹ and Sauren,¹⁰ who believe that there is evidence for the continuation in power of the 2. Dynasty of Lagash during the beginning of the 3. Dynasty of Ur. This problem cannot be solved here, but it needs serious investigation.¹¹

The sequence of rulers proposed by Falkenstein and Sollberger must be viewed with certain reservations: (1) there is no apparent system of succession of a traditional type; (2) if the marriages of the three daughters of Urbaba were actually instrumental in the accession to the throne by their husbands, i.e., Gudea, Ugar and Nammaḥ(a)ni, without an underlying and recognized system of succession being responsible for this pattern, we would have to reckon with the following, rather instantaneous, solution: the marrying of one's daughters in the absence of an heir, which would necessarily invite rivalry leading to bloodshed and murder among the contenders thus designated for the throne; and (3) the sequence Gudea, Urningirsu, Pirigme (i.e., father, son, grandson), and then the two brothers-in-law of Gudea, is rather enigmatic. It is difficult to explain that Urbaba should have been without a male heir, that Nammaḥ(a)ni, his son-in-law, should have been still a child¹² when it came time for him to ascend the throne (after Gudea?), and therefore had to give way to Urningirsu, and that a similar fate should have forced Ugar to wait until his brother-in-law's grandson Pirigme died to become ruler of Lagash.

It is only obvious that in the face of these circumstances a complete solution is not yet possible. Nevertheless, I would like to propose some ideas on the order of royal succession which may help to explain this rather bizarre picture.

My basic contention is that succession of office, as a rule, follows an accepted and recognized pattern, which is not necessarily the same as the succession of property rights.

Falkenstein himself has made a remark in this regard: "Die Folge der Herrscher nach Urbaba ist ohne Parallelen. Daß dabei in drei Fällen Schwiegersöhne Urbabas erscheinen, erweckt den Eindruck, daß sich darin ein System der Thronfolge bekundet, das im übrigen auch bei KA-kù, Lugalzagesi und Urbaba vorliegen könnte. Dann fragt es sich aber, warum es im Falle von Urningirsu und Pirigme,¹³ die jeweils auf ihren Vater folgten, durchbrochen ist."¹⁴

The only explanation which comes to my mind is the following: Gudea, Ugar and Nammaḥ(a)ni married not just the daughters of Urbaba, but the daughters of their uncle, their own cousins. One of them, Ugar, also married Ninkagina, daughter of Kaku, another cousin of his. It is quite possible to assume that Gudea's other wife Gemešulpa'e, was also a daughter of Kaku. Gudea, Ugar and Nammaḥ(a)ni¹⁵ then should be consi-

⁸ AnOr 30, pp. 11-13.

⁹ See AnOr 30, p. 13 for details, and add Hallo, JCS 20 (1966), 138.

¹⁰ ZDMG - Supplementa 1, 17. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Vorträge, Teil 1, pp. 115-29.

¹¹ The period of transition from the independent states of Lagash and Uruk to the Ur III state under the Urnammu dynasty still needs to be investigated in full.

¹² AnOr 30, p. 5.

¹³ The sequence Gudea-Urningirsu-Pirigme is not attested explicitly in the texts. Therefore the question of Urningirsu's immediate successor should be re-evaluated in the light of the statement in the text published by Sollberger, JCS 21 (1967, [1969]) 282:195, where Urningirsu is linked genealogically with Urninkimara. An ensi Urninkimara is listed by Sollberger, AfO (1954/56), 36 as one of the ensi's of Lagash during the Ur III period (see also Sollberger, IRSA IIIB 3a).

¹⁴ AnOr 30, p. 6.

¹⁵ The only difficulty is created by the word *a m a - t u d - d a* designating the relation between Nammaḥ(a)ni and Ninkagina the wife of Ugar. Sollberger translates verbatim "(sa) mère qui l'a enfanté" (RA 62 [1968], 138). Falkenstein (AnOr 30, p. 5 n. 1) and Diakonoff (MIO 15 [1969], 529) base their interpreta-

dered brothers and the sons of an unknown brother of Urbaba and Kaku.¹⁶ These two generations of rulers would follow each other in such a way that brothers succeeded each other. Whether the sequence in any subsequent generation would start with the oldest son of the oldest brother or the oldest son of that brother who concluded the sequence of succeeding brothers cannot be determined at the present time. Both solutions, however, are possible.¹⁷ And we abstain from any speculation of the consequences which would result if we took seriously the statement of an unknown scribe in the middle of the Old Babylonian period who made Gudea the younger brother¹⁸ of Urbaba. If, however, *še š - b à n - d a* could be understood as nephew, his statement would provide a welcome corroboration to the genealogy as I have proposed it.

tion of the term on the Akkadian equation of the term (*ilitti bītim*). Diakonoff's interpretation of the term as junior kinswoman (cousin) seems to me the most plausible explanation (see his discussion in RA 52 [1958], 6 n. 2). Personally, in contrast to Sollberger, RA 62 (1968), 140, I hesitate to see Nammaḥ(a)ni marrying the sister-in-law of his father, although it may not be impossible.

¹⁶ Cf. also the genealogical considerations made by Falkenstein, AnOr 30, p. 5. As far as the parentage of Gudea is concerned, I would prefer to see Gudea's remark that he had no father and mother but that the goddess Gatumdug was his father and mother in the light of the concept of the divine origin of kings (see recently Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana* 21 [1972], 87). I therefore do not consider him as the son of a nin-dingir (see Falkenstein, AnOr 30, p. 2). We do not have any positive evidence that a nin-dingir was engaged in a sacred marriage ritual.

¹⁷ Edzard has pointed out in *Genava* NS 8 (1960), 255 n. 107 a few examples of royal succession where one brother succeeds the other. There are many more examples covering the time from (the epical period of) Meš-kiaggasher and Enmerkar until the time of Waradsin and Rimsin. The royal succession in the Middle Assyrian period also has to be considered in this context. I intend to investigate these and related problems in a study concerning the succession system in high office in general.

¹⁸ See Sollberger, JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 282:198. As another example that the memory of the 2. Dynasty of Lagash and their rulers was still vivid during the old Babylonian period one may consider the fact that a street in Kutalla was named after Urbaba (Jean, *Tell Sifr* 82:5).

Kleine Beiträge zur Grammatik des Sumerischen:

I. Das modale grammatische Element *nu-uš* -

W.H.Ph. Römer, Ten Post/Groningen

I. Das grammatische Element *nu-uš* ist wiederholt behandelt worden, doch beschränken wir uns hier auf die rezentere Literatur. So erwähnte A. Falkenstein im Rahmen seiner Behandlung des Potentialis – und Irrealis – suffixes *-e-še* in IF 60 (1950), 113 aus der Bertin'schen Liste (s. unten) auch *nu-uš* - und führte ebd. 113 Anm. 4 einige Kontextbelege für *nu-uš* - an. A. Falkenstein fragte sich dabei, ob das Element *nu-uš* sich etwa in die Negation *nu* - und *-e-še* zerlegen ließe. 1960 äußerte sich B. Landsberger, WZKM 56,125; 125 Anm. 51 im Zusammenhang seiner Besprechung eines Passus aus einer Bilgamešdichtung zu unserem Element *nu-uš* -. Er wies darauf hin, daß die Gleichsetzung von *nu-uš* - mit *lūman* und *ul* (s. unten) auf ein Ausdrucksmittel für einen irrealen Wunsch führt (vgl. noch A. Shaffer, Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš (1963) (= EG XII), S. 145). Th. Jacobsen prägte 1965 für *nu-uš* - die Bezeichnung 'frustrative' (AS 16,74 = TIT S. 249; vgl. auch W. Heimpel, Tierbilder, S. 337 zu 39.1 Anm. 1) und führte als Beispiel denselben Bilgamešbeleg an. Eine Anzahl von Stellen für unser Element wurde in UF 4 (1972), 184 zusammengestellt aus Anlaß einer im übrigen sehr unsicheren Vermutung, daß bei der Var. A *na-aš-a-na-da-a-b-bé* in YNER 3, S. 20:55 unser *nu-uš* - in der Form *na-aš* (= *noš* -?)¹ vorliegen könnte. Eine Nebenform *ni-iš* - zu *nu-uš* - wies 1969 J. Krecher, AOAT 1, S. 196 nach.² Zum modalen Adverb *lūman* (s. oben) vgl. AHW, S. 563 s.v., 2a; 2b (vgl. unten); CAD L, S. 245 *luman*. G.B. Gragg hat in seinem neuen Werke AOATS 5 unser Element, soviel ich sehe, außer Betracht gelassen.

II. Im folgenden stelle ich die mir bisher bekanntgewordenen lexikalischen und Kontextbelege für *nu-uš* - zusammen. Dabei möchte ich aber von vornherein betonen, daß mir die fast durchweg schwierigen literarischen Gattungen entnommenen Belegstellen mehrfach nicht oder nur teilweise klar sind. Denn sie geben nicht selten – auch in ihrem Kontext – schwierige lexikalische und sachliche Probleme auf.

¹ PBS 10/4, 3:II 11. Vokalfärbung? Vgl. dann umgekehrt noch die eigentümliche Var. *nu-u-b-bé-a* bei W.W. Hallo, JAOS 88 (1968), 76 Anm. 35.

² Vgl. unten Beleg 23.

A. Lexikalisch.

MSL 4, S. 149³: 15 n u - u š = lu-ma-an AN.TA⁴
 16 = ú-ul AN.TA (wohl "(leider) nicht")

B. Kontextbelege⁵

1. Vor dem 'Konjugations'-Präfix m u -:

a) es folgt nach m u - : - a - .

1) CT 42, 33:20.

... x A ṬU TA ṬA n u - u š - m a (?)⁶ - g á l - l a
 "Wäre mir doch ... vorhanden!"

b) es folgt nach m u - : - a - b -

2) Shaffer, EG XII, S. 86, 246-247

á - á g - g á - k u r - r a i g i b í - d u ḫ - [à m]
 ur-tì eršetìtì ša ta-mu-ru qì-ba-a
 n u - u š - m a - a b - b é - e n k u - l i - m u n u - u š - m [a - a b - b é - e n]
 ul a-qab-ba-ku ib-ri ul a-qab-ba-ku

"Schauest du die Weisung der Unterwelt?"⁷

Könntest du sie mir doch erzählen, mein Gefährte,
 könntest du sie mir doch erzählen!"⁸

c) es folgt nach m u - : - a (- b) - d a - .⁹

3) Shaffer, EG XII, S. 70-71, 172¹⁰-174

u₄-ba ḡi¹¹ellag-mu é-nagar-ra-ka n u - u š - m a - d a - g á l - à m
 u₄-ma pu-uk-ku ina bīt lú¹²naggāri lu-ú e-z[ib]
 d a m - n a g a r - r a a m a - u g u - m u - g i m n u - u š - m a - d a - g á l - l a - à m
 [aššat lú¹³naggāri ša¹¹ ki-ma um-mi a-lit]-ti-ia lu-ú [e-zib]
 d u m u - n a g a r - r a n i n , b à n - d a - m u - g i m n u - u š - m a - d a - g á l - l a - à m
 [mārat lú¹⁴naggāri ša¹¹ ki-ma a-ḫa-ti]-ia še-ḫer-ti lu-ú [e-zib]

"Wäre mir(?) doch damals mein Reifen im Hause des Tischlers geblieben!

Die Frau des Tischlers (ist) wie meine leibliche Mutter – wäre er (= der Reifen) mir doch
 dort geblieben!"

³ NBGT (Bertin'sche Liste). Später Text.

⁴ D.h. 'präfigierendes' Element (s. D.O. Edzard, RIA 3, S. 615).

⁵ Eine Einteilung des Stoffes nach der jeweiligen Bedeutung "Wäre (usw.) doch ...!" oder "Leider ... nicht!" läßt sich, wohl trotz der Angaben in A, im allgemeinen nicht gut durchführen, da häufig beide Auffassungen vertretbar scheinen. Der sachliche Unterschied dürfte nicht allzu groß sein. Deswegen ist nach ('Konjugations')Präfixen oder Präformativen, vor denen n u - u š - erscheint, eingeteilt worden. Weiter unterteilt wurde dann wo möglich jeweils nach den den Präfixen folgenden infigierten Elementen.

⁶ Zur Lesung - m a - vgl. S.N. Kramer, JCS 18 (1964), 47 Anm. 102.

⁷ Akkadisch: "Die Weisung der Unterwelt, die du schautest, erzähle mir!"

⁸ Akkadisch: "(Leider) kann ich (sie) dir nicht erzählen, mein Gefährte, (leider) kann ich (sie) dir nicht erzählen!" S. zur Stelle noch C. Wilcke, ZA 59 (1969), 71f.

⁹ Es sei denn, daß - m a - d a - hier für - b - d a - stünde (vgl. AnOr. 28 § 68 b4γ). Im letzteren Falle wäre kein ('Konjugations')Präfix vorhanden.

¹⁰ Vgl. B. Landsberger, WZKM 56 (1960), 125; Th. Jacobsen, TIT S. 249. Sie fassen - m a - d a - als "mit mir" bzw. "here with me" auf.

¹¹ Richtig von A. Shaffer ergänzt worden? Die akkadische Version hieße dann wohl "... (ist) eine, die wie ... (ist)".

Die Tochter des Tischlers (ist) wie meine jüngere Schwester – wäre er mir doch dort geblieben!"

Vgl. noch die abgebrochenen Stellen:

4) TMHNF 4, 65:3-4

... n u - u š - m a - d a - S A R - à m d[N a n n a ? ...]
 ... n u - u š - m a - d a - g i - n a dN a n [n a ...]¹²

5) CT 42, 33:21 [...]xx n u - u š - m a - d a - g á l - l a

d) es folgt nach m u - : - e - a -¹³.

6) ISET 1, 90¹⁴: 23

g e - r u m a - a - r a á g - z é - b a - z u n u - u š - m u - e - a - a k - e
 "Raubtierjunges(?), bereitetest du mir doch das, was an dir süß ist!"

7) ISET 1, 90:26-27

k i - z é - b a - z u n u - u š - m u - e - a - a k - a
 k i - l à l - g i m - z é - b a - z u š u n u - u š - m u - e - t a g - g e
 "Bereitetest du mir doch deine 'süße Stelle'¹⁵
 berührtest du doch deine Stelle, die süß wie Sirup ist!"

e) es folgt nach m u - : - n i - .

8) CT 15, 14¹⁶: Rs. 12-13

l i r u m š u (!) - z u n u - u š - b í - i n - t u k u B A R¹⁷ - z u n i - ḡ¹⁸ - m i - n i - g á l
 ḡi¹⁹l d á g¹⁹ d B í l - g a - m e š š u (!) - z u n u - u š - b í - i n - t u k u B A R - z u n i - ḡ¹⁸ - m i - n i - g á l

"Bekäme deine Hand doch Kraft, wäre doch deine Lebenskraft(?) darin²⁰ vorhanden,
 Pappel, Bilgameš, bekäme deine Hand sie (?? = die Kraft?) doch, wäre doch deine Lebenskraft(?) darin vorhanden!"

f) es folgt nach m u - : - e - š i - .

9) C. Frank, Kultlieder aus dem Ishtar-Tamūz-Kreis, 90²¹: 216-221

ù - m u - u n - g u - l a i - š i - m e - n e²² - m a n u - u š - m u - e - š i - d i - d i

¹² Etwa auf die Phasen des Mondes zu beziehen?

¹³ Die Analyse bereitet Schwierigkeiten. Vgl. ZA 63 (1973), 95 zu W. Heimpel, Tierbilder, 5.78. In 7):27 steht nur m u - e - , etwa, weil dort keine 1. sg. gemeint ist? Oder ist in den beiden anderen Verbalformen ebenfalls eine 1. sg. enthalten?

¹⁴ S. S.N. Kramer, H. Kızılyay, M. Çiğ, Bell. 16 (1952), 361 f.; 362 Anm. 16.

¹⁵ Wohl euphemistisch.

¹⁶ Zum Inhalt dieses schwierigen Textes vgl. S.N. Kramer, RA 65 (1971), 24 Anm. 4.

¹⁷ So oder MAŠ zu lesen? Im Duktus dieser Zeit dürften die beiden Zeichen schon in 𐎶 zusammengefallen sein. Vgl. u.U. AHw, S. 112 bāštu(m) LL (TU 35: V 31 [Erim]); CAD B, S. 142 s.v.; lex.

¹⁸ Möglich wäre auch eine Lesung n é - e š - .

¹⁹ Das Wz. könnte ich nur ḡi¹⁹l d á g (vgl. AHw, S. 371 ildakku "e. Pappel"?; CAD I, S. 70 f.; J. Klein, Šulgi D, S. 104 f.) lesen, so daß offenbar kein Parallelismus zu l i r u m , das ich hier nur so (nicht etwa a - r i b , vgl. dazu Å. Sjöberg, HSAO, S. 219 ff.) lesen konnte, vorliegen kann. Epitheton Bilgameš? Es ließe sich dann vielleicht wenigstens auf den Vergleich in Klein, Šulgi D, S. 66:32 (vgl. noch S. 68: 55) verweisen.

²⁰ D.h. in der Hand?

²¹ TCL 15, 8.

²² Vgl. C. Frank, a.W., S. 105; M. Witzel, AnOr. 10, S. 26.

dù-bu-bu i-ši-me-ne-ma nu-uš-mu-e-ši-di-di
 ù-mu-un-mu-zì-da(!) i-ši-me-ne-ma nu-uš-mu-e-ši-di-di
 dDa-mu-mu i-ši-me-ne-ma nu-uš-mu-e-ši-di-di
 dIš-taran-na i-ši-me-ne-ma nu-uš-mu-e-ši-di-di
 dingir-igi-šuba²³ i-ši-me-ne-ma nu-uš-mu-e-ši-di-di

“Großer Herr, ginge ich doch in meinem (kultischen?) Spiele(?) zu dir hin,
 Ububu, ginge ich doch in meinem (kultischen?) Spiele(?) zu dir hin,
 Umunmuzida, ginge ich doch in meinem (kultischen?) Spiele(?) zu dir hin,
 mein Damu, ginge ich doch in meinem (kultischen?) Spiele(?) zu dir hin,
 Iš-taran, ginge ich doch in meinem (kultischen?) Spiele(?) zu dir hin,
 Gott mit dem schönen Antlitz, ginge ich doch in meinem (kultischen?) Spiele(?) zu dir hin!”

g) es folgt nach mu-: -n-ši(?)

10) Die abgebrochene Stelle Kramer, SLTN. 68:3

nu-uš(!)-mu-un-ši(?) . . .

h) es folgt nach mu-: -n-da-b-.

11) Langdon, BL, 8:Rs. 12 (vgl. 13)

sag-šen-šen-na sag-zabar-ra mu-tin-mèn nu-uš-mu-un-da-ab-
 sum

“Den strahlenden Mann, den bronze (leuchtenden??) Mann – ich, die Jungfrau, könnte(?)
 ich ihn(?) doch geben(?)!”

2. Vor dem ‘Konjugations’-Präfix ì- (in der Form a-²⁴):

a) es folgt nach a-: -n-da-b-.

12) Die nur unsicher zu deutende Var. A zu YNER 3, S. 20:55

mí-bé dam-a-ni-ta ša₆-ga na-AŠ-an-da-ab-bé

“Die Frau dort spricht leider(?) nicht (mehr) Gutes mit ihrem Manne!”

3. Vor dem dimensional Präfix ba-:

a) es folgt nach ba-: -a-n-.

13) CT 42, 21²⁵: 14-17

[. . . nu]-uš-ba-an-gul-la_{c-e-a-eg}aš_{an} igi-bi_e šu . . . URUxUD U Ax [. . .]

[. . .]e nu-uš-ba-an-gul-la_{c-e-a-eg}aš_{an} [. . .]

[. . .]ra_a nu-uš-ba-an-gul-la_{c-e-a-eg}aš_{an} [. . .]

[. . .]ra_a nu-uš-ba-an-gul-la_{c-e-a-eg}aš_{an} [. . .]

Die Verbalform heißt hier u.U. jeweils “Hörte mir(?) doch auf!”²⁶.

14) Langdon, BL, 41²⁷: 4-7.

[al-šú-šú-dè] du₅²⁸-mu-mu nu-uš-ba-an-zé-è m-mà

²³ Vgl. zu diesen Dumuzi-Namen A. Falkenstein, CRRA 3 (1954), 61 Anm. 88.

²⁴ Vgl. A. Falkenstein, AfO 18 (1957-58), 95 aber auch Th. Jacobsen, TIT, S. 251.

²⁵ Vgl. S.N. Kramer, JCS 23 (1970), 13.

²⁶ Vgl. die Belege unten B 6 mit Anm. 35. Zu den mit tiefer geschriebenen Zeichen ausgedrückten Vokalen vgl. M. Bielitz, Or. 39 (1970), 152 ff. (bes. 153); W.G. Lambert, Near Eastern Studies in honor of W.F. Albright (Baltimore, London 1971), S. 337 ff.; 353.

²⁷ Vgl. S. Langdon, SBP, S. 74; B. Meissner, MVAG 18/2 (1913), 49; CAD L, S. 245 *luman* lex.; M. David, Adoption, S. 16 f.

²⁸ Vgl. J. Krecher, AOAT 1, S. 175; 175 Anm. 28.

ama-gan al-šú-šú-dè du₅-mu-mu nu-uš-ba-an-zé-è [m-mà(?)]
 um-ma a-lit-tu₄ it-ta-na-at-bak Δ it-ta-naq-qí
 ama dDa-m-gal-nun-na al-šú-šú-dè du₅-mu-mu
 nu-uš-ba-an-zé-è m-mà nu-uš-ba-an-zé-è m-mà
 lu-man i-nam-di-na Υ ²⁹

“[Sie opfert immer wieder] (mit den Worten:) “Würde(?) doch mein Sohn gegeben”

Die gebärende Mutter opfert (akk. wörtl. “gießt aus/schüttet auf”) immer wieder (mit
 Worten:) “Würde(?) doch mein Sohn gegeben”

Die Mutter Damgalnunna opfert immer wieder (mit den Worten:) “Würde(?) doch mein
 Sohn gegeben, würde(?) er doch gegeben!”

4. Vor dem dimensional Präfix b í-:

a) es folgt nach b í- kein (graphisch in Erscheinung tretendes?) grammatisches Element.

15) Wohl die mir unklaren Belege bei V. Scheil, RA 8 (1911), 169:9-10, wo jeweils KA-mu
 nu-uš-b í-d u₁₁ dazustehen scheint.

16) Vielleicht VS 2, 96:13-15, wo jeweils nu-uš-b i-DU stehen könnte.

b) es folgt nach b í-: -n-.

17) Das oben als 8) zitierte Beispiel.

5. Vor dem Präformativ inga-:

a) es folgt nach inga- wohl außer dem ‘Konjugations’-Präfix ì- und dem Personenzeichen
 -?- der 1.sg.trans.Prt. keinerlei grammatisches Element.

18) Kramer, SLTN. 61:Rs. VI 174-183.

lugal-mu ní-ḫuš rib-ba-za

nu-uš-in-ga-zu-àm

ur-sag dNin-urta ní-maḫ-a-za

nu-uš-in-ga-zu-àm

ur-gu-la-gim lú-kú-za³⁰

nu-uš-in-g[a-z]u-à[m]

ušumgal-g[i]m [x-x-za]

nu-uš-in-[ga-zu-àm]

ur-m[aḫ-gim] máš sila₄ [kar(?) -ra(?) -z]a³¹

nu-uš-in[-ga-zu-àm]

“Mein König, konnte ich doch auch dein den wütenden Schrecken überragend Machen(?),

Held, Ninurta, konnte ich doch auch dein den höchsten Schrecken Einflößen(?),

konnte ich doch auch dein wie ein Löwe die Menschen Fressen,

[kenn]te ich doch au[ch dein] wie ein Drache [. . .],

[kenn]te ich doch au[ch dein wie] ein Löw[e] Zicklein (und) Lamm [Rauben(?)].”

²⁹ S. weiter S. Langdon, BL, S. 36 f.

³⁰ Vgl. zu Z. 178-183 W. Heimpel, Tierbilder, S. 336 f.

³¹ Vgl. etwa BASOR SS 1, S. 10: 16-17 || UET 6/1, 1: 16-17?

6. Vielleicht unmittelbar vor der Verbalwurzel³²⁻³³19) Reisner, SBH: II 65-66³⁴

e-lum mu-lu-še-ša₄ še-ša₄ nu-uš-gul³⁵-e
 kab-tu ša dim-ma-ti da-ma-ma ul i-kal-la

“Angesehener, der Klagemann läßt die Klage leider nicht aufhören!”³⁶

20) Langdon, BL, 194:Rs.25

me gi-re ša-ba-ni še-ša₄ nu-uš-gul-e-en³⁷
 ša ru-ba-tu₄ lib-ba-ša da-ma-ma ul i-kal-la

“Der Fürstin Herz läßt die Klage leider nicht aufhören!”

21) BE 30, 5:Rs. V 1-2³⁸

ú-giš(?) ka-ša-an-bi UD(?) -ta ì-lu(!?) -a-e še-ša nu-uš-ku-le
 giš-gi ka-ša-an-bi UD(?) -ta ì-lu(!?) -a-e še-ša nu-uš-ku-le

“Die Herrin von Pflanze(?) (und) Holz(?) . . . wehe(?)! Liebe(?) sie doch die Klage auf-
 hören!

Die Herrin des Röhrchtes . . . wehe(?)! Liebe sie doch die Klage aufhören!”

22) CT 44, 13:11³⁹

er-tu-ra i-re ba-mà-mà ši-ša nu-úš-gu-le

“Das Weinen über die Hürde ist ins Weinen gesetzt(?), hörte doch die Klage auf!”

23) JCS 8 (1954), 82:I 6⁴⁰

ì-lu-a-e ì-lu-a(!)-e a-igi-né⁴¹ ni-iš-ku-l[e]

“Wehe(?)! Wehe(?)! Hörten doch seine(?) Tränen auf!”

24) NFT, 202 AO 4327:III 8-9⁴²

i-ti è nu-uš-ra-ge-ri
 ša-zu è nu-bar_x-bar_x-re-ri

³² Falls nicht Elision eines ‘Konjugations’-Präfixes ì- vorliegt. Nicht ganz vergleichbar wären A. Falkensteins Ausführungen ZA 53 (1959), 104:9 und 10.

³³ Wohl kaum hierher zu stellen wäre m.E. nu-uš-gi₄ (s. MSL 12, S. 84: MDP 27, 44:Rs.2) da dies bloße Ausspracheangabe für nu-síg = *kikullatu*, etwa “vernachlässigtes Waisenmädchen” (s. CAD K, S. 349 *kigullu* A. lex. [B. Landsberger and Th. Jacobsen *apud* E.I. Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, S. 477]; G. Castellino, Oriens Antiquus 8 [1969], 33 [zu 8,37]; D.O. Edzard, ZA 55 [1962], 107) zu sein scheint. Sonst wäre nu-uš-gi₄ ein ‘Satznomen’ (s. BiOr 27 [1970], 165).

³⁴ Vgl. CAD D, S. 143 *dimmatu* in ša *dimmati*.

³⁵ Zu gul “aufhören (lassen)” vgl. Å. Sjöberg, AfO 20 (1963), 173; J. Krecher, SKLy, S. 97.

³⁶ So versuchsweise wiedergegeben worden wegen akkad. *ul*. So auch in 20); sind die verwandten Wendungen in 21) - 23) ebenso zu verstehen? Für die Wiedergabe von e-lum vgl. AHW, S. 418 *kabtu(m)* LL; CAD K, S. 24 s.v., lex.; J. Krecher, SKLy, S. 183, aber auch HSAO, S. 97.

³⁷ Vgl. offenbar J. Krecher, ZA 57 (1965), 29f.

³⁸ Auch in PBS 1/1, 10 Rs. V. Vgl. J. Krecher, SKLy, S. 77 Anm. 191; AOAT 1, S. 196. Ob etwa intrans. zu übersetzen ist?

³⁹ Vgl. J. Krecher, SKLy, S. 77 Anm. 194; 78:88f.; AOAT 1, S. 196. Ob etwa transitiv zu übersetzen ist?

⁴⁰ S. J. Krecher, AOAT 1, S. 196. Ob etwa transitiv zu übersetzen ist?

⁴¹ So zu lesen zwecks Erhaltung eines Genitivs? Vgl. B. Alster, DD, S. 118 f.

⁴² S. Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott 1, S. 130 Anm. 4; J. Krecher, ZA 57 (1965), 13. Die Verbalwurzel von Z. 8 dürfte ra-(g) sein, da sonst -ra- ein Infix wäre, dem aber dann kein ‘Konjugations’-Präfix vorangehen würde, es sei denn, daß das letztere elidiert wäre. Sind die beiden Verbalformen, wie nach den Ausführungen J. Krechers zu erwarten, nominalisiert?

“Was den Umstand anlangt(?), daß du(?), die du (früher) (Mond)licht aufgehen ließest,
 (nun) leider nicht (mehr) erstrahlst(?),
 was den Umstand anlangt(?), daß du(?), die du (früher) dein ‘Inneres aufgehen(?)’ ließest,
 (nun) nicht (mehr) leuchtest(?)” . . .

25) Nicht klar ist mir KAR 95: 8-9

dNin-líl-le é-r-zu(?) nu-uš-ul-la[?]
 dNin-líl bi-ki-ta ul i(?) -x-x [. . .]

26) Unklar ist mir, ob noch VS 2, 69: Rs.9-10 hier zu erwähnen ist.

7. In weiterhin abgebrochener Verbalform:

27) TCL 15, 35:2.

28) RA 8 (1911), 169:11.

III. A. Falkenstein gab in seinem Buche “Das Sumerische” (Leiden 1959), S. 49 von Präformativen folgende Definition: “Die Präformative sind Bildungselemente, die zum Ausdruck zusätzlicher Bestimmungen vor die mit Konjugationspräfixen oder Präfixen versehenen ‘finiten’ Verbalformen gesetzt werden”⁴³ und bemerkt weiter a.a.O.: “Die Präformative können gehäuft gesetzt werden.” Diesen Formulierungen würden sich die Belege 1-18 fügen, nicht aber anscheinend die Stellen 19-25, es sei denn, daß, wie oben bemerkt, ein “Konjugations”-Präfix ì- dort elidiert wäre. Somit bleibt es m.E. wohl etwas unsicher, ob nu-uš- ein Präformativ ganz im gewöhnlichen Sinne des Wortes ist. Ein Präfix kann aber ebenso wenig vorliegen, da ein Präformativ folgen kann⁴⁴. Das Element nu-uš- ist somit u.U. als Partikel von der Verbalform zu trennen. Es dürfte seiner Bedeutung nach wenigstens in schriftlichem Gebrauch auf Texte literarischen Gepräges beschränkt gewesen sein. Die oben zusammengestellten – sicher nicht vollständigen – Belege für nu-uš- sind mythologisch-epischen Texten, Götterhymnen, (kultischen) Liebesliedern, älteren und jüngeren Klageliedern (Litaneien) – auch auf Dumuzi bezogen – und (literarischen) Briefen entnommen. Es begegnet sowohl in im Hauptdialekt⁴⁵ wie in im Emesal⁴⁶ abgefaßten Texten, welche aus einer Periode von wohl mindestens der frühaltbabylonischen⁴⁷ bis zu neuassyrischen und seleukidischen Zeit stammen. Offenbar kommt es sowohl in präsentisch-futurischen⁴⁸ wie in präteritalen⁴⁹, bzw. sowohl in *marû*⁵⁰ – wie in *hamtu*⁵¹ – Verbalformen vor, ohne daß ein Bedeutungsunterschied recht klar würde. Ob im allgemeinen präs.-fut. Formen einem präsentischen, prät. Formen einem präteritalen irrealen Wunsche entsprechen? Wie schon anfangs bemerkt wurde, läßt es sich meistens auch nicht sicher entscheiden, ob die Bedeutung(snuance) “Wäre (usw.) doch . . . !” oder “Leider . . . nicht!” vorliegt⁵².

⁴³ Ebenso AnOr 28 § 71; 29 § 127. Th. Jacobsen, TIT, S. 246 spricht von “Prefixes”.

⁴⁴ 18).

⁴⁵ 1), 2), 3), 4), 5), 10), 16), 18), 23)(?), 25), 26), 27).

⁴⁶ 6), 8), 9), 11), 13), 14), 15), 19), 20), 21), 22), 24), (vgl. J. Krecher, HSAO, S. 88 ff.).

⁴⁷ 24). An sich können in bestimmten Fällen Präfixe gehäuft stehen, vgl. B. Alster, DD, S. 135 mit Anm. 2.

⁴⁸ Vgl. 2), 6), 7), 9), 12)(?), 19), 20), 21), 22), 23), 24).

⁴⁹ In Betracht kämen etwa die weiteren Belege, soweit sie vollständig überliefert sind.

⁵⁰ Wir nennen hier 2) und 12)(?), da dort der Gegensatz an der Gestalt der Basis selbst erkennbar ist (vgl. D.O. Edzard, ZA 61 [1971], 212f; vgl. zuletzt M. Yoshikawa, Or. 43 (1974), 35ff.

⁵¹ Aus demselben Grunde läßt sich hier wohl 15)(?) nennen.

⁵² Vgl. oben Anm. 5 und s. sub I die Bemerkung B. Landsbergers.

Es ist eine Ehre, diese anspruchslosen Zeilen S.N. Kramer widmen zu dürfen, dem wir nicht nur viele Pionierarbeiten auf dem Gebiet der sumerischen literarischen Überlieferung, sondern auch mehrere Studien zu Fragen der sumerischen Grammatik im weitesten Sinne⁵³ verdanken. Mögen dem Jubilar noch viele Jahre fruchtbaren Schaffens gewährt sein!

⁵³ Wir denken an ArOr 8 (1936), 18 ff.; AS 8; BASOR SS 1, S. 31 ff.; JAOS 89 (1969), 1 ff. Viele verstreute Bemerkungen in Büchern und Artikeln müssen unerwähnt bleiben.

The Latest Datable Cuneiform Tablets

A. Sachs, Providence

It is not as inappropriate as it might seem at first sight to pay tribute to the great scholar who has played the leading role in the recovery of Sumerian literature with an article dealing with Babylonian texts of so late a period. One need merely reflect on the fact that they display cuneiform writing on clay tablets and the further fact that they swarm with sumerograms to realize that they represent the end of an uninterrupted historical process going back to the Sumerians.

In 1907, F.X. Kugler,¹ using a copy made by J.N. Straßmaier, published an astronomical Almanac for the year S.E. 301 = 11/10 B.C. An Almanac for S.E. 303 = 9/8 B.C. was edited by Kugler in 1924,² and, almost simultaneously, P. Schnabel treated an Almanac for S.E. 305 = 7/6 B.C.³

After World War II, J. Schaumberger, using a copy by Straßmaier, succeeded in dating an Almanac to A.D. 44/45 = S.E. 355 and then pointed out that an unpublished Almanac to which I had referred as being impossible to date in the first 350 years of the Seleucid Era was, in fact, to be dated to A.D. 74/75 = S.E. 385. I was later able to date unpublished Almanacs to A.D. 36/37 = S.E. 347 and A.D. 61/62 = S.E. 372. The death of Father Schaumberger foiled our intention to edit these texts in a joint publication, but the bare results were reported as LBA Nos. *1197.*1201. In the meantime, another late Almanac, for the year A.D. 31/32 = S.E. 342, has turned up. All these texts from the first century of our era are now published here. They are:

- A.D. 31/32: Metropolitan Museum 86.11.354⁴
- A.D. 36/37: D.T. 143⁵
- A.D. 44/45: B.M. 45982 = SH. 81-7-6,425
- A.D. 61/62: B.M. 40083 = 81-2-1,48 and the duplicate
B.M. 40084 = 81-2-1,49
- A.D. 74/75: Dropsie College text.

¹ SSB 1, 104ff., Taf. IX; listed as LBA No. **1190.

² SSB 2, 505f.; listed as LBA Nos. **1191 and **1192.

³ ZA 36 (1925), 66-70. Other pieces for the same year were noted by J. Schaumberger, AnOr 12 (1935), 279-287 and Biblica 23 (1943), 162ff. For details, cf. LBA Nos. 1193.*1196.

⁴ I am very grateful to Dr. V. Crawford for permission to publish a photograph of this text. He was kind enough, some years ago, to allow me to look through the tablet collection of the Metropolitan Museum.

⁵ My attention was first called to this text by the description in C. Bezold's Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, Vol. 4, 1896, p. 1555: ". . . Babylonian, not from Kouyunjik. Part of a text containing astrological forecasts taken from observations of the moon." The red number "35", the significance of which I do not know, has been painted on the tablet. I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for their kind permission to publish this text as well as the other three tablets in the British Museum which are treated here.

Photographs of all these texts are published here together with copies of D.T. 143, B.M. 45982, B.M. 40084, and the Dropsie College text.

All the texts are from Babylon.

It was not until very recently that I realized that all the late Almanacs share a common scribal practice. When the data for a month are too numerous to be included in a single line, the overflow in the second line is always indented in the latest Almanacs. Among the Almanacs for which I have some kind of control, I find that Almanacs for the following dates do *not* indent the second line: S.E. 92, 127, 147, 159, 178, 179, 183, 186, 195, 197, 201, 209, 233, 236, 241, 248. The Almanacs which *do* indent the second line are for the years S.E. 300, 303, 305, 342, 347, 355, 372, 385, and, exceptionally, apparently also for S.E. 234 (LBAT **1167f.) and 254 (LBAT 1184). [Cf. now the supplementary remark added at the end of this article.]

Most of the latest Almanacs use unusual (and occasionally bizarre) terminology. (Hereafter I simply use the A.D. date to refer to the Almanac of that date.) For example, 31 frequently has *m ú l* instead of the standard *m ú l - b a b b a r* for Jupiter, while 44, 61, and 74 clip the opposite end, using *b a b b a r* consistently (in 74, the full *m ú l - b a b b a r* is used only the first time Jupiter is mentioned). In 31, *m ú l* is also often used for *m ú l - m ú l*; *m a š* is abbreviated for *m a š - m a š*. The abbreviation *bat* for *dele-bat* is used for Venus only in 44. Most of the latest Almanacs (31, 44, 61, and 74) abbreviate the standard *g u₄ - u d* for Mercury by *g u₄*. Abbreviations in the terminology for the first and last visibility of Venus and Mercury occur frequently in 31, 44, and 61. In 31 and 44, eclipses seem to be referred to by *k u₁₀* instead of *a n - k u₁₀*.

In 44, the scribe has made corrections twice (obv. 1a and 7a) by inserting the omitted signs above the place in the line where they belong. This sort of "raised" correction occurs often enough elsewhere so that we must view it as a scribal practice that was considered acceptable. Just to mention a few examples, it can be found at Achaemenid Nippur (BE 9, 12:6f.; 49:12f.; 55:16; 60:6f.; 68:top; 73:10f.; 95:13f.; 101:top,3; 32a [pl.68]:beginning; 66a[pl.70]:4; BE 10, 96:1; 121:1), Hellenistic Uruk (BRM 2, 18:2; 28:26), and Babylon (LBAT 1130 obv. 5f.; 1390 rev. II' 22); for an Old-Babylonian example, cf. CT 47, No. 4:29, where R. Harris (Or. 38 (1969), 140) has pointed out the reading of the name as *La-pa-hal-lu-um*.

The late Almanacs published here exhibit a general tendency to exclude certain types of astronomical data, but they are far from being consistent. In 31, the seasonal phenomena (Sirius, equinoxes, and solstices) are omitted, but eclipses seem to be included. Equinoxes, solstices, and eclipses are reported in 36 (the only Sirius datum that might have been included is inside a restoration). The same holds for 44, but the Sirius data are definitely omitted. Eclipses and Sirius dates are missing in 61, but solstices and equinoxes are reported. In 74, equinoxes, solstices, Sirius data, and eclipses are missing, and so are the first stationary points, acronychal risings, and second stationary points of the outer planets.

For the calendar, the dates of the beginning, of the Babylonian months computed by Schaumberger with the tables compiled by Schoch are recorded in the third edition of R.A. Parker and W.H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. — A.D. 75* (Brown University Studies 19 [1956]). The positions of the planets at five-day or ten-day intervals are readily available in B. Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar, and Solar Positions A.D. 2 to A.D. 1649* (= *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 59 [1964]).

I computed the approximate dates of the characteristic phenomena of the planets with Schoch's tables in S. Langdon and J.K. Fotheringham, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (Oxford, 1928), modified by the corrections made by B.L. van der Waerden, *Ber. d. Math.-Phys. Kl. d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig* 94 (1943), p. 50. (Roman numerals refer to the Babylonian months, and the significance of the Greek letters is: Γ = first visibility in the east, Σ = last visibility in the east, Ξ = first visibility in the west, Ω = last visibility in the west, Φ = first stationary point, Θ = opposition, Ψ = second stationary point.)

S.E. 342 = A.D. 31/32

Mercury: I 21 Γ omitted; II 2 Σ omitted; III 4 Ξ ; IV 16 Ω ; V 9 Γ ; V 28 Σ ; VII 23 Ξ ; VIII 9 Ω ; VIII 24 Γ ; X 10 Σ ; XI 9 Ξ ; XII 4 Ω .
 Venus: IV 22 Ω ; V 10 Γ .
 Mars: III 10 Ω 102°; VI 21 Γ 166°.
 Jupiter: I 28 Γ 280°; VI 1 Φ 46°; VII 30 Θ 41°; X 1 Ψ 36°.
 Saturn: II 30 Ω 88°; IV 5 Γ 93°; VII 19 Φ 100°; IX 26 Θ 97°; XII 6 Ψ 93°.

S.E. 347 = A.D. 36/37

Mercury: I 9 Ω ; II 14 Γ omitted; II 27 Σ omitted; IV 2 Ξ ; V 7 Ω ; V 30 Γ ; VI 25 Σ ; VIII 10 Ξ ; IX 2 Ω ; IX 16 Γ ; XI 1 Σ ; XI 30 Ξ ; XII 29 Ω .
 Venus: II 11 Ω ; II 22 Γ ; XI 4 Σ .
 Mars: VIII 8 Φ 103°; IX 17 Θ 93°; X 29 Ψ 83°.
 Jupiter: I 26 Ψ 163°; VI 4 Ω 180°; VII 1 Γ 186°; IX 29 Φ 204°; XI 30 Θ 299°.
 Saturn: I 14 Ψ 146°; V 3 Ω 154°; VI 5 Γ 159°; IX 19 Φ 165°; XI 27 Θ 162°.

S.E. 355 = A.D. 44/45

Mercury: I 17 Γ ; I 28 Σ ; III 1 Ξ ; IV 13 Ω ; V 6 Γ ; V 25 Σ ; VII 19 Ξ ; VIII 8 Ω ; VIII 22 Γ ; X 6 Σ ; XI 5 Ξ ; XI 29 Ω .
 Venus: II 7 Ω ; II 18 Γ ; X 30 Σ ; (I 7 Ξ).
 Mars: I 20 Ω 57°; IV 24 Γ 117°.
 Jupiter: I 29 Ω 60°; II 28 Γ 67°; VII 2 Φ 85°; IX 3 Θ 80°; XI 3 Ψ 75°.
 Saturn: II 8 Θ 241°; IV 21 Ψ 238°; VIII 5 Ω 245°; IX 7 Γ 250°; XII 20 Φ 256°.

S.E. 372 = A.D. 61/62

Mercury: I 4 Ξ ; II 12 Ω ; III 13 Γ ; III 29 Σ ; V 15 Ξ ; V 28 Ω ; VI 28 Γ ; VII 28 Σ ; IX 8 Ξ ; X 2 Ω ; X 16 Γ ; XI 28 Σ ; XII 29 Ξ .
 Venus: (I 0 Ξ); IX 26 Ω ; X 1 Γ .
 Mars: II 20 Ω 79°; V 24 Γ 137°.
 Jupiter: I 11 Θ 207°; III 14 Ψ 202°; VII 21 Ω 219°; VIII 18 Γ 226°; XII 23 Φ 244°.
 Saturn: III 10 Ω 95°; IV 14 Γ 100°; VII 29 Φ 108°; X 6 Θ 104°; XII 15 Ψ 101°.

S.E. 385 = A.D. 74/75

Mercury: (I 0 Ξ); II 8 Ω ; III 9 Γ ; III 25 Σ ; V 12 Ξ ; V 23 Ω ; VI 23 Γ ; VII 25 Σ ; IX 5 Ξ ; IX 28 Ω ; X 14 Γ ; XI 25 Σ ; XII 25 Ξ .
 Venus: VI 17 Ω ; VII 6 Γ .
 Mars: III 29 Γ 92°; XII 21 Φ 223°.
 Jupiter: II 12 Θ 244°; IV 14 Ψ 239°; VIII 21 Ω 257°; IX 21 Γ 263°.
 Saturn: II 17 Θ 249°; IV 29 Ψ 244°; VIII 13 Ω 252°; IX 17 Γ 257°; (I 0 Φ 263°).

Texts⁶

S.E. 342 = A.D. 31/32

Metropolitan Museum 86.11.354 (Pl. XV*)

Upper Edge

- 1) *ina a-mat d_{en} u d_{gaš}an-ia liš-lim* At the command of the deities Bēl and Bēltī, may it go well (with whatever I do).

Obverse

- 1) *bar 30 genna u AN ina maš 1 dele-bat maš kur <13[?] an[?]>ku₁₀[?] . . . 14[?] na]* Month I, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Saturn and Mars in Gemini. On the 1st, Venus will reach Gemini. (On the 13th[?],) eclipse[?] (of the moon[?]). [On the 14th[?], moonset after sunrise.]
- 2) *23 gu₄ 25 mál 27[?] kur 29 <an[?]> k[u₁₀[?]]* On the 23rd, Mercury (will be visible for the first time in the east in Aries). On the 25th, Jupiter (will be visible for the first time in Taurus). On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 29th, eclipse[?] [of the sun[?]]
- 3) *gu₄ [3]0 mál ina [mál] dele-bat ina alla_x 15 gu₄ 15[?] na 18[?]]* Month II, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Taurus, Venus in Cancer. On the 15th, Mercury [will be visible for the last time in the east in Aries[?]. On the 15th[?], moonset after sunrise. On the 18th[?],]
- 4) *[AN] all[a_x] kur 25 genna ina maš šú [27[?] kur]* [Mars] will reach Cancer. On the 25th, Saturn will be visible for the last time in Gemini. [On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 5) *sig 1 mál m[ál] dele-bat ina A AN ina alla_x[?] 6 [gu₄ ina alla_x igi 10[?] AN ina alla_x šú 14[?] na 18[?] gu₄-ud A kur 27[?] kur]* Month III, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter in Ta[urus, Ve]nus in Leo, Mars in Cancer. On the 6th, [Mercury will be visible for the first time in the west in Cancer. On the 10th[?], Mars will be visible for the last time in Cancer. On the 14th[?], moonset after sunrise. On the 18th[?], Mercury will reach Leo. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 6) *šu 30 mál-bab[bar[?] ina m]ál-mál dele-bat u gu₄ ina A [5[?] genna ina alla_x igi]* Month IV, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter [in] Taurus, Venus and Mercury in Leo. [On the 5th[?], Saturn will be visible for the first time in Cancer.]

⁶ In all the transliterations, the following should be noted: alla_x = KUŠÚ; ana = DIŠ; šamáš = MAN.

- 7) *15 na 18 gu₄ ina A <šú 22[?]> dele-bat <ina> A šú [27[?] kur]* On the 15th, moonset after sunrise. On the 18th, Mercury (will be visible for the last time in the west) in Leo. (On the 22nd[?],) Venus will be visible for the last time (in the west) in Leo. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 8) *[i]zi 1 mál ina m[ál] genna ina alla_x 11[?] [dele-bat ina A igi 11[?] gu₄ ina A igi 14[?] na 27[?] gu₄ absin kur 27[?] kur]* Month V, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter in Taurus, Saturn in Cancer. On the 11th[?], [Venus will be visible for the first time (in the east) in Leo. On the 11th[?], Mercury will be visible for the first time (in the east) in Leo. On the 14th[?], moonset after sunrise. On the 27th[?], Mercury will reach Virgo. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 9) *[kin] 30 mál-babbar [ina] mál dele-bat ina A gu₄ [ina absin genna ina alla_x 1[?] gu₄ ina absin šú 1[?] mál-babbar ina mál uš]* [Month VI,] the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter [in] Taurus, Venus in Leo, Mercury [in] Virgo, Saturn in Cancer. On the 1st[?], Mercury will be visible for the last time (in the east) in Virgo. On the 1st[?], Jupiter will reach its (first) stationary point in Taurus.]
- 10) *[14[?] na] 17 A[N ina absin igi[?] 27[?] kur]* [On the 14th[?], moonset after sunrise.] On the 17th, Ma[rs will be visible for the first time in Virgo[?]. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 11) *[du₆] [.]* [Month VII,] [.]
- (Perhaps one line broken away at bottom of obverse.)
- Reverse
- (Perhaps one line missing at top of reverse.)
- 1) *[.] . . . 25 [gu₄ ina gír-tab igi[?] 27[?] kur]* [.] . . . On the 25th, [Mercury will be visible for the first time (in the east) in Scorpius[?]. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 2) *[gan] 30 mál-babbar mál dele-bat u g[u₄ ina p]a[?] genn[a ina alla_x]* [Month IX,] the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Taurus, Venus and Mercury in Sagittarius[?] (or [Scorpius[?]],) Satur[n in Cancer.]
- 3) *12 gu₄ ina nim ina máš šú 14 n[a 25[?] dele-bat pa kur 26[?] genna ana me e-a 27[?] kur]* On the 12th, Mercury will be visible for the last time in the east in Capricorn (item misplaced one month too early). On the 14th, moon[set after sunrise, On the 25th[?], Venus will reach Sagittarius. On the 26th[?], acronychal rising of Saturn. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 4) *ab 30 mál-babbar mál dele-bat u gu₄ ina pa genna [ina alla_x 1[?] mál-babbar ina mál uš 4[?] gu₄ máš kur]* Month X, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Taurus, Venus and Mercury in Sagittarius, Saturn [in Cancer. On the 1st[?], Jupiter will reach its (second) stationary point in Taurus. On the 4th[?], Mercury will reach Capricorn.]

- 5) 8 <gu₄> ina šú 14 na 2[1[?] dele-bat máš kur 27[?] kur] On the 8th, (Mercury will be visible for the first time) in the west (in Capricorn). On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 2[1st[?], Venus will reach Capricorn. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 6) [z]z 1 mál-babbar mál dele-bat ina máš <genna ina alla_x> AN[?] ina[?] [pa 7[?] gu₄ zib kur 9[?] gu₄ ina zib igi] Month XI, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter in Taurus, Venus in Capricorn, (Saturn in Cancer,) Mars in [Sagittarius. On the 7th[?], Mercury will reach Pisces. On the 9th[?], Mercury will be visible for the first time (in the west) in Pisces.]
- 7) 14 na 14 dele-bat gu <kur 19[?] AN máš kur> 27 kur <29[?] gu₄ hun kur> On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 14th, Venus (will reach) Aquarius. (On the 19th[?], Mars will reach Capricorn.) On the 27th, [last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 29th[?], Mercury will reach Aries.]
- 8) še 30 mál-babbar mál genna alla_x dele-b[at gu gu₄ hun 4[?]] Month XII, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Taurus, Saturn in Cancer, Venus in Aquarius, Mercury in Aries. On the 4th[?], [
- 9) [g]u₄ ina hun šú 12 dele-bat zib kur 1[4[?] na 27[?] kur] [Mer]cury will be visible for the last time (in the west) in Aries. On the 12th, Venus will reach Pisces. On the 1[4th[?], moonset after sunrise. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 10) [bar] 30 meš<-h> šá kur<-meš> šá udu<-idim-meš šá mu-2-me-1,18> šá ši-i [mu-3-me-42] [(The following year,) month I,] the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Pred(ictions) of the entri(es) of the pl(anets into zodiacal signs for year 278 of the Arsacid Era), which equals [year 342 of the Seleucid Era.]

S.E. 347 = A.D. 36/37

D.T. 143 (Pl. XV*)

Obverse

(Beginning broken away.)

- 1) [kin 1[?] mál-babbar ina rí]n[?] [dele-bat ina A gu₄-ud ina absin AN ina maš-maš 4[?] mál-babbar ina rín šá 5[?] genna ina absin igi] [Month VI, the 1st of which will follow the 30th[?] of the previous month. Jupiter in Libr]a, [Venus in Leo, Mercury in Virgo, Mars in Gemini. On the 4th[?], Jupiter will be visible for the last time in Libra. On the 5th[?], Saturn will be visible for the first time in Virgo.]
- 2) [11[?] AN all]a_x kur 14 na [1]6 [lal-ti 22[?] dele-bat absin kur 23[?] gu₄-ud rín kur 25[?] gu₄-ud ina nim] [On the 11th[?], Mars] will reach [Canc]er. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the [1]6th, [equinox. On the 22nd[?], Venus will reach Virgo. On the 23rd[?], Mercury will reach Libra. On the 25th[?], Mercury]

- 3) [ina sa]g rín šú 27 kur 30 mú[l-babbar ina rín igi] will be visible for the last time [in the east in the be]ginni]ng of Libra. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 30th, Ju[piter will be visible for the first time in Libra.]
- 4) [du₆ 1 mál-babbar] ina rín dele-bat u genna ina absin A[N ina alla_x 14[?] na 17[?] dele-bat rín kur 27[?] kur] [Month VII, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter] in Libra, Venus and Saturn in Vir[go, Mars in Cancer. On the 14th[?], moonset after sunrise. On the 17th[?], Venus will reach Libra. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 5) [apin 30[?] mú]l-babbar u dele-bat ina rín genna ina absin AN ina alla_x 8[?] AN ina alla_x uš 10[?] gu₄-ud ina šú ina pa igi] [Month VIII, the 1st of which will follow the 29th[?] of the previous month. Ju]piter and Venus in Libra, Saturn in Vir[go, Mars in Cancer. On the 8th[?], Mars will reach its (first) stationary point in Cancer. On the 10th[?], Mercury will be visible for the first time in the west in Sa]gittarius.]
- 6) [12[?] dele-bat] gír-tab kur 14 na 20 gu₄-ud [máš kur 27[?] kur] [On the 12th[?], Venus] will reach Scorpius. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 20th, Mercury [will reach Capricorn. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.]

Reverse

- 1) [gan 1[?] mál-babbar] ina rín dele-bat ina gír-tab gu₄-ud ina m[áš genna ina absin AN ina alla_x 2[?] gu₄-ud ina šú ina gír-tab šú 6[?] dele-bat pa kur] [Month IX, the 1st of which will follow the 30th[?] of the previous month. Jupiter] in Libra, Venus in Scorpius, Mercury in Ca[pricorn, Saturn in Virgo, Mars in Cancer. On the 2nd[?], Mercury will be visible for the last time in the west in Scorpius. On the 6th[?], Venus will reach Sagittarius.]
- 2) 14 na 15 AN ana me e-a 19 šamáš gu[b 19[?] genna ina absin uš 24 kak-ban ana me e-a 27[?] kur 28[?] dele-bat máš kur] On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 15th, the acronychal rising of Mars. On the 19th, solstic[e. On the 19th[?], Saturn will reach its (first) stationary point in Virgo. On the 24th, the acronychal rising of Sirius. On the 27th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 28th[?], Venus will reach Capricorn.]
- 3) 28 2¹/₂ danna me ana šú šamáš an-k[u₁₀ šamáš ana PAP 29[?] dele-bat pa kur 29[?] mál-babbar ina rín uš] On the 28th, 5 hours before sunset, an eclips[e of the sun is to be watched for. On the 29th[?], Venus will reach Sagittarius. On the 29th[?], Jupiter will reach its (first) stationary point in Libra.]
- 4) [a]b 30 ina DAN mál-babbar ina rín dele-bat u gu₄-ud ina [pa genna ina absin AN ina alla_x 2[?] dele-bat máš kur 6[?] gu₄-ud máš kur 6[?] AN] [Month] X, the 1st of which will just barely[?] follow[?] the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Libra, Venus and Mercury in [Sagittarius, Saturn in Virgo, Mars in Cancer. On the 2nd[?], Venus will reach Capricorn. On the 6th[?], Mercury will reach Capricorn. On the 6th[?], Mars]

⁷ For the expression *ina* DAN, which is used when the visibility of the first lunar crescent is marginal after a hollow month, cf. SSB 2, 536. The philological interpretation is unknown.

- 9)

[apin 30[?] babbar ina maš bat ina rín gu₄ u genna ina pa AN ina absin 2[?] AN] rín kur 4 genna ina pa šú 11 bat gír-tab[?] kur
- 10)

[14[?] na[?]] . . . 28 kur
- 11)

g[an] 1 babbar ina maš [bat] u gu₄ ina gír AN ina rín 1 babbar <ana> me e 5 bat pa kur 8 gu₄ pa kur 9
- 12)

genna ina pa igi 15 na 17 šamáš gub 19 AN gír-tab[?] kur 28 kur 29 bat[?] máš[?] kur[?] 29 gu₄ máš[?] ku[r]
- 13)

a[b 1[?] babbar ina maš] bat u gu₄ ina mas genna ina pa AN ina gir 5 gu₄ ina mas igi 13 na [(.)]
- 14)

[. 2]2[?] bat[?] gu[?] kur[?] 27 kur
- [Month VIII, the 1st of which will follow the 29th[?] of the previous month. Jupiter in Gemini, Venus in Libra, Mercury and Saturn in Sagittarius, Mars in Virgo. On the 2nd[?], Mars] will reach Libra. On the 4th, Saturn will be visible for the last time in Sagittarius. On the 11th, Venus will reach Scorpius.

[On the 14th[?], moonset after sunrise.] . . . On the 28th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.

Month I[X], the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter in Gemini, [Venus] and Mercury in Scorpius, Mars in Libra. On the 1st, the acronychal rising of Jupiter. On the 5th, Venus will reach Sagittarius. On the 8th, Mercury will reach Sagittarius. On the 9th, Saturn will be visible for the first time in Sagittarius. On the 15th, moonset after sunrise. On the 17th, solstice. On the 19th, Mars will reach Scorpius. On the 28th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 29th, Venus will reach Capricorn. On the 29th, Mercury will reach Capricorn.

Month X, [the 1st of which will follow the 30th[?] of the previous month. Jupiter in Gemini,] Venus and Mercury in Capricorn, Saturn in Sagittarius, Mars in Scorpius. On the 5th, Mercury will be visible for the first time (error for: last) time (in the east) in Capricorn. On the 13th, moonset after sunrise. [(.)]

[. On the 2]2[?]nd, Venus will reach Aquarius. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. (On the 30th[?], Venus will be visible for the last time in the east in Aquarius[?].)
- Reverse
- 1)

zíz 1 babbar [ina] maš genna u AN ina pa 2 babbar ina maš uš 5 gu₄ ina hun šú 13 na . . [. 23[?] gu₄]

2)

hun kur [2]7[?] kur 28 gu₄ ina hun igi

Month XI, the 1st of which will follow the 30th to the previous month. Jupiter [in] Gemini, Saturn and Mars in Sagittarius. On the 2nd, Jupiter will reach its (second) stationary point in Gemini. On the 5th, Mercury will be visible for the last (error for: first) time (in the west) in Aries (error for: Pisces). On the 13th, moonset after sunrise. . . [. On the 23rd[?], Mercury[?]] will reach Aries. On the [2]7th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 28th, Mercury will be visible for the first (error for: last) time (in the west) in Aries.
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- 3)

[š]e 30 bab[bar] ina maš genna u AN <ina> pa 14 na 20 lál <20[?] genna ina pa uš> 2[?]7 kur

4)

[bar 1[?] meš-ši šá kur-ád-m]eš šá udu-idim-meš šá mu-3-me-55

Month XII, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupit[er] in Gemini, Saturn and Mars <in> Sagittarius. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 20th, equinox. <On the 20th[?], Saturn will reach its (first) stationary point in Sagittarius.> On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.

[(The following year,) month I, the 1st of which will follow the 30th[?] of the previous month. Predictions of the entri]es of the planets (into zodiacal signs) for year 355 (of the Seleucid Era).
- (Remainder of reverse uninscribed.)
- S.E. 372 = A.D. 61/62
- B.M. 40083 = 81-2-1,48 (Pl. XVII*)
- Upper Edge
- Translation*
- 1)

ina a-mat d_{en} u d_{gaš}an-ía liš-lim

At the command of the deities Bēl and Bēltī, may it go well (with whatever I do).
- Obverse
- 1)

bar 30 babbar gír-tab dele-bat ina hun genna ina alla_x AN mál 2 dele-bat m[ál kur 4[?] g]u₄ <ina šú> mál igi 4 babbar rín kur

Month I, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Scorpius, Venus in Aries, Saturn in Cancer, Mars in Taurus. On the 2nd, Venus [will reach] T[aurus]. On the 4th[?], Mer]cury will be visible for the first time (in the west) in Taurus. On the 4th, Jupiter will reach Libra.

2)

8 babbar ana me e-a 14 na 15 AN maš-maš kur [2]7[?] kur

On the 8th, the acronychal rising of Jupiter. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 15th, Mars will reach Gemini. On the [2]7th[?], last lunar visibility before sunrise.

3)

gu₄ 1 babbar rín dele-bat gu₄ <u> AN maš-maš genna alla_x 12 gu₄ <ina šú> maš-maš šú 14 na 17 AN maš-maš šú 2[2]

Month II, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter in Libra; Venus, Mercury, (and) Mars in Gemini; Saturn in Cancer. On the 12th, Mercury will be visible for the last time (in the west) in Gemini. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 17th (variant: 14th), Mars will be visible for the last time in Gemini. On the 22nd, Venus will reach Cancer. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.

4)

dele-bat alla_x kur 27 kur
- * This translation follows the line numbering of B.M. 40083, but corresponds to a reconstituted text which also takes into account B.M. 40084, which is transliterated separately below.

- 5) sig 30 babbar rín *dele-bat* u genna alla_x 3 genna ina[?] alla_x šú 7 babbar rín uš <7 gu₄ ina nim ina maš-maš igi> 14] Month III, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Libra, Venus and Saturn in Cancer. On the 3rd, Saturn will be visible for the last time in Cancer. On the 7th, Jupiter will reach its (second) stationary point in Libra. On the 7th, Mercury will be visible for the first time in the east in Gemini. On the 14th,]
- 6) 15 na 18 *dele-bat* A kur <19 šamáš gub> 27 kur <29 gu₄ ina nim ina sag alla_x šú> On the 15th, moonset after sunrise. On the 18th, Venus will reach Leo. On the 19th, solstice. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 29th, Mercury (will be visible for the last time) in the east (in the beginning of Cancer).
- 7) šu 1 babbar rín *dele-bat* A 11 genna alla_x igi 13 *dele-bat* absin kur 14 na 27 kur Month IV, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter in Libra, Venus in Leo. On the 11th, Saturn will be visible for the first time in Cancer. On the 13th, Venus will reach Virgo. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 8) izi 30 babbar rín *dele-bat* absin genna alla_x 9 *dele-bat* rín kur 10 gu₄ <ina šú ina> absin igi 14 babbar Month V, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Libra, Venus in Virgo, Saturn in Cancer. On the 9th, Venus will reach Libra. On the 10th, Mercury will be visible for the first time (in the west in) Virgo. On the 14th, Jupiter will reach Scorpius. On the 15th, moonset after sunrise. On the 20th, Mercury will reach Libra. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 28th, Mars will be visible for the first time in Leo. On the 29th, Mercury (will be visible for the last time) in the west in the beginning (of Libra).
- 9) gír-tab kur 15 na 20 gu₄ rín kur 27 kur <28 AN ina A igi 29 gu₄ ina šú ina sag rín šú> will reach Scorpius. On the 15th, moonset after sunrise. On the 20th, Mercury will reach Libra. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 28th, Mars will be visible for the first time in Leo. On the 29th, Mercury (will be visible for the last time) in the west in the beginning (of Libra).
- 10) kin 1 babbar gír-tab *dele-bat* UD (error for rín) genna alla_x AN A 5 *dele-bat* gír-tab kur 12 AN absin kur Month VI, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter in Scorpius, Venus in Libra, Saturn in Cancer, Mars in Leo. On the 5th, Venus will reach Scorpius. On the 12th (variant: 11), Mars will reach Virgo.
- 11) 14 na 22 lál-tì 25 gu₄ <ina nim> absin <igi> 27 kur On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 22nd (variant erroneously: 23), equinox. On the 25th, Mercury <will be visible for the 1st time in the east> in Virgo. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 12) [du₆] 30 babbar u *dele-bat* gír-tab gu₄ <u> AN <ina absin> alla_x genna (error for genna alla_x) 3 *dele-bat* pa k[ur] 8[?] g[u₄] rín kur 13 [n]a Month VII, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter and Venus in Scorpius, Mercury (and) Mars (in Virgo), Saturn in Cancer. On the 3rd, Venus will reach Sagittarius. On the 8th[?], Mercury will reach Libra. On the 13th (variant: 15) moonset after sunrise.

- 13) [21[?]] babbar gír-tab šú 28 gu₄ <ina nim> rín šú 28 AN rín kur 28 kur On the 21st[?], Jupiter will be visible for the last time in Scorpius. On the 28th, Mercury will be visible for the last time (in the east) in Libra. On the 28th, Mars will reach Libra. On the 28th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 14) [apin 1 *dele-bat* ina p]a genna ina alla_x AN rín 3 *dele-bat* máš kur 7 genna ina alla_x uš Month VIII, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Venus in Sagittarius, Saturn in Cancer, Mars in Libra. On the 3rd, Venus will reach Capricorn. On the 7th, Saturn will reach its (first) stationary point in Cancer.
- 15) [14[?] na] 18 babbar [gír-]tab igi 27 kur On the 14th[?], moonset after sunrise. On the 18th, Jupiter will be visible for the first time in Scorpius. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- Reverse
- 1) [gan 1 babbar gír-tab *dele-bat* máš gu₄ pa genna all]a_x AN ina rín 13[?] AN gír-tab kur 14 na Month IX, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter in Scorpius, [Venus in Capricorn, Mercury in Sagittarius], Saturn in Cancer, Mars in Libra. On the 13th[?], Mars will reach Scorpius. On the 14th (variant: 16), moonset after sunrise.
- 2) [1]5[?] gu₄ <ina šú> máš igi [25 šamáš gub] 27 kur 29 *dele-bat* <ina nim> máš igi On the 15th[?], Mercury will be visible for the first time (in the west) in Capricorn. On the 25th, sol[stice].] On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 29th (variant: 26[?]), Venus will be visible for the first time (in the east) in Capricorn.
- 3) [a]b 1 babbar u AN gír-tab *dele-bat* u g[u₄ máš genna all]a_x 1 genna ana me e-a 7 Month X, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter and Mars in Scorpius, Venus and Mercury in Capricorn, Saturn in Cancer. On the 1st, the acronychal rising of Saturn. On the 7th, Mercury will be visible for the last time (in the west) in Aquarius (error for Capricorn). On the 12th, Jupiter will reach Sagittarius. On the 13th, moonset after sunrise. On the 19th, Mercury will be visible for the first time (in the east) in Capricorn. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 4) gu₄ <ina šú> gu šú 12 babbar pa kur 13 na 19 gu₄ <ina nim> máš igi 27 kur Month XI, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter and Mars in Sagittarius, Venus and Mercury in Capricorn, Saturn in Cancer. On the 12th, Mercury will reach Aquarius.
- 5) zíz 30 babbar u AN pa *dele-bat* u gu₄ ina máš [genna] alla_x 12 gu₄ gu kur On the 14th, moonset after sunrise.] On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 6) 14 na [. 27] kur

- 7) še 1 babbar u AN ina pa *dele-bat* ina m[áš genna ina all]_{a_x} 2 *dele-bat* gu kur 4 genna
Month XII, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter and Mars in Sagittarius, Venus in Capricorn, Saturn in Cancer. On the 2nd, Venus will reach Aquarius. On the 4th, Saturn
- 8) ina alla_x uš <13 na> 16 AN [máš kur] 23 babbar pa uš 27 kur
will reach its (second) stationary point in Cancer. On the 13th, (moonset after sunrise). On the 16th (variant: 15), Mars will reach Capricorn. On the 23rd, Jupiter will reach its (first) stationary point in Sagittarius. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 9) bar 30 meš-*hi* šá kur-meš šá u]du-idim-meš <šá mu-3-me-1,12>
(The following year,) month I, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Predictions of the entries of the planets (into zodiacal signs for year 372 of the Seleucid Era.)

(Remainder of reverse uninscribed.)

B.M. 40084 = 81-2-1,49 (Pl. XVIII*)

Upper Edge

- 1) [ina a-mat ^de]n [u] d[gašan-*id* liš-lim]

Obverse

- 1) bar 30 babbar [ina] gír-tab *dele-bat* ina hun <genna ina alla_x> AN ina mál . [. 2 *dele-bat* mál kur 4?
gu₄ <ina šú> mál igi]
- 2) 4 babbar rín kur 8 babbar ana me [e-a 14 na 15 AN maš-maš kur 27? kur]
- 3) [g]u₄ 1 babbar ina rín *dele-bat* gu₄ <u AN ina maš-maš> genna ina alla_x 2 . . . ? [12 gu₄ <ina šú> maš-maš šú]
- 4) 14 na 14 <AN maš-maš šú> 22 *dele-bat* alla_x kur 27 kur
- 5) sig 30 babbar ina rín <*dele-bat* u genna ina alla_x> 3 genna <ina alla_x šú 7 babbar rín uš> 7 gu₄ ina nim ina maš-maš igi <14 15 na> 18 *dele-bat* A [kur]
- 6) 19 šamáš gub 27 kur 29 gu₄ ina nim <ina sag alla_x šú>
- 7) šu 1 babbar ina rín *dele-bat* ina A 11 genna ina alla_x <igi> 13 *dele-bat* absin kur 14 n[a <27 kur>]
- 8) izi <30> babbar ina rín <*dele-bat* ina absin> genna ina alla_x 9 <*dele-bat* rín kur> 10 gu₄ ina nim (error for šú) <ina absin igi> 14 babbar gír-tab kur <15 na>
- 9) 20 gu₄-ud rín <kur 27 kur> 28 AN ina A igi 29 gu₄ ina šú ina sag <rín šú>
- 10) kin 1 <babbar ina gír-tab> *dele-bat* ina rín genna <ina alla_x> AN ina A 5 *dele-bat* gír-tab kur 11 AN absin <kur>
- 11) 14 na 23 lál-tì <25 gu₄ ina nim ina absin igi> 27 kur
- 12) du₆ 30 babbar u *dele-bat* ina gír-tab gu₄ u AN <ina absin> genna ina alla_x 3 *dele-bat* pa kur 8 <gu₄ rín kur>
- 13) 15 na 21? <babbar ina gír-tab šú 28 gu₄ ina nim ina rín šú 28 AN rín kur> [2]8 kur

Reverse

- 1) apin 1 *dele-bat* ina p[a genna ina alla_x AN ina] rín 3 *dele-bat* <máš kur> 7 [genna ina alla_x uš 14? na 18 babbar ina gír-tab igi 27 kur]
- 2) gan 1 babbar ina gír-tab [*dele-bat* ina máš gu₄ ina pa] genna <ina alla_x> AN ina rín 13? AN gír-tab kur
- 3) 16 na <15? gu₄ ina šú ina máš igi> 25 šam[áš gub] 26? *dele-bat* <ina nim> ina máš [igi 27 kur]
- 4) ab 1 babbar [u] AN <ina gír-tab *dele-bat* u> gu₄ <ina máš> genna [ina all]_{a_x} <1 genna ana me e-a> 7 gu₄ ina [šú ina máš šú 12 babba]r pa kur
- 5) [13 n]a 19 gu₄ [ina nim ina máš i]gi? 27 kur
- 6) [zíz 3]0 babbar u AN ina pa *dele-bat* u g[u₄ <ina máš genna ina alla_x> [12] gu₄ gu <kur> 14 <na > 27 kur
- 7) še 1 babbar u AN ina pa *dele-bat* ina máš genna <ina alla_x> 2 <*dele-bat* gu kur> 4 genna ina alla_x <uš>
- 8) 13 <na> 15 AN máš <kur> 23 babbar ina pa [u]š <U> 27 kur
- 9) bar 30 meš-*hi* <šá kur-meš šá udu-idim-meš šá mu-3-me-1,12>

S.E. 385 = A.D. 74/75

Dropsie College Text (Pl. XIX*)

Upper Edge

- 1) [ina a-]mat ^den u dgašan-*id* liš-lim [At the co]mmand of the deities Bēl and Bēltī, may it go well (with whatever I do).

Obverse

- 1) bar 1 mál-babbar u genna ina pa <*dele->*bat u gu₄ ina mál-mál 6 *dele-bat* maš-maš kur 14
Month I, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter and Saturn in Sagittarius, Venus and Mercury in Taurus. On the 6th, Venus will reach Gemini. On the 14th,
- 2) gu₄ maš-maš kur 14 na 27 kur
Mercury will reach Gemini. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 3) gu₄ <1> babbar u genna ina pa *dele-bat* u gu₄ ina maš-maš 2 *dele-bat* alla_x kur 8 gu₄ ina šú ina maš-maš
Month II, <the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month.> Jupiter and Saturn in Sagittarius, Venus and Mercury in Gemini. On the 2nd, Venus will reach Cancer. On the 8th, Mercury will be visible for the last time in the west in Gemini.
- 4) šú 14 na 27 kur 28 *dele-bat* A <kur>
On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 28th, Venus <will reach> Leo.

- 5) sig 30 babbar u genna ina pa dele-bat ina A 12
gu₄ ina nim ina maš-maš igi 14 na
Month III, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter and Saturn in Sagittarius, Venus in Leo. On the 12th, Mercury will be visible for the first time in the east in Gemini. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise.
- 6) [^{<23?} gu₄ alla_x kur 25? gu₄ ina nim ina
alla_x šú[>] 26? dele-bat absin kur 28 kur
[^{<On the 23rd?}, Mercury will reach Cancer. On the 25th?, Mercury will be visible for the last time in the east in Cancer.] On the 26th?, Venus] will reach [Vir]go. On the 28th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 7) š[u 1 bab]bar u genna ina pa dele-bat ina absin
3 AN ina alla_x igi 14 na
Month IV, [the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Ju]piter and Saturn in Sagittarius, Venus in Virgo. On the 3rd, Mars will be visible for the first time in Cancer. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise.
- 8) 27 dele-bat rín kur 27 kur
On the 27th, Venus will reach Libra. On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 9) izi 30 babbar u genna ina pa dele-bat ina rín
AN ina alla_x 2 g[u₄]
Month V, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter and Saturn in Sagittarius, Venus in Libra, Mars in Cancer. On the 2nd, Mercury
- 10) ina šú ina absin igi 12 AN A kur 14 na 16?
gu₄ [ina šú ina absin šú 27? kur]
will be visible for the first time in the west in Virgo. On the 12th, Mars will reach Leo. On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. On the 16th?, Mercury [will be visible for the last time in the west in Virgo. On the 27th?, last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 11) kin 1 babbar u genna ina pa dele-bat ina rín
<AN ina A> 14 na [14 dele-bat ina šú ina rín
šú]
Month VI, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter and Saturn in Sagittarius, Venus in Libra, <Mars in Leo.> On the 14th, moonset after sunrise. [On the 14th, Venus will be visible for the last time in the west in Libra.]
- 12) «14 na» 27 kur 28 gu₄ [ina nim ina absin
igi]
«On the 14th, moonset after sunrise.» On the 27th, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 28th, Mercury [will be visible for the first time in the east in Virgo.]
- 13) [du₆ 30] ina DAN babbar u genna [ina pa gu₄
ina absin AN ina A 2? AN absin kur 4? gu₄
rín kur 6? dele-bat ina nim ina rín igi 14? na]
[Month VII, the 1st of which will] just barely? [follow⁸ the 29th of the previous month.] Jupiter and Saturn [in Sagittarius, Mercury in Virgo, Mars in Leo. On the 2nd?, Mars will reach Virgo. On the 4th?, Mercury will reach Libra. On the 6th?, Venus will be visible for the first time in the east in Libra. On the 14th?, moonset after sunrise.]
- 14) [25? gu₄ ina nim ina rín? šú] 27 k[ur (. .
.)]
[On the 25th?, Mercury will be visible for the last time in the east in Libra? .] On the 27th, last lunar visibility [before sunrise. (.)]

(Remainder of obverse broken away.)

⁸ See note 7.

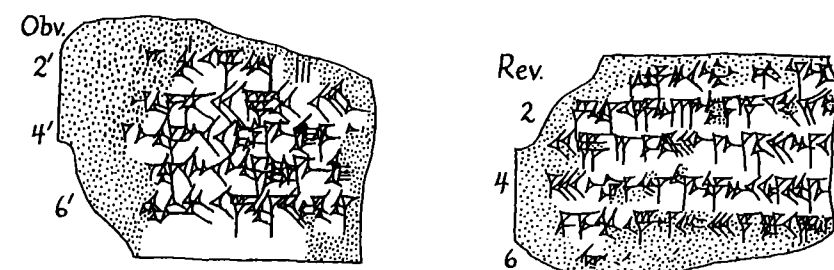
Reverse

(Beginning of reverse broken away.)

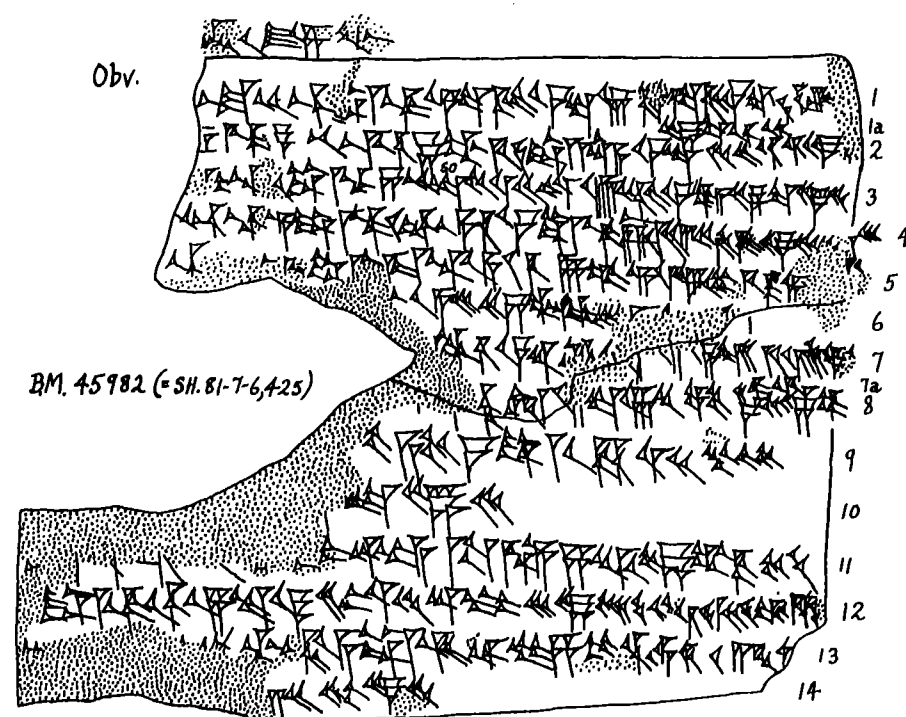
- 1) [gan] 30 [dele-bat u AN ina rín? 1? dele-bat
gír-tab kur 5? gu₄ ina šú ina máš igi 14? na
17? genna ina pa igi]
[Month IX,] the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. [Venus and Mars in Libra? . On the 1st?, Venus will reach Scorpius. On the 5th?, Mercury will be visible for the first time in the west in Capricorn. On the 14th?, moonset after sunrise. On the 17th?, Saturn will be visible for the first time in Sagittarius.]
- 2) 21 babbar ina [pa igi 27? kur 29? dele-bat
pa kur]
On the 21st, Jupiter [will be visible for the first time] in [Sagittarius. On the 27th?, last lunar visibility before sunrise. On the 29th?, Venus will reach Sagittarius.]
- 3) ab 30 babbar dele-bat u genna ina [pa AN ina
rín 14? gu₄ ina nim ina máš igi 14? na 19?
babbar máš kur 26? dele-bat máš kur 26? AN]
Month X, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn in [Sagittarius, Mars in Libra. On the 14th?, Mercury will be visible for the first time in the east in Capricorn. On the 14th?, moonset after sunrise. On the 19th?, Jupiter will reach Capricorn. On the 26th?, Mars]
- 4) gír-tab kur 28 kur
will reach Scorpius. On the 28th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 5) zíz 1 babbar dele-bat u gu₄ ina máš <genna
ina pa> AN ina gír-tab [11? gu₄ gu kur 14?
na 23? dele-bat gu kur 25? gu₄ ina nim ina
gu šú 27? kur]
Month XI, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month. Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury in Capricorn, <Saturn in Sagittarius,> Mars in Scorpius. [On the 11th?, Mercury will reach Aquarius. On the 14th?, moonset after sunrise. On the 23rd?, Venus will reach Aquarius. On the 25th?, Mercury will be visible for the last time in the east in Aquarius. On the 27th?, last lunar visibility before sunrise.]
- 6) še 30 babbar ina máš dele-bat ina gu <genna
ina pa> AN ina gír-tab 11? [. 14?
na 19? dele-bat]
Month XII, the 1st of which will follow the 29th of the previous month. Jupiter in Capricorn, Venus in Aquarius, <Saturn in Sagittarius,> Mars in Scorpius. On the 11th?, [. On the 14th?, moonset after sunrise. On the 19th?, Venus]
- 7) zib-me kur 26 gu₄ ina šú ina hun igi 28 kur
will reach Pisces. On the 26th, Mercury will be visible for the first time in the west in Aries. On the 28th, last lunar visibility before sunrise.
- 8) bar 1
(The following year,) month I, the 1st of which will follow the 30th of the previous month.

(Remainder of reverse uninscribed.)

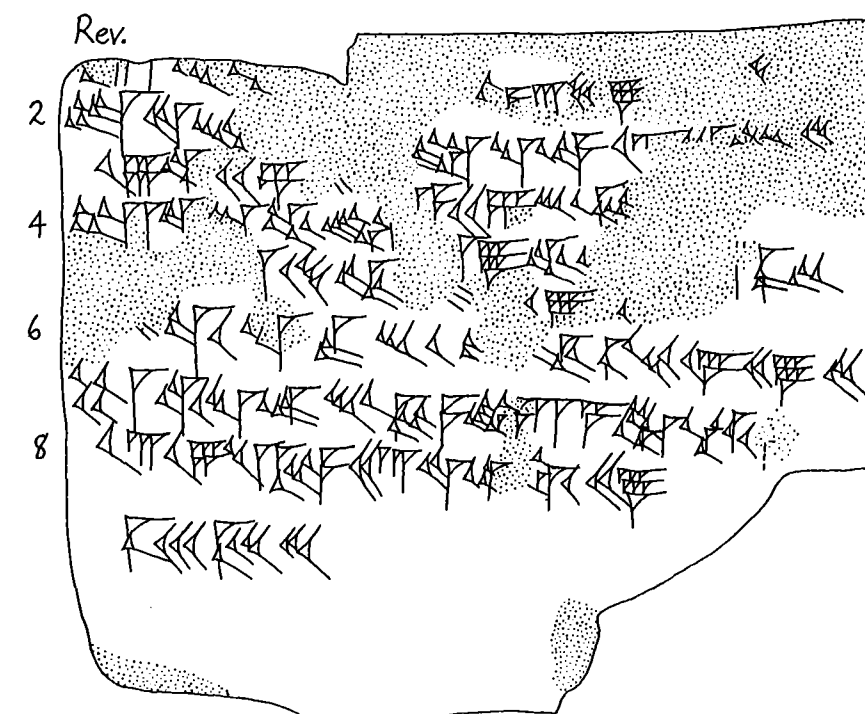
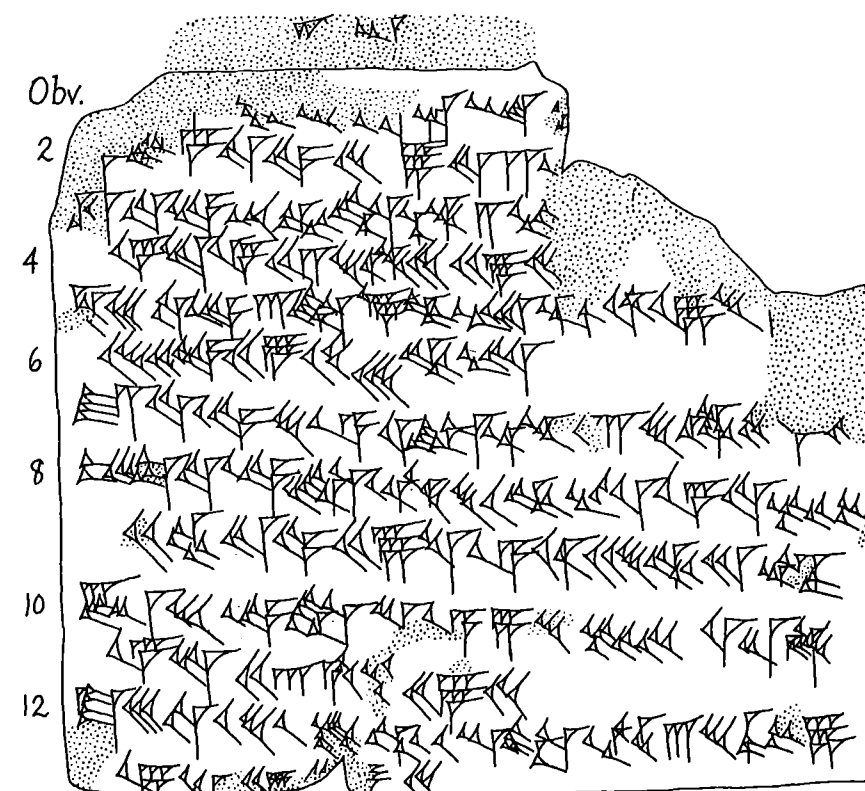
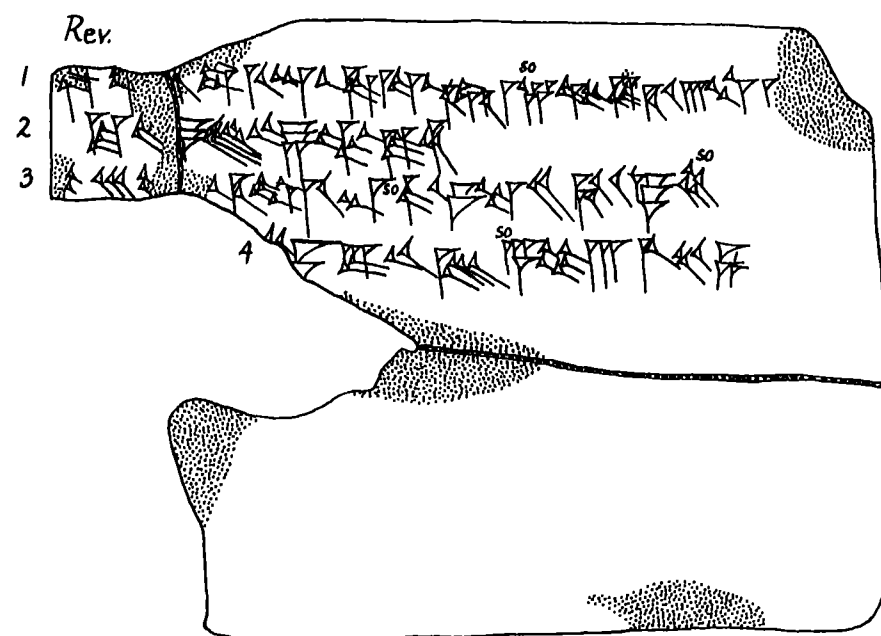
[Added in proofs: λ propos the use of indentation in Almanacs (above, p. 380), Dr. E. Sollberger has been kind enough to inspect the two Almanacs pre-dating S.E. 300, the copies of which indicate indentation. It turns out that the Almanac for S.E. 234 contains no indentations and that the Almanac for S.E. 254 indents the first three times but fails to do so the next three.]



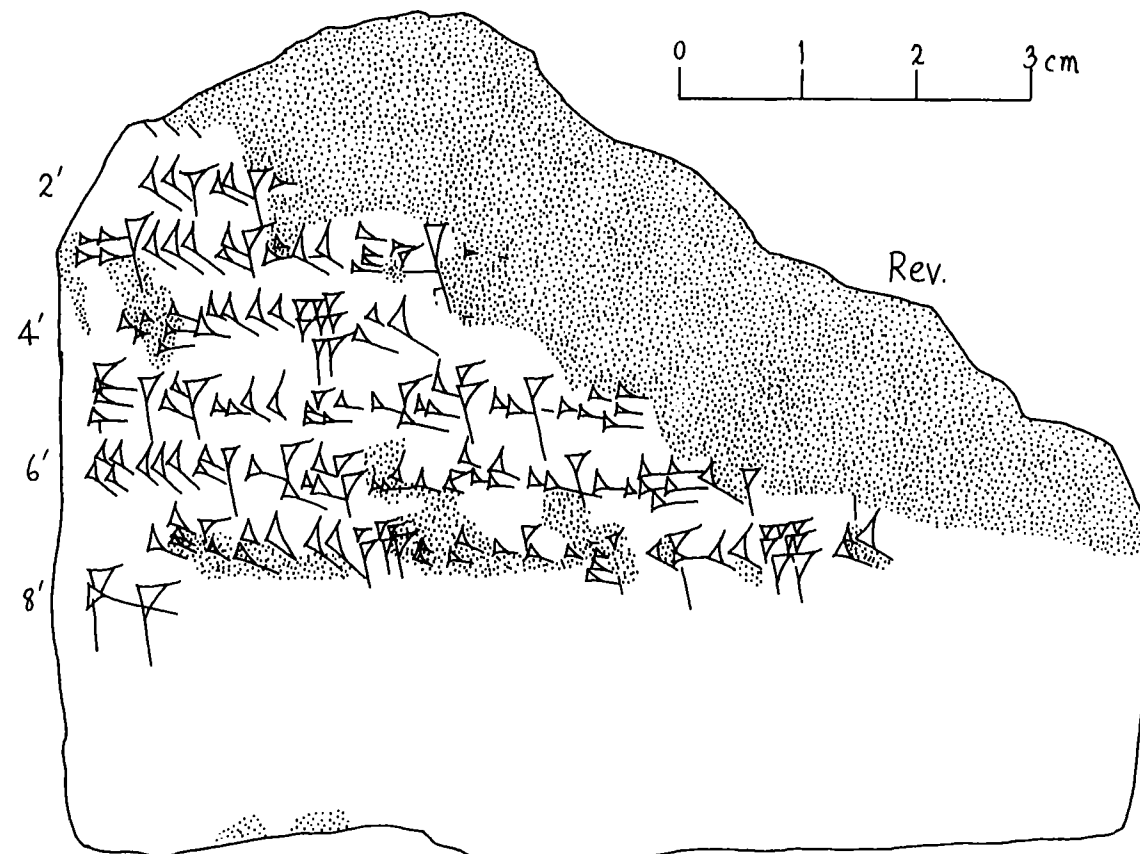
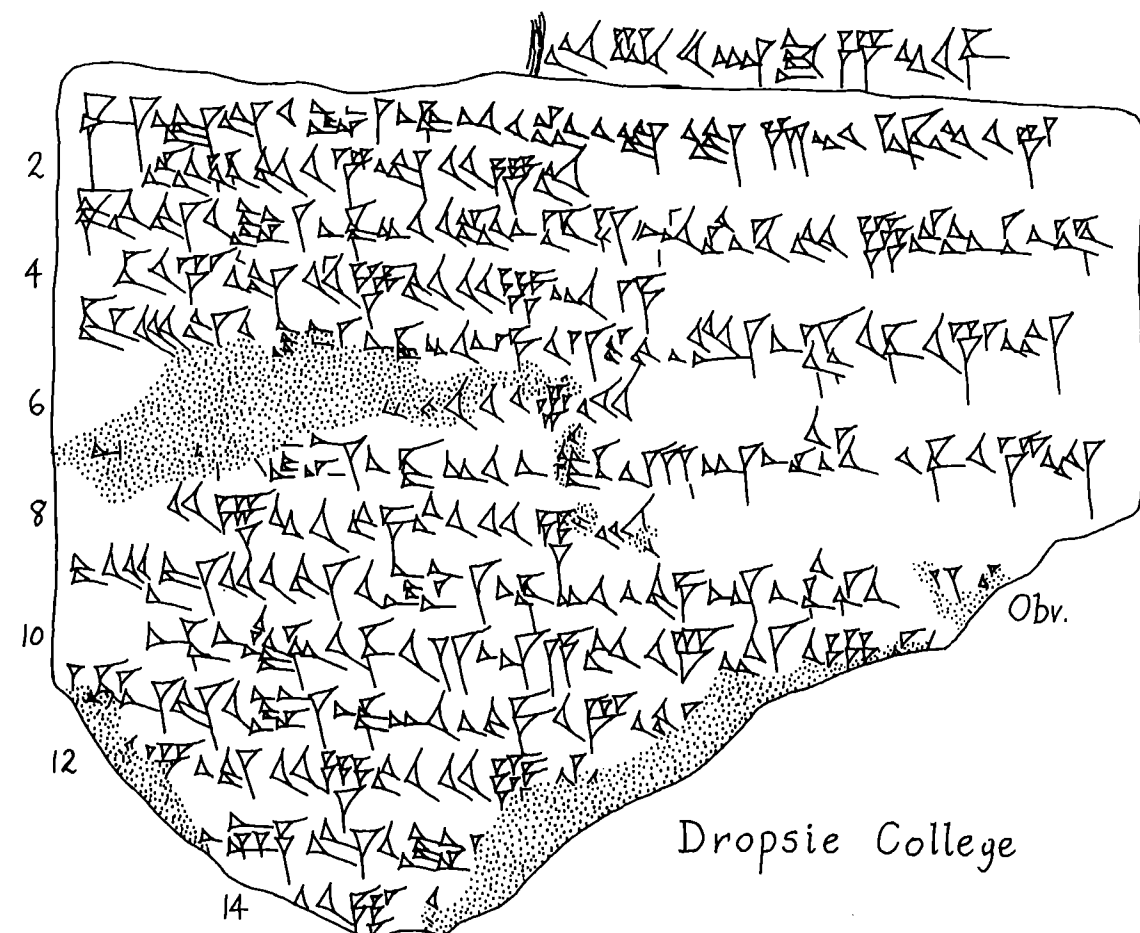
D.T. 143



BM. 45982 (=SH.81-7-6,425)



B.M. 40084



0 1 2 3 cm

Die Fallgruben der sumerischen Jäger

Armas Salonen, Helsinki

Das Jagdgerät par excellence des steinzeitlichen Jägers war die "Keule", deren Name im Sumerischen aus der spätneolithischen Zeit stammt und ein auf -ar endendes Substratwort *b a d a r* ist; davon das akkadische *patarru*. Aus der nächsten Periode, d.h. aus der frühkalkolithischen Zeit stammt das auf -ug endende Substratwort *u d u g* "Fallgrube", "pitfall", auch eine sehr alte Art, Wildtiere zu fangen. Das Wort für "Hacke", die zum Graben der Fallgruben unbedingt nötig war, scheint aus der spätneolithischen Zeit zu stammen. Es ist das auf -ar endende *m a r*, woraus das akkadische *marru* und alle seine späteren Nachfolger bis zum französischen *marre* entlehnt worden sind. Dieses Substratwort hieß m.E. ursprünglich *a/i/u m a r, das im Sumerischen wegen der Akzentverschiebung auf die zweite Silbe und mit Ausfallen der ersten kurzen Silbe zu *m a r* wurde (also ganz ähnlich wie das frühkalkolithische Wort *ü t h u b "Ziegelform" zu *š u b* wurde, wobei die längere Form *u š u b* / *i š u b* noch bekannt ist; siehe meine Ziegeleien s.v.). Daß *m a r* tatsächlich aus der spätneolithischen Zeit stammt, zeigt die Tatsache, daß in den spätneolithischen Ausgrabungen von Ġarmō, Hassūna und Banahilk "broad-bitted chipped hoes (of non-flinty material) and hoeblades", also die ältesten bekannten *m a r*-Hacken, gefunden worden sind, siehe meine *Agricultura* S. 27, vgl. auch *ibid.* S. 118ff., wo die Hacken ausführlich behandelt worden sind.

Das frühkalkolithische Wort für "Fallgrube" hieß wohl ursprünglich *ü d u g wie uns die Erweiterung des Wortes mit dem wortanfangenden Element *š/s*- "groß" zeigt: *š i d u g*, natürlich aus *s-*ü d u g* "große Fallgrube". Wir kennen das Wort *š i d u g* mit der akkadischen Entsprechung *šaštu*, *šaltu* (CAD U, S. 143: "hole, grave, pit") aus lex. Texten: A I/2 249: *š i - d u g* LAGABxDAR = *ša-aš-tum*; Erimhuš II 52: *š i - d u g* = *ša-aš₂-tu₂* (in einer Gruppe mit *naḫbalu*, *šuttatu*); Antagal VIII 68: *š i - d u g* - g a = *ša-aš-tum* (zusammen mit *šuttatu* und *naḫallu*).

Wie diese "Fallgruben" aussahen, geht aus einigen Wörtern hervor, die in den lex. Listen in der Gruppe der "Fallen" genannt werden und die bisher nicht richtig verstanden worden sind. In U-h VI 202 (MSL 6, S. 71) lesen wird: *[š i² a z] - b a l* = *na-bal-kat₂-ti*. Ich übersetze diese Wörter jetzt "leiterförmige Decke der Fallgrube". *b a l* ist = *nabalkutu* "überschreiten, pass over", davon *nabalkattu* "Leiter". Dieses Wort wird u.a. in der schwierigen Stelle Codex Hammurabi 4 R 71 verwendet, wo es als "Leiter, die vom Dach des Hauses zum Dach des Nachbarhauses führt" verstanden werden muß. Als Fanggerät bei der Jagd hat man natürlich nicht Leitern verwendet, hier handelt es sich darum symbolisch um die Form der Decke der Fallgrube, die aus kreuzweise aufeinander gestellten Stangen bzw. Stricken (*g u₂* = *qū*) bestand. Den Zuschauern schien diese Aufrichtung "leiterförmig", weshalb sie mit Wörtern wie *nabalkattu* "Leiter", ja sogar *simmiltu* "Trittleiter" genannt wurde, siehe sofort. Man beachte auch die Reliefdarstellungen z.B. aus der nA Zeit wie Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon*, Fig. 41, wo Jäger Jagdhunde an der Leine führen, Netze tragen, dazu auch Stangen, die mit Stricken umgebunden sind, um die "leiterförmige Decke der Fallgrube" zu bauen. Das sum. Wort *š i² a z - b a l* ist in U-h VI 196 mit dem akk. *nabāru* "Fanggerät" (von *ba'āru* "fangen") und Z. 201 mit dem akk. *šigaru* "neck-stock" er-

klärt. Beachte, daß auch hier, wie in *šigaru* ausdrücklich, die “Leiterform” wieder hervorkommt. Das “neck-stock” sieht tatsächlich aus wie ein Teil der Leiter mit zwei Treppen!

Interessant ist es ferner, daß die Decke der Fallgrube in *ḫ-ḫ* auch mit Wörtern, die eine “leiterförmige Decke aus Stricken erklärt wird: Z. 213: *ḫi z g u₂ - s e₃ - k i - i r* = *ka-ma-ru*, sum. “absperrender Strick” (*s e₃ - k i - i r* ist ein Lw aus dem akk. *sekēru* ig. “abdämmen”, dann auch “absperren”). Dieses sum. Wort wird in der nächsten Zeile, 214, mit dem akk. Wort *mer-ṭe-e-tum* erklärt. Man muß das akk. Wort von *reṭū* ableiten und dieses bedeutet gewöhnlich “nageln”, hier aber “die Stricke, aus denen die Decke der Fallgrube gemacht wird, mit Pflöcken in die Erde einrammen” (vgl. das Wort *terṭūtum* “mit Nägeln befestigter Beschlag des Reifens des Wagenrades”, siehe meine Landfahrzeuge s.v., berichtet von K. Balkan, Kassitenstudien 1 s.v.), also sind diese Synonyma auch “leiterförmige Decken der Fallgrube”, wie ausdrücklich *ḫg B 46f.* (MSL 6, S. 79) zeigen: *ḫi z g u₂ - s i - k i - i r* = *ka-ma-ru* = *sim-ṭil-ṭum* und *ḫi z g u₂ - s i - k i - i r* = *mir-ṭi-tum* = ditto (i.e. *sim-mil-tum*), d.h. ausdrücklich mit *simmiltu* “Trittleiter” erklärt! Klarer hätten die alten Lexikographen ihre Anschauungen nicht uns darstellen können.

Interessant ist es ferner, daß die lex. Texte uns auch angeben, wie diese Decke der Fallgrube camoufliert wurde. Diri III 2a: *ḫi z - k i - b i r* *ḫi z - k u - u - ru* LAGAB = *ki-is-ki-bir-ru*; Ea I 25i: *k u - u r* LAGAB = *kis-ki-bir-ru*; A I/2 22: [*g u - u r*] [LAGAB] = *ki-is-ki-bir-ru*; *ḫ-ḫ* VI 212: *ḫi z g u₂ - s e₃ - k i - i r* = *ki-is* (Var. *iš*) *ki-bir-ru*, d.h. hier ausdrücklich mit der leiterförmigen Decke aus Stricken der Fallgrube verbunden. Man beachte, daß *ḫi z - k i b i r* eig. “Brennholz” bedeutet, d.h. “minderwertiges Holz”, etwa “Reisig”, das man nicht zum Bauzwecken verwenden konnte. Hieraus sehen wir, daß “Reisig als Camouflage” der Fallgrube verwendet wurde.

Die Fallgruben der sumerischen Jäger wurden also mit Decken bedeckt, die aus Stangen bzw. Stricken bestanden und kreuzweise so aufgestellt waren, daß sie “leiterförmig” aussahen. Wenn die Decke aus Stricken bestand, wurden die Enden mit Hilfe von Pflöcken in die Erde eingerammt. Als Camouflage benutzte man “Reisig” über die Decke.

The ENGAR/*ikkarum* at Mari

Jack M. Sasson, Chapel Hill

The Mari archives contain some twenty texts in which the term ENGAR/*ikkarum* (hereafter E/i.) occurs. The documents stem from the periods of the Yaggid-Lim and Šamši-Adad dynasties.¹ In ARMT 15, p. 179, Finet gives the meaning ‘cultivateur’ to E/i. Bottéro and Birot have, in various publications, attempted a more developed definition.² The CAD and the AHW recognize that, even if the evidence is limited to the OB period, E/i. could not be explained by means of a single entry. The Mari attestations are assigned as follows:

		CAD	AHW
1	“plowman, farm laborer/ Landarbeiter”	ARM 1, 44:8	ARM 1, 68:7; 44, 7ff.
2	“Farmer, small farmer/ Bauer”	ARM 8, 44:8’	ARM 5, 28:28,8, 44:8
3	“Farm bailiff/ Gutsinspektor”	ARM 7, 155:6;8, 67:3	ARM 7, 155:6;8, 67:3

One could, at the outset, dispose of additional material from Mari which clearly deals with ‘plowmen.’ It is to be noticed that almost all of it stems from the Assyrian period. ARM 4, 11 is a letter Šamši-Adad writes to his son in Mari.³ In it, he berates his son for wishing to give up responsibility for cultivating areas

¹ It is not clear to me why AHW, p. 73b (sub *asakku(m)*, II) renders the sumerogram in ARM 2, 55:36 as *erēšum*. CAD A/2, p. 327 (sub *asakku(b,3’)*), which seems influenced by the AHW’s reading, also records a similar rendering. It is noteworthy, however, that the material gathered for *erēšum* in both AHW, p. 243b, and CAD, E, pp. 304ff. do not show any OB attestations written with a sumerogram. As it is, an attestation of *erēšum* in Mari, even when written syllabically, is uncertain. *e-ri-ši* occurs in a difficult, ‘punny’, proverb (Jean, RA 42 [1948], 65:23,29), where the meaning is by no means clear. Cf. Finet, AIPHOS 15 (1958-60), 22; AHW, p. 243b, (sub *erēšum(m)*). Moreover, see the discussion in CAD I/J, pp. 53-54 (sub *ikkaru*).
² ARMT 7, p. 255 n. 1; 9, pp. 262-263 (§25); Syria 41 (1964), 47. See, further, Finet, Syria 41 (1964), 125 with n. 5; Römer, AOAT 12, p. 75 n. 5.
³ To a large extent, the understanding of this text is due to Von Soden’s reconstruction, Or NS 22 (1953), 203.

around Tuttul.⁴ The reverse, now fragmentary, contains the reply of Šamši-Adad in which he orders his son to take a number of steps concerning the government of a village which, although lying between Tuttul and Šubat-Šamaš, fell under the latter's authority. It seems possible that this letter bore some relationship to ARM 1, 68. In that text, Šamši-Adad instructs his son to send one of his capable plowmen to IŠKUR.LÚ-ti, who appears in ARM 1,25 as an important official, if not governor, of Šubat-Šamaš.

ARM 5, 30 is another letter from the Assyrian period in which the palace attendant, Tarim-šakim, writes Yasmaš-Adad about E/i's. Since their activity is described by means of the verb *erēšum* (1.17), 'to work (a field)', it is clear that we are dealing with 'plowmen'.⁵ It is likely that ARM 5, 54, another letter sent to Yasmaš-Adad, involved the same type of workers. AN-asu, a high official in Šubat-Enlil, writes his king requesting an E/i. ARM 1, 44, written by Šamši-Adad, may have reiterated this request which had, apparently, remained unfulfilled.

One more text should be considered at this point although its content may not prove relevant to our subject. ARM 5, 28 is a letter, again from the Assyrian period, in which the occurrence of *ikkarum* depends on accepting a restoration by von Soden. He would read, in 1. 28 LÚ *i[k-k]a-ri-im*. The traces do not definitely preclude the restoration. It should be observed, however, that at Mari a syllabic writing for *ikkarum* has not as yet been attested. Indeed, the examples gathered in the CAD and the AHW show that, during the OB period, such writing was relative rare.⁶ What complicates matters is that the person labeled *ikkarum*, Taribum, is found nowhere else in the Mari documents.⁷

The sole example from the Zimri-Lim period in which E/i, seems to mean 'plowman' is to be found in ARM 3, 5. Kibri-Dagan writes his lord about the need to have E/i's and sluice-workers get together in order to ascertain the condition of a canal.

The main purpose of this paper, offered in tribute to the *doyen* of Sumerian *belles-lettres*, is to collect the Mari evidence on the figure of the E/i. Its conclusions do not mean to dispute the third definition of the CAD and the AHW ("Farm bailiff/Gutsinspektor").⁸ However, Mari's rich epistolary, economic, and, to a lesser degree, legal documentation offer us an exceptionally good opportunity to add a welcome dimension to our assessment of this office. By means of prosopographical research, I aim to reconstruct the career of those individuals, 'plowmen' aside, who were given the title of E/i. I shall first discuss those texts, mostly economic and administrative, which reveal little beyond the name of the E/i. I shall then gather letters which speak of unnamed E/i's, and finally, collect letters in which an E/i. is identified by name

I. We proceed by discussing, first, the citations of the term E/i. in which the information is limited. Either the E/i is named as a witness to a legal text or is recorded as the sender of staples to the palace. The place of

⁴ Von Soden, *ibid.*, restores Kakkulatam in the break of l. 7. I find this to be unlikely, especially since the context requires an involvement with northern, Euphratean, Mesopotamia. The Tuttul mentioned in the text is likely to be the northern Tuttul (contra, Finet, ARMT 15, p. 137). According to ARM 1, 73 and ARM 4, 27, Yasmaš-Adad was pressing his father to let him expand toward Šubat-Šamaš.

⁵ The difficulty in this text revolves around the mention of *[i]-lu-na-ki-ri-[šu!]* described as LÚ·NIM·MA(KI). Since this man is known from the Zimri-Lim period as an official (Dossin, *Mission archéologique de Mari* 2/3, p. 256; ARMT 5, p. 132; ARM 7, 194:6'; 13, 8:19), it might be appropriate to recall the suggestion that a class of workers/functionaries, rather than an ethnicon, might be involved here. See, lastly, Birot, ARMT 9, p. 287 (§69(g)). Additionally, this PN is Semitic in etymology, not Elamite.

⁶ See, also, YOS 13, 200:12,15.

⁷ Yasmaš-Adad has written to allow Taribum to pay, in installments, some 5 minae of silver in exchange for which his field would be 'released' [For discussion of this term see, lastly, Birot, Syria 41 (1964), 50-51]. But the order was countermanded by Šamši-Adad.

⁸ One could be wary of accepting the distinction made between definitions 2 and 3.

origin for these shipments is sometimes indicated. By and large, however, no elaborations are made beyond such data. In these cases, therefore, only prosopography offers evidence on the E/i's activities.

A). ARM 7, 155 (= ARMT 12, 559). Dated to Zimri-Lim's era. Ilu-ka-AN receives a very large quantity of *burrum*- and *kinītum*-cereals.⁹ from *mu-tu* ^d*da-gan*/LÚ ENGAR *gu-ru* ^dIM¹. The Mari texts record a number of persons bearing the name Mut(u)-Dagan.¹⁰ During the Sumu-Yamam period, a ditch-digger(?) was given this name (SY A:ix 39). The other attestations, all from the reign of Zimri-Lim, may have referred to three(?) other persons. A Hanean of the Amur(r)-u-clan lived in Mari (TEM III:ii 39). An Elamite – again probably the title of a profession rather than an ethnicon¹¹ – was similarly named. A rather well-appointed dignitary, living outside Mari, has left us evidence of his involvement with the central palace. It is likely that this last Mutu-Dagan should be identified with the E/i. of ARM 7, 155. ARM 7, 202:iii [2'] and 249:1' record him as sending 2 sheep and as receiving clothing, respectively. In ARM 7, 185:ii 15 Mutu-Dagan joins the company of merchants, messengers/diplomats, and warriors, while in ARM 8, 42:6' and 85:33 he witnesses an important juridical decision, along with other second-echelon officials of Mari and its provinces.¹²

Guru-Addu, whence Mutu-Dagan came, is now well-represented in Mari's archives. Except for ARM 13, 38:7, no attestation follows with the determinative KI (ARM 7, 155:6; ARM 9, 114:v 4; ARM 11, 132:4; ARM 12, 712:13).¹³ In one text, ARM 12, 712, Guru-Addu is listed alongside Abullat and Dēr. We do know, from ARM 13, 33, that the last was within a day's journey from Mari.¹⁴ ARM 13, 38, a text which will be discussed below, implies that Guru-Addu lay in proximity of Mišlan. Not surprisingly, Dēr and Mišlan are mentioned together in ARM 6, 3. Other passages place the latter in Terqa's district.¹⁵

B). ARM 8, 44:8'. A loan document from the Zimri-Lim era. Among the witnesses listed in ARM 8, 44 is *i-din-an-nu* LÚ ENGAR¹. Aside from the mention of a weaver by that name (ARM 13, 1:vii 77), the citations for Iddin-Annu(m) show him to be an important person whose base of influence may have been Zuqaqen (ARM 7, 225:5' = 226:45), a village which, apparently, lay in the district of Terqa or Mari. As a leader, Iddin-Annu was expected to send sheep to the palace (*ibid.*), contribute funds toward supplying an army (ARM 9, 253:iv 5), and, along with other *bēl bilātim*, levy taxes destined for the King's coffers (ARM 7, 217:8). His real profession, however, seems to have been that of a jeweler/smith (ARM 13, 19:22), a career which he apparently followed since Sumu-Yamam's reign (RA, 64 [1970]:24:10:5). A rather unusual document concerning Iddin-Annu is published as ARM 8, 62. A group of distinguished individuals, composed of district governors, royal emissaries, commissioners, and, not incidentally, jewelers, were asked to 'guarantee', on pain of payment of 20 mina of silver, that Iddin-Annu would not abandon his work. The text is witnessed by a veritable 'who's who' of Mari officialdom.¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that the other witnesses of

⁹ For discussion of these terms, see Birot, ARMT 9, pp. 291-292 (§23). Note that in the duplicate, ARM 12, 559, *kinītum* does not occur.

¹⁰ For variations in writing this name, see H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* [hereafter: APN], 1965, p. 53.

¹¹ See above, note 5.

¹² Note that in lines 5 and 8 of ARM 8, 85 one could read *i-[zi]-šà-[re-e]* and *yi-im¹-si-AN*. These two are known from Bottéro, RA 52 (1958), 167 No. 34:12-13 as elders of Saggaratum who purchased *suqāqū*-positions.

¹³ Note that ARM 12, 559, a duplicate of ARM 7, 155, does not record the toponym. Cf., Birot, ARMT 12, p. 186 n. 1.

¹⁴ See further, Birot, ARMT 12, p. 89 n. 1; RA 66 (1972), 134-136.

¹⁵ See, further, Birot, Syria 41 (1964), 46-47. Add ARM 7, 88:14, 18; 263:i.1; iv.7'; Jean, RÉS (1937), 106:13; W.F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, pp. 106-107: 16a:5.

¹⁶ Interestingly enough, we have a similar text (ARM 8, 53) which concerns another jeweler/smith, Umiṭ-Erra (cf. ARM 8, 92:4; 94:13; 99:5; 13, 19:13, 21). The fine, in this case, is smaller, and the luminaries less imposing.

ARM 8, 44, while known elsewhere in Mari documents, do not seem to be prestigious. This observation does not, of course, invalidate the above reconstruction,¹⁷

C). ARM 8, 67:4-5: Zimri-Lim period. The name of *mu-ut-ra-me-em* LÚ ENGAR occurs in this very curious legal text. In it, Mut-ramem pledges to vouch for(?) a lady and her daughter (*qātāt* fPN₁ u fPN₂ . . . *ilqe*). The daughter is known from ARM 8, 88:9 to have become a member of the palace's housekeeping staff. Mut-ramem is called the "E/i. of Šuri-Ḫammu, man of Zarri, an Amnanu-clansman [of the Benjaminite tribe]." Except for the scribe — who must have been quite aged since he served Sumu-Yamam (ARM 8, 63:32) — all the identifiable witnesses were from outside Mari. Two of these, Ḫasqudan and Ami-samuḫ lived in Niḫadi; a third, Zu-ḫizan, was a citizen of Bīt-zarḫan. These villages were to be found in Terqa's district.¹⁸ The other witnesses were either associated with tribal groups (Yom-ḫammu-clan¹⁹), or attached to Šuri-Ḫammu (Bunu-Ištar, Yaspuk-El). Bunu-Ištar is associated with the area around Karana²⁰.

The semi-settled condition of the Benjaminites and some Ḫanean clans might explain the unusual manner in which Mut-ramem is identified in ARM 8, 67. He is not "*PN, LÚ ENGAR (*ša*) *za-ar-ri*(ki), *Am-x-na-an* (KI), LÚ *šú-ri-ḫa-am-mu-ú*" probably because, to the Mari scribe, his identity was closely linked to Šuri-Ḫammu, a leader of a Benjaminite clan, rather than to a specific locality.²¹

Mut-ramem, himself, is known from other Mari texts. The most intriguing among these was published by Bottéro in RA 52 (1958), 167 No. 311. In it, Mut-ramem, labeled an "elder (LÚ ŠU.GI)" in the neighboring province of Saggaratum, gives a 'gift' to the palace after which he becomes a *suqāqu* (cf. also, ARM 5, 25; 1, 119).²² Confirmation that this position was held by him for a length of time may be derived from ARM 7, 198. Mut-ramem appears in line iv 21' of this damaged text which lists a number of *suqāqu*. It is to be noted that among his companions are mentioned the well-known Baḫdi-Lim and the *suqāqu* Yantin-El and Baqirum. In ARM 7, 180 iv:35, Mut-ramem appears as one who controlled a *babtu* composed of 17 individuals. A diligent prosopographical reconstruction reveals no discernable pattern of employment and/or residence of these persons. From ARM 7, 180, two other men are known to have led *babtu*: Ili-ešuh and Dagan-ašraya (lines 12', 37'). In ARM 7, 217:18, the latter was considered a *bēl bilātim*, 'tax collector'.²³ Finally, Mut-ramem contributes financially toward equipping a military expedition (ARM 9, 258:ii 14). The LÚ I.SUR 'oil-presser' of

¹⁷ Ana-Šamaš-taklāku: ARM 8, 82:9; 9, 27:iii 8; ARM 13, 1:11 28; iii 56; SY A:iii 59. Warad-Šamaš: ARM 9, 19:10; 24:ii 8; 256:4; 13, 1:ii 78. Tahtu-pi-El: ARM 8, 82:10. For ARM 9, 284:1 read, with CAD K, 92(a, 1), [1 *q*] *a-an-nu-um* . . .

¹⁸ See Birot, Syria 35 (1958), 21-22. Add ARM 13, 123:22.

¹⁹ Kupper, Nomades, pp. 20ff, 73ff.

²⁰ A Bunu-Ištar is associated with a Ḫanean clan, Amur(r)um, TEM III:ii:36. From the Assyrian period, we have a Bunu-Ištar who was influential near Karana (ARM 5, 70; 130). Note also that al-Rimah's archive knows of a Bunu-Ištar, Iraq 30 (1968), 89, who is allied to Zimri-Lim. A homonym is recorded in ARM 9, 24:41 = 27:39.

²¹ Šuri-Ḫammu has left us traces of his wide-ranging activities in Mari's archives. At times friendly to Zimri-Lim (ARM 2, 104; 7, 226:[33]), he played, it seems, a mediating role between the palace and his brethren (ARM 2, 53). Still, he was suspect enough to cause authorities to track his movements (ARM 2, 105; 6, 73; 13, 132). There seems to have been no love lost between Kibri-Dagan and Šuri-Ḫammu, possibly because many of the latter's followers were living, at one point, in Terqa (ARM 2, 36; 58; CRR 18, p. 60 [written by Kibri-Dagan?]).

Like Niḫadi, Zarri is also to be found in Terqa's district (Birot, Syria 35 (1958), 21). According to ARM 13, 123:13-20, it lay about a day's journey from Terqa proper. See also ARM 9, 253:12.

²² The other two 'elders' who also became *suqāqu*, Izi-sare and Yimsi-El, are recorded in ARM 8, 85:[5], 8, a text which was discussed above.

²³ Other references: for Ili-ešuh (RA 66 [1972], 126:5); for Dagan-ašraya (SY A:xi 65 [heads a large number of workers]; ARM 8, 1:42; envelope 15; II:101:14 [mason]).

ARM 7, 120:38' may have been a homonym. All these attestations combine to describe a person who was responsible to higher authorities for small groups of workers.

D). ARM 8, 97:3.²⁴ Reign of Zimri-Lim. This tablet records that a very large quantity of sesame was sent by *a-na-da-gan-tāk-la-ku*, the ENGAR of *di-zi-im*(KI). Other documentations of Ana-Dagan-taklāku do not add anything of substance beyond speaking of his *É/bītum* (ARM 9, 237:16) whence came *burrum*-cereal (ARM 9, 237:16; 11, 40:4; 189:8; 12, 141:12) and chick-peas (ARM 11, 189:8).²⁵ The persons associated with such *bītātu* in ARM 9, 237 as well as in ARM 12, 141, are officials of the palace.²⁶ It would seem, then, that at one point in his career, Ana-Dagan-taklāku worked in Mari proper. His *bītum* was nothing more than a storeroom under his supervision where grains were stocked.

Dizum is a locality that is not recorded in other Mari texts. It would not be foolhardy, however, to speculate that it lay within Mari's direct supervision.

E). ARM 11, 79:5. This document, written during the Zimri-Lim era, records the receipt in Aḫ-nari (for which see above) of *ZÍZ.ZU.UM ki-na-tum* from *i-l-i-din-nam*, LÚ ENGAR *ša aḫ-la-mu²⁷/tim²⁸*. Ili-iddinam's career is not easy to unravel, for we have a large number of citations which obviously refer to homonyms.²⁸ For at least 2 Ili-iddinams, we could reconstruct separate occupations. One dealt with metal working; to be more precise, with ornamental articles. Occasionally, this Ili-iddinam was involved in money-lending (ARM 8, 22:8; 23:8; 31:5; 32:6; 33:5; 78:8; RA 64 [1970], 22:4:6(?)). The E/i. of ARM 11, 79, may be the person mentioned most often, with other palace officials. Along with other well-known dignitaries, he witnessed a legal ceremony in which judges defined the property of a deceased high official (ARM 8, 87). ARM 8, 10 finds him negotiating the sale of a slave to a well-placed bureaucrat. Finally, our E/i. may be the Ili-iddinam whose ovine contribution was recorded, in ARM 9, 243, as markedly smaller than that of Terqa's Kibri-Dagan.

F). ARM 12, 554:5. Reign of Zimri-Lim. As already observed by Birot, this text is probably a duplicate of ARM 12, 553. If so, this text would record that Ili-ka-AN received a fair quantity of *burrum*-cereal from [*i-l-i-tu*]-*ra-ya* LÚ ENGAR *ša* [XX]. ARM 12, 553 records the name as Ili-turiya, and specifies that the transaction took place in *maškan* Abullat. Birot refers to an unpublished text which speaks of the *ikkarum* of *a-bu-la-at*. It is not known whether or not Ili-turaya appears there.²⁹ At any rate, beyond these two texts, we have two more listings of this PN: ARM 12, 115:5, a text similar in nature to the ones mentioned above, and SY A:i 45, a census-list of Sumu-Yamam, possibly, but not necessarily, referring to a homonym.

On the assumption that an abbreviated form of Ili-turaya could be Ili-tura, two more documents are now treated.³⁰ Under Ili-tura's supervision (ARM 9, 22), clothing is issued to 5 young men, most of whom are

²⁴ cf., Birot, ARMT 9, pp. 250 n. 1; 255 n. 3.

²⁵ ARM 11, 189 specifies that the outlay was made *i-na a-ah-na-ri*. According to Burke, ARMT 9, p. 132, Aḫ-nari, rather than a GN, was a place where grain was divided. She bases this conclusion on lectures given by Dossin. Cf., also ARMT 12, p. 251.

²⁶ In ARM 9, 237:12 read *hi¹-id-la-ka¹*, as in ARM 12, 141:8. See further ARMT 12, p. 261.

²⁷ Burke, ARMT 9, p. 33 n. 1, reads the last sign as *mu*, and adds: "Le signe MU n'est pas assuré; on peut lire *Aḫ-la-tim¹*, mais ce toponym nous est inconnu." The functionary Aḫlamu is indeed known in Mari's administration (Huffmon, APN, p. 21; ARMT 12, p. 252), but his name is always associated with reception of oil (once, ARM 11, 212, of sesame). Although, as we saw above in ARM 8, 67 an E/i. could be associated with a PN, we do know, from ARM 7, 155 (ARM 12, 559), that he could also represent a GN (possibly, originally, a PN) to which the determinative KI is not appended.

²⁸ With slight variations, the following duplicates the statement made in JCS 25 (1973), 75 n. 80. To the references given there, add SY A:xii 74.

²⁹ ARMT 12, p. 89 n. 1. Abullat seems to be within Mari's district, not too distant from Guru-Addu and Dēr. But note the renderings in CAD A/1, p. 87 (3); Z, p. 70 (2, a); E, p. 187 (2, a); GAG, Supplement (AnOr 47), §135g.

³⁰ It is not clear to me, however, what would be the etymology for the second element in this PN.

known from other texts as workers in Mari and Terqa. The material seems to have been woven at Terqa then brought to the palace. ARM 9, 24 (and its 'partial' duplicate 27) lists 17 men who "followed the 'master' (17 LÚ.MEŠ *ša wa-ar-ki* LÚ)".³¹ This group consisted of 5 cooks, 6 grooms, and 6 all-purpose servants (LU.MEŠ *ša re-eš* LÚ). Among the last group which included a barber, there is mention of an Ili-tura (ARM 9, 27:iii 14).

II. In this section we will discuss attestation of the E/i. in epistolary context where no personal names are attached to this office.

G). ARM 10, 108.³² This letter, as well as ARM 10, 107, was sent to Abba(y)a by Zibbatum, a lady otherwise unattested elsewhere in Mari's archive.³³ ARM 10, 107 makes it clear that her correspondent, to whom she calls herself 'sister,' was a ruler, for he is congratulated on past victories and warned of future battles.³⁴ Whether Abba(y)a is to be considered a nickname for Sumu-Yamam, Yasmaḥ-Addad, or Zimri-Lim cannot be decided here. In ARM 10, 108, Zibbatum reminds her 'brother' that when she came to Mari requesting a field, 15 *ikū* of land were given to her in Tizrah.³⁵ After writing a second time, this land was 'released' in her behalf. This second act of generosity, however, created difficulties. Should one accept to read 1 LÚ EN[GAR] in line 15, it would appear that an unnamed E/i., belonging to the district of the addressee, came to seize the field. Zibbatum requests that, by means of her own messenger, a tablet be sent Mašiya which would confirm her control over the 'released' field.

Obviously, Zibbatum's problem with the E/i. occurred, not when the field was given (*nadānum*) to her, but when it was 'released' (*wuṣṣurum*) in her behalf without, apparently, the evidence of written documentation. At this point, the E/i., who must have represented the interest of the palace, arrived to remove the field from under her control. This distinction between *nadānum* and *wuṣṣurum* has already been noted by Birot in connection with ARM 2, 55³⁶, a text to which we now turn.

H). ARM 2, 55 was sent to Zimri-Lim from somewhere near Tuttul where Yasmaḥ-Adad, an official, exercised power. The obverse is badly fragmented. In the reverse, we have the following (ll. 26ff): "My lord has

³¹ The exact meaning of 17 LÚ.MEŠ *ša warki* LÚ escapes me. Cf., Birot ARMT 9, pp. 341-342 (§137, c). There is a curious, but perhaps accidental, tendency at Mari (but cf. TCL, 1:189) to form a group of workers out of 17 individuals (e.g. ARM 7, 180:iv 30'; 181:11'; ARM 9, 26:19'-20'; 25:tr. lat. 2(2X17). Except for Iddin-Addu who is known as a Ḫanean in TEM III:i:18, and Aḫum whose name was too popular to allow proper control, none of the 6 *ša reš* LÚ are registered in Mari. Birot reads ARM 9, 234:10-11 "(awīl) (?) ENGAR (?) At(?)-ti-Me-er(?) i-na/a-aḫ-na-ri . . ." While the cuneiform signs might favor the reading of LÚ in l. 10, they do not seem very encouraging for that of ENGAR. An additional difficulty should now be highlighted. Among the large number of texts from Mari of this (ARM 9, 234) type which have been published mostly in ARMT 11 and 12, two formulae predominate (cf. ARMT 9, pp. 262-263 §24-25) to describe the staple's point of origin: *ina É PN* or *itti PN*. At times, a combination of these formulae are found: *itti PN ina É PN*. ARM 9, 234 employs the *itti PN* formula. Again, of the numerous documents which contain this form, only once (ARM 9, 219) does a PN not follow *itti*. In ARM 11, 271:4 a gentilic is recorded in the place of a PN. Since the P/GN *at?-ti-me-er?* is otherwise unattested, whatever information we have in ARM 9, 234:10-11 leads nowhere. For this reason ARM 9, 234 will not be considered in this survey.

³² Text treated by Römer, AOAT 12, pp. 79-80. On the basis of the mention of Mašiya, in l. 21, Römer (p. 2) dates this text to the Assyrian period. For this reason, we discuss it here. It should be noted, however, that ARM 8, 92:8 shows him to have survived, with so many other bureaucrats, Yasmaḥ-Adad's debacle. Šubat-Šamaš, a GN which is most often mentioned in the Assyrian correspondence, is attested in the succeeding period, e.g. Bottéro, Problème des Habiru §29:16; CCRA 18, p. 66:9.

³³ A homonym occurs in ARM 13, 1:iii 2.

³⁴ Römer, AOAT 12, pp. 38-39.

³⁵ In the district of Terqa, cf. RA 66 (1972), 178.

³⁶ Syria 41 (1964), 50.

'released' 4 villages in a desolate region. In 4 villages in Ara'itum³⁷, 'they' had me relinquish control, so that I could not satisfy the *muškēnū* (who said as) follows: 'The villages of your brothers and their fields are 'released' (*wuṣṣurum*)' while you, you have given (*nadānum*) our fields to the palace.' When I heard the orders of my lord, that he 'released' these 4 villages, I sent my servant. It is he who abolished the authority of the palace.³⁸ [It is he (?)] who made the LÚ.ENGAR infringe on the king's taboo [rest unclear]."

Two acts with important consequences seem to be detailed here. One was undertaken by the palace, the other by Yasmaḥ-Adad under orders from the palace. In the first, 4 villages, in the 'wasteland,' were 'released.' Whether this 'release' implied an exemption from taxes or removal from palace ownership is not immediately relevant to us.³⁹ Suffice it to say that this act angered the *muškēnū*. They complained that, to add insult to injury, land which they worked was now placed under direct palace control. This deed, it would seem, was linked to a decision which removed 4 villages in Ara'itum from Yasmaḥ-Adad's control. We cannot know, of course, why Zimri-Lim took such an action, but it is clear that his official did not particularly relish executing the orders. Note that when Yasmaḥ-Adad sent his servant to 'release' the 4 villages, this act (l. 35) is described as *qāt ekallim napāšum*. The same terminology is employed in l. 29 concerning the villages in Ara'itum.

The role of the E/i. in this text is not clear.⁴⁰ The use of *šakānum* with *asakkum* is exceptional.⁴¹ Whatever the precise meaning, it would have us understand that the E/i. was, in some way, bound by an oath (cf., l. 37) to his king, probably requiring him to collect 'dues' on 'unreleased' land. By his action, albeit following the king's direction, Yasmaḥ-Adad's servant placed the E/i. in the unpleasant position of infringing on his lord's taboo.⁴²

I). ARM 13, 125. Were it not for the good advice of Kibri-Dagan, governor of Terqa, the E/i. of this text might have found himself in a similarly uncomfortable situation. Zimri-Lim makes a decision that is counter to the desire of his governors. Those charged with taking appropriate action are confounded, with the result that blame, if not an actual (cultic(?)) offense, befalls them. While its obverse is, unfortunately, damaged, the reverse of ARM 13, 125, also not complete, has the following (lines 2'-12'): "The E/i's (plural) will receive blame; and, in the future I will not be able to satisfy my lord.⁴³ If it pleases my lord, may he not promise to 'release' to anyone even one *iku* of land from the land which I have assigned. In the future, therefore, the E/i's will not commit an offence (LÚ ENGAR-MEŠ *ḫiṭṭam la iraššū*)."⁴⁴

J). ARM 10, 151. This letter was addressed to Zimri-Lim's queen. Its sender, Yarim-Lim, was not the king of Yamḥad, as has been assumed.⁴⁵ Rather, he was a client of Zimri-Lim, a man who has left us a dossier concerning his relationship with the palace. Often, his activities seem to be linked with those of Šuri-Ḫammu (see above.) Most revealing is ARM 2, 53, a letter sent to the king informing him that Yarim-Lim and Šuri-Ḫammu were on their way to Mari in order to convey a Benjaminite ultimatum. In ARM 2,93, Kibri-Dagan tells his lord of Yarim-Lim's arrival at Mari.⁴⁶ This letter adds the precious information that Yarim-Lim was a man of Yaḥrur. Now, this last was a town near Ekallatum named after a Benjaminite clan which, obviously, settled it. Another

³⁷ Cf. (?), ARM 13, 139:20.

³⁸ Read l. 35 with AHw, p. 735a: [*šu*]-ma qa'-at e-kál-lim ip-pu-uš.

³⁹ Cf., Kraus, Edikt Ammi-šaduqa, p. 46; Birot, Syria 41 (1964), 50-51.

⁴⁰ One could always theorize that E/i., in this text, may better be rendered by 'plowman'.

⁴¹ See the entries in the CAD and the AHw sub. *asakku(m)*.

⁴² Note the allusion of ARM 13, 125:11'-13', discussed below.

⁴³ But cf., CAD A/2, p. 157 (3').

⁴⁴ Is Kibri-Dagan equating *nēmellam iraššū* (l. 4') with *ḫiṭṭam iraššū* (ll. 11'-12'; cf., ARM 1, 18:15)?

⁴⁵ Römer, AOAT 12, pp. 80-81, 81 n. 8; Artzi and Malamat, OrNS 40 (1971), 86-88; Sasson, BiOr 28 (1971), 356.

⁴⁶ Read in l. 6': [*ya-ri*]-im-li-im.

letter which might have been written by Kibri-Dagan (CRRA 18, p. 60) recalls the words Šuri-Ḫammu addressed to Dadi-Ḫadnu, a minor potentate in the Upper region. It seems that the former was bent on fermenting ill-feelings between the latter and Yarim-Lim.⁴⁷ Finally, Yarim-Lim is listed, together with other imposing officials, as contributing silver to the palace (ARM 9, 257:28').

Yarim-Lim's letter to Šibtu concerns an order the queen sent to him:⁴⁸

You have written me concerning the 'fortified' [A.ŠA *dunnim*, i.e. developed (?) located in a fortified area (?)] field which Ḫamanu plowed, (and) said as follows: 'Just as Ḫamanu has given/paid the ZI.BI for the field, now let Ḫatni-Addu give/pay the ZI.BI for the field, and let him plow.' This is what you said. I have not, (however), given this field; the E/i. told me and I was angry with him. Since he had given (the field) without my permission, I have taken his own field and my own plow (-team) is plowing (it). But I have not settled the matter (yet), — there are *muškēnū* bordering the field — and the E/i. has been (too) quick (?) in giving (the field) to Ḫamanu. Now I have sent the E/i. Let him settle this matter of the field. Let him choose from my own palace (-property, [i.e. domain?]) fields (belonging) to *muškēnū*, (and) let him give Ḫatni-Addu as much as possible.

We do have some record of this text's other participants. Ḫam(m)anu's career spanned a number of reigns. It is possible that he began his career during the Sumu-Yaman period, when he was an official in charge of personel (SY B:VIII:7) and of well-stocked storehouses (RA 64 (1970), 22 ff.)⁴⁹ In all contexts, including *Mélanges Dussaud* II, p. 986:16, he appears to be a power in a territory between (Northern) Tuttul and Kurda which included the villages of Yabliya and Ḫarbe. Later perhaps, we find him displaying his influence in Dēr, a village near Mari.⁵⁰ Ḫatni-Addu, a Suḫu-tribesman (VII:213:15), was also influential in the same general region, since, at one point, he became an ally of Atamrum of Andariq.⁵¹

The activities related in ARM 10, 151 show that those involved acted in a circumscribed manner. Ḫamanu receives the right to plow a *dunnim* -field after he pays or gives the ZI.BI. It is not clear who receives or enjoys this benefit. Even when the E/i.'s error in judgment becomes manifest, Ḫamanu retains control of the land. Ḫatni-Addu, ultimately, is assigned land which the E/i. removes from *muškēnū*'s hands. It is to be noted that there seems to be a consistency in the *muškēnū*'s bad fortunes whenever land is to be redistributed. Yarim-Lim has the power to decide the allotment of land to Ḫatni-Addu. He chooses to remove land from the *muškēnū*, but has to turn to the E/i. to complete the transaction. Yarim-Lim has the means to punish the E/i. by removing land from under the latter's dominion. It is clear, however, that this authority could be counter-manded by the queen who, probably, would act for the palace. As for the E/i, his situation was not enviable. He collects(?) ZI.BI payments(?) and assigns land on behalf of Yarim-Lim. When his error is discovered, however, he compensates for it by loosing the right to plow even his 'own' fields. It is clear that the land mistakenly apportioned to Ḫamanu would not return to him. Additionally, it could not have been too pleasant a task to remove land from the hands of the long-suffering *muškēnū*.

III. This last section will assess the epistolary documents in which the E/i.'s name is given.

K). XIII:38. Yasim-Sumu writes ARM 13, 38 to Zimri-Lim. A problem had arisen as a result of a decision taken, apparently unilaterally, by this palace *factotum*. An E/i. of Guru-Addu, Samum, had to fulfill an assigned agricultural task.⁵² Because water was not available in the district where he normally operated, Yasim-Sumu

⁴⁷ Šuri-Ḫammu accuses Yarim-Lim of persuading Zimri-Lim to arrest Dadi-Ḫadnu's servant. The latter is urged to retaliate by attacking Yaḫrur.

⁴⁸ ARM 10, 151 is treated by Römer, and Artzi/Malamat, see note 45, above.

⁴⁹ *Ḫa-ma-an-na* of SY A:xi 42 appears to be a homonym.

⁵⁰ Huffmon, APN, p. 34.

⁵¹ Note the short, but important résumé of A. 9901, *apud* Kupper, RA 53 (1959), 99. Very likely, this Ḫatni-Addu was known from the period of Sumu-Yamam, RA 64 (1970), 43:9.

⁵² See below, p. 4, and notes 13-15.

permitted Samum to take over 160 *ikū* of land belonging to the citizenry of Mišlan. This locality, which lay within Mari's immediate control, was inhabited by Benjaminites.⁵³ Apparently, a certain Yabinum⁵⁴ lodged a protest, perhaps even — the text is broken here — threatened violence. Ultimately, Samum is dispatched to Zimri-Lim in the hope that the latter could solve the problem.

This text does allow us to extract some further information on the position and function of the E/i. He heads and directs a team of plowmen; he is assigned to work a specific parcel of land. While his direct orders came from a palace official, his ultimate responsibility may have been to the king. Samum himself bore a name which is attested in other Mari texts. Despite the fact that the internal evidence afforded by these documents does not permit unqualified dating, it is likely that they stem from Zimri-Lim's reign.⁵⁵ ARM 13, 142 discusses a dispute concerning water rights between the writer, Yawi-Ila, and Bali-Eraḫ. The latter is known, from ARM 2, 114 (and ARM 6, 39), to have cared for Zimri-Lim's estates. In the second half of ARM 13, 142, Yawi-Ila asks his lord that 3 wine-makers be sent to Samum to enable him to process grapes, held by Mašum, which were imported from Nagabbinu.⁵⁶ ARM 13, 149 discusses matters of similar concerns. Both Mašum and Samum are listed in ARM 9, 272, a text of unknown dating, as receiving (?) gifts from the palace.

L). ARM 10, 160. Šibtu receives this letter from Šubnalū.⁵⁷ In it, this palace bureaucrat, who must have been on an inspection tour at the time of writing, discusses the case of an E/i. named, appropriately enough, Yazraḫ-Addu. We know very little, outside of this text, about this man. ARM 7, 187 is very fragmentary, with only his name fully extant in line 1 15'. It is possible that ARM 8, 100:15 refers to him in a legal (?) text which mentions Zalpaḫ.⁵⁸ But, as is made clear from the mention of Dēr in ARM 10, 160:10, the events unfolded within a day's journey from the central palace. Yazraḫ-Addu had taken some agricultural products from (the temple of the god) Ḫatta, and had brought them to the palace. During this transaction, a girl belonging to him was taken as 'guarantee'. Šubnalū writes Šidqi-Epuḫ, another official in charge of provisioning, and asks that this girl be released. In a reply, Šidqi-Epuḫ elaborates on the affair and offers a familiar excuse: "I have not had the 'female guarantee' jailed. They have jailed his 'female guarantee' on order of the *šāpiṭum*,⁵⁹ (which was) as follows: 'Yazraḫ-Addu had taken the *namkattū*-(wagons ?) of *amannum*-plants, which are in Ḫatta, and brought them into the palace'." Eventually, the 'female guarantees' of the other E/i.'s were released, but not that of Yazraḫ-Addu. For it seems that when Yazraḫ-Addu brought the shipment to the palace of his district, he lost the *namkattū*-(wagons ?) of some 20 (loads ?) of *amannū*-plants.

We do not know whether Šubnalū's mission was an unusual act of interference in events which concerned a provincial governor (*šāpiṭum*). Furthermore, it is not clear on whose authority he is acting. Did the king ask him to investigate the matter and report to the queen? What indicates that the E/i. in this text was a person of some stature rather than a 'plowman' — if one may be allowed an expression of mild cynicism —

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ We do know of a palace functionary by that name, but he lived during the Assyrian period, ARM 8, 19:14.

⁵⁵ But cf., Finet, Syria 41 (1964), 125.

⁵⁶ It is not clear whether Nagabbinū is to be located near Mari or in the Upper Country. Since ARM 13, 142 was written by Yawi-Ila when he stayed in Šubat-Enlil, perhaps this GN is to be equated with one mentioned in a Middle Assyrian text, BRM 4, 49:26, (cf., Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, §361: *na-gab-ne/bi-ḫe*).

⁵⁷ For Šubnalū and his activities, see Iraq 34 (1972), 60-61. ARM 10, 160: was treated by Römer, AOAT 12, pp. 75-77.

⁵⁸ Unusual for Mari, this document gives the name of each witness's father. Yazraḫ-d[IM] is given as father of Yaššib-Dagan. This PN, better known in Mari as Yaššib-Dagan, Huffmon, APN, p. 42, was born by at least two individuals. One was a jeweler (ARM 7, 192:8; 9, 12:4; 30:4; 188:10; 265:3), the other, probably the son of our Yazraḫ-Addu, was a tribal chieftain who worked for Zimri-Lim (remaining attestations of Yaššib-Dagan in Huffmon, APN, *ibid.*).

⁵⁹ See Marzal, JNES 30 (1971), 196-203.

is precisely this willingness on the part of Šubnalū to recommend countermanding the orders of a governor and the approval of Šidqi-Epuḫ. As it is, aside from the cause of justice, Yazrah-Addu is the sole beneficiary of Šubnalū's recommendations to the queen. These recommendations, it should also be noted, were offered despite acknowledgment that the *namkattū*, whose loss created Yazrah-Addu's difficulties, were still missing.

For our purpose, this text adds a few more details about the E/i. Most noteworthy is the realization that the E/i.'s trustworthiness was not taken for granted.⁶⁰ An E/i. stood ready to back his honesty by offering a human 'guarantee' as hostage. The role of the *šāpiṭum* in deciding the fate of the 'guarantee' is also worth noting. Finally, line 23 indicates that more than one E/i. were operating simultaneously, even in a given locale.

In evaluating each one of the thirteen entries presented above, it might be profitable to pose the following, awkwardly rendered, questions:

1. What position did the E/i. hold in his community *before* he was tapped for this post?
2. In what manner, under what circumstance, and by whom has he chosen?
3. What were his assigned responsibilities?
4. Who were his immediate superiors?
5. Who were his immediate 'clients'?
6. What was the length of his term in office?

Although answers to these questions may not obtain for each entry, the conclusion that one derives from an assessment, I fear, neither forges new definitions for E/i. nor redefines old ones. Simply stated, this conclusion would hold that, at Mari at least, the E/i. — again, 'plowman' aside — possessed widely differing backgrounds, performed a variety of (agricultural) duties, and seemed to follow no specific guidelines in his relations to his superiors. This observation confirms an earlier opinion which maintained that most second- (and third-) echelon officials were, in essence, *factota*, all-purpose bureaucrats.⁶¹ It may not be too bold to speculate that, lacking a pre-determined set of qualification and a prescribed line of duty, both the selection and the performance of the E/i. were guided by unestablished criteria.

⁶⁰ The wide ranging dishonesties and shenanigans of a Mari bureaucrat are recounted in ARM 7, 263.

⁶¹ Iraq 34 (1972), 59. It is likely that this applied in Mari proper as well as in the provinces, cf., Marzal, OrNS 41 (1972), 368-369, 376-377.

Hymns to Ninurta with Prayers for Šūsīn of Ur and Būrīn of Isin

Åke W. Sjöberg, Philadelphia

CBS 11325 + 11348 + 11362 + 11367, published in BE 29 as No. 1, is a *Sammeltablet*, containing hymns to Ninurta with prayers for Šūsīn and Būrīn. The tablet originally contained about 160 lines. I succeeded in identifying CBS 15208 (see photograph pl. XX*) as a duplicate, corresponding to lines 1-55. BE 29, 1 obv. ii:20ff. is almost completely broken away. Line 20 reads: *gi š ga - š u b - š u b* "I will fell trees". *gi š ga - š u b - š u b* is an incipit in the Jena literary catalogue HS 1504:30 (Kramer-Bernhardt, WZJ 6 [1956-57], 390; copy pl. III; republished in TuM NF 3 as No. 54). UM 29-16-7 contains this Ninurta hymn (cf. S.N. Kramer, WZJ 6, 390f.; see photograph pl. XX*). This text has the subscript *ti [gi]* (= NAR.[BALAG-^dn i n - u r t a - k a - k a m]). The rev. is damaged and partially broken away; it corresponds to BE 29, 1 rev. i:1' ff. (= lines 86ff.). The name of the king is not preserved on the reverse. However, since the following hymn (lines 91-116 and liturgical notations) is obviously a hymn to Ninurta with a prayer for Šūsīn (see commentary to line 113), I assume that the name Šūsīn would have appeared on the reverse. The following part of the composition (lines 117-end) is a hymn to Ninurta with a prayer for King Būrīn of Isin. The first hymn (lines 1-58) is known to us from a literary catalogue, see the commentary to line 1.

It gives me great pleasure to dedicate this article to Professor Samuel Noah Kramer on the occasion of his seventy-seventh birthday.

Text A: BE 29, No. 1:

Obv. i = lines 1-34; ii = lines 41-75;
Rev. i = lines 86-125; ii = lines 133-end.

Text B: CBS 15208:

Obv. and rev. = lines 1-55.

Text C: UM 29-16-7:

Obv. and rev. = lines 59-90.

1. ur-sag-ul gal-le-eš nir gaḅa-gál zà-pirig ul sa₇-ga
 ḏnin-urta x mar-uru₅ ug-gal šen-šen-na ru-ru-gú
 á-gál un-erím x-ra-su urú gul-lu á-dam saḅar-re-eš gi₄
 ḏnin-urta am-gal gu₄-si-AŠ bàd-gal šu x x -e
 bar - sud - àm
5. a-ma-ru ki-bal-šè hu-luḅ-ḅa gaba-šu-gar nu-tuku
 ḏnin-urta i-lim-u₅ su nì-gíri u₄-gar a-M[ÙŠ? . . .]¹
 lugal dš_u.dEN.ZU un-dagal-la mu-ni x-zu
 é-šu-me-ša₄ ki-tuš-kù igi-šu-galam ki-nam-ta[r-re]-za
 kisal-maḅ-zu gu₄-gal udu-gal-e si um-m[a-ni]-sá
 10. ki-lugal-gub-kù-zu¹ šu ḅa-ra-ni-in-mú-m[ú]
 dš_u.dEN.ZU-na šu ḅa-ra-ni-in-mu-[mú]
 ḏnin-urta ti-u₄-sud-rá KA na x[.]
 dš_u.dEN.ZU-na ti-u₄-sud-rá KA na gú² [.]
 [ša] - ba - tuk¹ - àm
 [x x] á-ni sù-sù x [.]¹
 15. [.] x x x [.]¹
 [ḏni]n-urta dumu-sag.den-líl-lá su-lim-ma x[.]
 [x]x gú² e me GAR(?) te x x DI x [.]
 [.] x x x x [.]
 [bar] - sud - 2 - [kam - ma]-àm
 [.]x šu nu-te AB² A[B²]-x x
 20. [x x (x)]x si-gal-a¹-nì² na² x[.]-x-ra
 [x]x-ḅuš-àm an-úr x [.] -x-i
 ḏnin-urta kal-ga PA+a-ma[ḅ d]nin-líl-le tu-da
 i-lim-u₅ x x ? dš_u.dEN.ZU den-líl-šè gál-la
 ḏnin-urta bàd-gal-a-ni ḅé-me-en igi-du₁₀ ḅu-mu-ni-du₈
 25. [dš_u.dEN].ZU bàd-gal-a-ni ḅé-me-en igi-du₁₀ ḅu-mu-ni-du₈
 [sa] - gíd - da - àm
 [lugal] dš_u.dEN.ZU-mu-úr á-daḅ-giš-tukul-a-ni ḅé-me-en
 [giš] - ki - gál - bi - im
 [.] LU tir KA galam-ma kur-ša-šè du₁₀-bar-re
 [ḏnin]-urta ulù-maḅ ki-bal-a kuš_x (= SAḪAR) lú-ra su-su
 [sá-gar me-é]-kur-ra šu-du₇ giskim-ti-a-a-na
 30. [ḏ]nin-urta tir KA galam-ma kur-ša-šè du₁₀-bar-re
 ḏnin-urta ulù-maḅ ki-bal-a kuš_x lú-ra su-su

6. 1: text A: su nì-gíri u₄-gar a-M[ÙŠ? . . .]; text B: su-lim gùr-ru u₄-gar erím x x.

10. 1: so A; B: - b a.

14. 1: so A; text B is different; partially broken.

15. 1: text B is epigraphically uncertain.

20. 1: A Different.

1. Eternal warrior, greatly respected, with a broad chest, with the strength of a lion, beautifully created,
 Ninurta,, devastating flood, great lion, stepping into the battle,
 The strong one who the enemy, a destroying flood, turning crowded places into dust,
 Ninurta, the great wild ox, "unicorn", . . a great wall.
 (It is the b a r s u d)
5. Deluge which frightens the enemy country, without rival,
 Ninurta, the silent aura, . . . flesh, shedding light ,
 King Šūsín! Among the widespread people his name is known.
 In your Ešumeša, the holy place, facing Šugalam, the place where the destiny is determined,
 In your great courtyard you let big bulls and sheep thrive,
10. May (Ninurta) *enlarge* for you your holy royal seat, [.],
 May he *enlarge* it for you, Šūsín, [.],
 Ninurta a long life [. . . .],
 For Šūsín a long life [. . . .].
 (It is the [š a] b a t u k)
 [. . . .], stretching out his arm, . . . [. . . .],
15.
 Ninurta, the firstborn son of Enlil, [. . .] in radiance . . [. . .],

 (It is the second [b a r] s u d)
 [. . . .]. . . does not approach . . [. . . .],
20. [. . . .]. . his large horn(?) . . [. . .] . . ,
 He is a furious [. . .] . . , . . . the horizon . . [. . .] . . ,
 Ninurta, the strong one, the great provider, born of Ninlil,
 The silent aura, , for Šūsín, who 'is for Enlil',
 May you, Ninurta, be his great wall, may you look at him with a good look,
25. May you be for [Šūs]ín his great wall, may you look at him with a good look!
 (It is the [s a] g i d a)
 [For the king], for my Šūsín, may you be the helper of his weapon!
 (It is its [g i š] k i g a l)
 [.] , he opens his legs (and runs fast) to the interior of the 'mountain',
 [Nin]urta, the great flood for the enemy country, a devastating flood, sweeping over men,
 [The counselor], he perfects [the m e's] of [E]kur, his father trusts him,
30. Ninurta, , he opens his legs (and runs fast) to the interior of the 'mountain',
 Ninurta, the great flood for the enemy country, a devastating flood, sweeping over men,

- sá-gar me-é-kur-ra šu-du, giskim-ti-a-a-na
lugal-mu á-mah^d-líl-lá kur šu-ni nu-è
[d]š^u-dEN.ZU xx á-sum-ma-a-a^d-líl-lá-ra
35. ^dnin-urta mē šen-šen-na šár ša-mu-na-an-gul-e
^dnin-urta á-mah^d-líl-lá kur šu-ni nu-è
dš^u-dEN.ZU x x á-mah^d-sum-ma-a-a^d-líl-lá-ra
^dnin-ur[ta m]ē šen-šen-na šár ša-mu-na-an-gul-e
lugal-mu me-ul AŠ ša-ba-<AK> kin gal-le-eš rib-[ba]
40. ^dnin-urta ú-sa₁₁-an-sig₇-ga kalam-ma ní ru-ru-gú
duraš¹-kù-gin_x ušum-su-lim-ma izi-gar-^huš íl-[í-i]²
^dnin-urta me-ul AŠ ša-ba-AK kin gal-le-eš rib-[ba]
^dnin-urta ú-sa₁₁-an-sig₇-ga kalam-ma rí ru-ru-[gú]
duraš¹-kù-gin_x ušum-su-lim-ma izi-gar-^huš íl-í-i²
45. lugal-mu mah^d-di ur-sag-gal ne-ni-da nir-gál¹
dš^u-dEN.ZU giskim ^hu-mu-un-ti-en¹ en ^dnin-urta-ra
lugal ^den-líl-le ma-ra-an-sum-ma-a maškim-zu ^hé-a
^dnin-urta mah^d-di ur-sag-gal ne-ni-da nir-gál¹
dš^u-dEN.ZU giskim ^hu-mu-un-ti-en¹ en ^dnin-urta-ra
50. lug[al] ^den-líl-le ma-ra-an-sum-ma-a maškim-zu ^hé-a
[. . .]x na₄-ZA.MIR-a kù-su-lim-ma kin gal-le-eš rib-ba
[. . .]x-gin_x á-mah^d-za im-mi-in-DU mu-zu [im-mi-i]n-sar¹
[.] ul-šè nam-ti-la-ni en-nu-un ší-im-[ak . . .]¹
[dš^u-d]EN.ZU-na kù-su-lim-ma kin gal-le-eš rib-ba
55. [x x-g]in_x á-mah^d-za im-[mi-in]-DU mu-zu im-mi-in-sar¹
[.] ul-šè nam-ti-la-ni en-nu-un]n ší-i[m. . .]
[.]
[sa]-gar-ra-àm [.]¹
- giš ga-šub-šub tir <ga>-sìg-sìg ama-mu ^hu-mu-da-an-zu
60. ^dnin-urta-me-en giš ga-šub-šub tir ga-sìg-sìg
ama-mu ^hu-mu-da-an-zu
urud-tùn-x[?]-gin_x gú-gur₅-ru ga-àm-du₁₁
ama-mu ^hu-mu-da-an-zu

41. 1: text B omits determinative DINGIR. 2: text B: izi-gar-^huš íl-i.
44. 1: text B omits determinative DINGIR. 2: B: izi-gar-?- íl-[i].
45. 1: B: n è-ni-'ta' [nir-gál].
48. 1: B: n è-ni-ta nir-gál.
49. 1: B: ^hé-me-ti-en.
52. 1: A: mu-zu[.]; B (written in two lines): [.]-DU / [mu-zu im-mi-i]n-sar.
53. 1: B: en]-nu-un-šè? ak-a.
55. 1: two lines in B: [.]-ni?-in-DU / [mu-zu im-mi-in-sar.
58. 1: cp. line 90. — Text C has the subscript NAR.[BALAG-^dnin-urta-ka-ka m].

- The counselor, he perfects the m e's of Ekur, his father trusts him.
My king! The great strength of Enlil, the 'mountain' does not escape his hand,
For Šūsîn, whom father Enlil has given strength,
35. Ninurta, you will destroy for him myriads (of enemies) in battle and fight,
Ninurta, the great strength of Enlil, the 'mountain' does not escape his hand,
For Šūsîn, , whom father Enlil has given strength.
Ninur[ta], you will destroy for him myriads (of enemies) in [bat]tle and fight,
My king, you have alone exercised the eternal m e's, a greatly surpassing task,
40. Ninurta, green evening light, fear touches the land,
Like the holy Uraš, a 'dragon of radiance', carrying an awe-inspiring torch,
Ninurta, you alone have exercised the eternal m e's, a greatly surpassing task,
Ninurta, green evening light, fear touches the land,
Like the holy Uraš, a 'dragon of radiance', carrying an awe-inspiring torch,
45. My king, exalted, the great heroic warrior who is confident in his own strength,
Šūsîn, may you put your trust in the lord Ninurta,
It is King Enlil who has given him to you (Šūsîn), may he be your commissioner!
Ninurta, exalted, the great heroic warrior who is confident in his own strength,
Šūsîn, may you put your trust in him, the lord Ninurta.
50. It is King Enlil who has given him to you, may he be your commissioner!
[. . .] n i r-stone , a greatly surpassing task,
Like [. . .] you have . . . with (?) your lofty arm, you have written your name,
[.] forever watching his life,
. . . [Šū]šîn . . . pure . . . radiance, a greatly surpassing task,
55. [L]ike [.] you have . . . with (?) your lofty arm, you have written your name,
[.] forever watching his life],
.
.
- I will fell trees, I will strike down forests, let my mother know it!
60. I, Ninurta, will fell trees, I will strike down forests,
let my mother know it!
As if with a . . .-ax I will denude them,
let my mother know it!

- urud-tùn-gal-gin_x bàd-DUB? ga-šub-šub
 ama-mu hu-mu-da-an-zu
 gèri-nigín-a-gin_x erín-bi <ga>-dúb-dúb ama-mu
 hu-mu-da-an-zu
 u₄ NE ú-x-gin_x ur ga-àm-kú ama-mu hu-mu-da-an-zu
 65. ur-sag x¹ mè-súr-ra x sag mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé
 en-e ki-bal nu-še-ga nam im-ma-ku₅-dè
 e-RU x-a¹ giš-gu₄-si-AŠ ga-ra-ab-?
 uš_x (= KAXBAD)-zu ga-mu-ni-gur₈
 ká-gal-zu giš-x-GAR-x ù-bí-tar x-zu sá ga-àm-du₁₁
 an-za-kàr-zu kuš-šur_x (= E.ÍB)-ùr ù-bí-lá
 sahar-re-eš ga-mu-dub¹-dub
 70. uru den-líl-le nam-ku₅-du-gin_x KAX²-zu ga-mu-ni -x
 uru ^dnin-urta hul-a-gin_x du₆-du₆-da ga-x-x-x
 sa - gíd - da - àm
 e lugal á-sum-ma-den-líl-lá kur šu-še gar-ù
 en ^dnin-urta á-sum-ma-den-líl-lá [kur šu]-še gar-ù
 en pa₅-šeš-an-na á-sum-ma-den-líl-lá kur šu-[še gar-ù]
 75. en ^dnin-urta x x [.]
 Four lines broken.
 80. ¹
 86. ki-sikil ^dnin¹-nibru^{ki} nin [.]
 en ^dnin-urta lugal-mu x[.]
^dig-alim-ma lugal-mu [.]
^dšul-ša-ga-na lugal-mu x[.]
 90. sa-gar-ra-àm šu-ta e-ne-di [.]¹
 en nam-ur-sag-gá šu-du₇-a ki-á[g-]
^dnin-urta giš-més-pa-mul-dagal-la [. . . .]
 tukul-mè ak-še² kùš-tag-ga kur [. . . .]
 ušum igi-huš m[u]š-ša-tùr ki-bal-a uš_x (= KAXBAD)-b[i. . . .]
 95. [x x] x 'gaba'²-zi pirig-zà-è x x[. . .]
^dnin-urta nun-gal den-ki-d[a]
 lugal-mu uru-za èš nibru^{ki} tir x[. . .]
 é-šu-me-ša₄ ki šu mu-r[a-]
 en nam-lugal-e šu mu-ra-ab-du₇ [.]

65. 1: probably erasure.

67. 1: text A e-RU x[.]; x-a in C may be an erasure.

80. 1: lines 80-85 are preserved only in text C but partially broken and epigraphically uncertain.

90. 1: cp. line 58.

- As if with a big ax I will pull down a . . . wall,
 let my mother know it!
 As I will make the troops there tremble,
 let my mother know it!
 . . . like . . . I will let a dog eat, let my mother know it!
 65. I, the heroic warrior, . . . furious battle, smashes the heads,
 I, the En, curse the enemy land which does not obey,
 I will . . . a battering ram,
 I will . . . your poisonous foam,
 After I have destroyed your city gate,
 I will reach your ,
 After I have placed the shield at(?) your tower,
 I will turn it into piles of dust,
 70. Like a city which Enlil has cursed, I will . . . your . . . ,
 Like a city which I, Ninurta, has destroyed I will turn into ruin heaps.
 (It is the s a g i d a)
 Oh King, given strength by Enlil, conquer the 'mountain'!
 En Ninurta, given strength by Enlil, conquer the ['mountain']!
 En, foremost of An, given strength by Enlil, con[quer] the 'mountain'!
 75. En Ninurta, . . . [.].
 (Four lines broken away)
 (Text partially broken and epigraphically uncertain)
 86. The young woman Nin-nibru, the lady [. . . .],
 The En Ninurta, my king . . . [.],
 Igalima, my king [.],
 Šulšagana, my king . . . [.],
 90. He , . . . play [.].
 The En, perfect in warrior-ship, belo[ved by],
 Ninurta, [. . .] the fresh, extending branches of the m e s -tree [. . . .],
 Who sneakily attacks with his battle-weapon, the 'mountain' [. . . .],
 The dragon with a terrible face, the poisonous snake [who pours out] its foam over the enemy land,
 95. [. . . .] , raising (his) breast(?), foremost lion, ,
 Ninurta, the great prince [who] tog[ether with] Enki,
 My king, in your city, the shrine Nippur, ,
 Ešumeša, the place [. . . .] for you,
 For you, lord (En), he (the king) has perfected the kingship, [. . . .],

100. ad-gi₄-gi₄ ušumgal-kalam-ma KA x[. . .]
 d_{nin}-urta bàd-gal-nibru^{ki}-a x[.]
 lugal-mu me ság nu-di ur-s[ag]
 pirig gaba-gál NE MU¹ šu-bar-bar [. . .]
 lugal geštú-dagal-an-ki-a ú [.]
105. gidri-maḥ kalam-e zà-dib-ba ki[.]
 d_{nin}-urta lú-erím ri x x [.]
 sa - gíd - [da - àm]
 ur-sag en ní-GÌRI gaba-zi-ga [.]
 d_{nin}-urta u₄-[ḥu]š izi-gìr-ra n[am-]
 u₄-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa ság-DU-ki-bal-a piri[g]
110. ušum ní-ri en gaba-gi₄ 'nu¹-tuku igi[.]
 [luga]l geštú-dagal giš-rab_x (= LUGAL)-dingir-[re-e-ne]
 [x x]-e á-maḥ-sum-ma - [d_{nu}-nam-nir-ra]
 [x x (x)] x₄-zi-šul-gi-ra [.]
 [x x (x)] x ní-te-na-ka šà-ge ba-e-ni-x-[x]
115. [x x (x)] x x k]ar d_{nin}-urta zà-mí
 [sa - gar] - ra - àm
 [x x x (x)] x šu]l-gi-re ti-sù-ud mu-nam-ḥé ság-e-eš rig₇-ga [(.)]
 [giš - gi₄[?]] - gál - bi - im¹
 []x - d_{nin}-urta-ka-kam
-
- [x x]x kur-gal-e tu-[da] maḥ-a-ni zà nu-DI
 [d_{nin}]-urta gal-di-an-ki-a diri^d-a-nuna (= NUN)-ke₄-ne
 [x x] palil-dingir-re-e-ne giskim-ti-an-na
120. [x x gù]r-ru u₄-gin_x šeg_x-gi₄-gi₄ šen-šen-na KA-ḤUR-ak
 [x x x] am-gal-gin_x du₇-du₇ bàd-ki-bal<a> gul-gul
 [x (x)] x^{de}]n-líl-lá-ke₄ DI-DI kur šu-ni-šè nu-è
 [á-maḥ-sum-ma]-d_{nu}-nam-nir-ra du₁₁-ga-ni ki-bi-šè gar
 [x (x)] x nam]-nun-na túm-ma na-de₆-é-kur-ra¹
125. [x x x] x ság nu-di giš-rab_x-dingir-re-e-[ne]
 Gap
133. [.] sag-tab-a-ni ḥé-a
 [.] A]MA[?] dumu^d-išk_{ur}-ra-ke₄
135. [x x (x)] x x [x x] x₄ u-du₁₀ ḥé-bí-íb-kú-e
 [x x x]-gál mu-s[a₄-a x x] si ḥé-em-sá-sá-e

103. 1: gloss giš[?] beneath MU.

118. subscript, 1: text A writes giš-ki-gál-bi-im (see after line 141; after line 159); however, in this line the scribe seems to have crased -ki-; another erased sign after -gál-.

124. 1: -é-kur-ra is now broken away on original, however, in Radau's copy.

100. The counselor, the dragon of the land, . . . [. . .],
 Ninurta, the great wall of Nippur, . . . [. . .],
 My king, (whose) m e's cannot be scattered, the heroic warr[ior],
 The lion with a broad chest, releasing . . . [. . .],
 The king with the broad wisdom in heaven and earth, . . . [. . .],
105. With an exalted scepter, surpassing in the land, . . . [. . .],
 Ninurta, who . . . the enemy, [.].
 ([It is] the s a g i [d a l])
 The heroic warrior, the mighty(?) En, raising (his) breast, [.],
 Ninurta, the [terri]ble light, the strong fire, [. . .],
 The terrifying light, . . . the enemy country, the lio[n],
110. The dragon clad in awe, the En who has no rival, . . . [. . .],
 The [kin]g with the broad wisdom, the neckstock(?) of the god[s],
 [. . .], given strength by Nunamnir,
 [. . .], the true [. . .] of Šulgi, [. . .],
 [.] by him[self] ,
115. [.] . . . , Ninurta, praise!
 (It is the [s a g a r] a)
 [.] Šu]lgi , give him (Šūsîn) a long-lasting well-being and a year of abundance!
 (It is its [antiph]ony)
 [.] for Ninurta.
-
- [. . .] . . . , whom the Great Mountain has engen[dered],
 when he appears great, no one can keep pace with him,
 [Nin]urta, the exalted one in heaven and earth,
 the surpassing one among the a n u n a -gods,
 [. . .], the leader among the gods, the trust of An,
120. Who is [fu]ll [of] . . . , who roars like the storm, who . . . in battle,
 [.], goring like a huge wild ox, who destroys the wall of the enemy country,
 [. . .] of [E]n^{lil} . . . , the 'mountain' does not escape his hand,
 [Given lofty strength] by Nunamnir, his word is firm,
 [. . .], fit for the prince[ship], the counselor of Ekur,
125. [.] cannot be scattered, the neckstock(?) of the gods.
 approximately seven lines missing
133. [.], may he be his helper!
 [.], the son of Iškur,
135. [May he drink sweet water], may he eat good food,
 [. . .] . . . , nam[ed . . .], may he direct [.],

- é-šu-me-ša₄ ki-tuš-ki-ág-gá-ni sag-ús-bi h́é-a
 nindaba-gal-gal-la-ni u₄-šú-uš-e x x muš nam-ba-an-túm-mu
 d_{bur}.dEN.ZU me-te-nam-[lu]gal-[l]a ki-ág-an-na-ke₄
140. mu-giri_x-zal nam-ti-ni-du₁₀-ga [x (x)] ha-ba-ni-ib-sù-rá
 sa - gíd - [da] - àm
 [d]nin-urta d_{bur}.dEN.ZU-ra ní-tuku-ni á-daḥ-a-ni h́é-a
 [giš] - ki - gál - bi - im
 [ur-sag] á-zi-da-d_{en}-líl-lá kur ki-bal gul-gul
 [d]nin-urta á-zi-da-d_{en}-líl-lá kur ki-bal gul-gul
 lugal zi-ga-ni a-ma-ru na-me sag nu-sum-mu
145. d_{nin}-urta u₄-súr-mè-a erím-e gíri-KIN-di
 nam-ur-sag da-da-ra-šè du₁₁-ga šul gaba-ri nu-tuk-a
 á-mah-sum-ma^dnu-nam-nir-ra šà-a-a-na du₁₀-du₁₀
 du₁₁-ga-du₁₁-ga-u_x-ru-zu nam-mah-gal-gal-la
 [d_{nin}-urta d]u₁₁-ga-du₁₁-ga-u_x-ru-zu nam-mah-gal-gal-la
150. [giš-gán-ùr gána-k]i-bal-a sì-sì-ke gú-dù-a GAM.GAM
 [.]x gá-gá u₄-gin_x šeg_x-gi₄-gi₄
¹
158. [.]x sig-ta [.]
 [sa - gar - ra - àm]
 [x x]x x x mu-pà-da-zu d_{bu}[r.dEN.ZU]
 [giš] - ki gál - bi - im]
160. [ur]-sag ušum-zà-dib [.]
 d_{nin}-urta ušum-zà-dib [.]
 d_{bur}.dEN.ZU zi-dè-eš pà-da-z[u]
 uru_x-EN-bi-im a-da-ab^d[nin-urta-ka-kam]

152. 1: 152-156 in text A are almost completely broken away. Line 154 may be restored [giš-ki-gál-bi]-im.

- May he be the steady supporter of Ešumeša, his beloved seat,
 His great offerings . . . daily shall never cease,
 Būršîn, suitable for the kingship, the beloved one of An,
140. May (Ninurta) prolong for him a year of abundance and a pleasant life.
 (It is the s a g i d a)
 May Ninurta be the helper of Būršîn, his attentive one.
 (It is its [an]tiphony)
 The heroic warrior, 'the right arm' of Enlil, who destroys the enemy land,
 Ninurta, 'the right arm' of Enlil, who destroys the enemy land,
 The king, whose rising (is) the flood against which no one can rush,
145. Ninurta, the furious storm(?) of battle, who tramples upon the enemy,
 He is girded for warriorship, a man without rival,
 Given lofty strength by Nunamnir, who makes his father's heart good,
 Your mighty(?) commands are lofty and great,
150. Letting [the harrow] level [the field] of the enemy [la]nd, bending down the one whom he detests,
 [.] . . . , roaring like the storm,

158. [. . .] . . from below [.] .
 [(It is the s a g a r a)]
 [.] . . the one you have called by name, Bū[ršîn] .
 [(It is its an]tiphony)
160. Heroic warrior, 'surpassing dragon', [.],
 Ninurta, 'surpassing dragon', [.],
 Būršîn whom you have truthfully called [.].
 (It is its u r u_x. Adab [for Ninurta])

C o m m e n t a r y

1.

I read ur-sag-ul (instead of ur-sag-du₇, du₇ = *asmu*) since I assume that the incipit ur-sag u₄ gal-le-eš in the Jena literary catalogue HS 1504:33 (cf. Kramer – Bernhardt, WZJ 6 [1956-57], 390; text republished in TuM NF 3 as No. 54) is our text. ul is only preserved in text A. It cannot be determined whether ul or u₄ is the original version. However, I am inclined to consider u₄ as original since Ninurta in our text is connected with light and radiance, see lines 6; 16; 23; 40 = 44; 51 = 54; 118. ur-sag ul gal-le-eš is then a mishearing for ur-sag u₄ gal-le-eš.

2.

For u g "lion" cf. W. Heimpel, Tierbilder, pp. 326ff. Our reference has to be added there. Note that line 1 has p i r i g, cf. Heimpel, op. cit., pp. 280ff. r u - r u - g ú (r u - g ú) = *maḥāru*, *emēdu*, cf. A. Falkenstein, ZA 49 (1950), 105 with n. 4.

3.

While text A has HĀR(?) - r a - s u, Text B has HĪ - b a. Both texts are obscure.

4.

For g u₄ - s i - a š / d i l i cf. W. Heimpel, Tierbilder, pp. 177 "Rammbock" where this line is quoted Cf. line 67 g i š - g u₄ - s i - AŠ "battering ram" (Akk. *ašibu*, *ašubu*).

6.

For i - l i m (= *šalummatu*, *šaqummatu*) and i - l i m - u₅ (= *šaqummatu*) see Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 116 (see now also MSL 13, p. 162 Izi v:63-65); OrSucc. 19-20 (1970-71), 162; ZA 63 (1973), 31 No. 5:2 and commentary p. 34; UM 29-15-132 obv. ii:5 u₄ - t a - u_x - l u (= Ninurta) i - l i m - u₅; TCL 15, 8:216ff. i - l i m - e - l á m - m a; N 1542 (unpublished, hymn to the moongod) obv. 6 u l - ḫ i - s i k i l i - l i m k i - d a g a l - l a i m - t e - a [...] (line not quite clear to me; u l - ḫ i might be = u l - ḫ é = *šupuk šamē*, *šamū*, cf. TCS 3, p. 115 with n. 71); UET 6/3, '257' (copy by A. Shaffer) i - l i m - b i k u r - k u r - r a d u l [...] in broken context. My reading i - l i m (MSL 13, p. 162 i - š i) depends on s u - l i m (= *šalummatu*) where reading - l i m is certain. i - l i m - u₅ also occurs in line 23.

While text B has s u - l i m g ù r - r u "enveloped in radiance", text A writes s u n ì - g í r i. The same expression occurs in EWO 311 u₄ - g a l - l a u₄ - a n ì - g í r i - d a d u₇ - d u₇ (said about Iškur) where Kramer (see WZJ 9 [1959-60], 254 n. 151) with hesitation interprets n ì - g í r (i) as a writing for n i m - g í r "lightning". However, a reading n ì - u l₄ is also possible.

8.

Cf. STVC 34 iv:3 (collated) [é - š u - m e] - š a₄ é i g i - š u - g a l a m k i - n a m - t a r - r e - z a "in Ešumeša, the house, in the place where you determine the destiny". Both A. Falkenstein (SGL 1, p. 83) and D. Reisman (JCS 24 [1972], 5) read é - i g i - š u - d u₈. Offerings to g i š - g u - z a b á r a - m a ḫ i g i - š u - g a l a m - m a "the throne, the lofty dais, facing the Šugalam" in Nippur are attested in UM 29-13-357 r. ii: 23' (early OB offering list from Nippur, published by Mrs. Jane Heimerdinger in this volume). For š u - g a - l a m (= š u - g a l a m) in the Eninnu, see A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30/1, pp. 140f.

10.

For š u - m ú, š u - m ú - m ú "to enlarge; to make grow, thrive" cf. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 79, where this line and the parallel line 11 are quoted.

14.

For á - s ù - s ù (= *šadāhu*) see Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 178 n. 8; Cl. Wilcke, Lugalbandaepos, p. 180.

16.

It is surprising that Ninurta appears as the firstborn son of Enlil (see also line 22 "born of Ninlil" referring to Ninurta). Nanna-Suen is otherwise Enlil's firstborn son (cf. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 31). Ninurta appears also in some texts from the first millennium as the firstborn son of Enlil (see Mondgott, pp. 31; 34 n. 37). Nergal is also considered to be the firstborn son of Enlil (cf. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 31) already during the Old Babylonian period), and so was Zababa (cf. Sjöberg, ZA 54 (1961), 9, 64). In texts from the first millennium, Lugalbanda and d d i m₄ - k i - r a - BĀD - n a are firstborn sons of Enlil (cf. Mondgott, p. 31).

22.

With S. Cohen (see Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, unpublished dissertation, Univ. of Penna., 1973, p. 170) I interpret PA - a as another writing for ú - a (= *zāninu*, *ēpiru*), Cohen calls it "Spielform". The refs. quoted by Cohen are: TCS 3, p. 19, No. 4:50 (modified reading) PA - a - r a t ú m - m a "suited for (its) provider": Cohen, ELA p. 92 [P]A - a - è š - g a l - l a - k e₄; line 93 (restored) = 61-62 (restored); STVC, 3 iv:17ff. PA - a b í - i n - d u₁₁ m á b a - d a - a n - s u, Akk. transl. (cf. Lambert, BWL, p. 274) *eṭlu ú-ua iqbtīma eleppašu iṭṭebū*, where PA - a = u_x - a (= u₈ - a). In OrSucc. 21 (1972), 94, I assumed that this line referred to King Šūsuen as the son of Ninlil; my interpretation rested on text A where only the second part is preserved ([d]n i n - l í l - l e t u - d a) but text B where only the first part of the line is preserved now shows that this line refers to Ninurta as the son of Ninlil and Enlil.

23.

For i - l i m - u₅, see above the commentary to line 6.

26.

á - d a ḫ - g i š - t u k u l (- l a) also occurs in TCL 16, 43:26 and UET 1, 128:5.

27. (= 30)

The first part of this line remains obscure. For d u₁₀ - b a r see Sjöberg, ZA 63 (1973), 31, no. 5:10 with commentary p. 35 where our line is quoted; add: TuM NF 4, 12 r. 42 d u₁₀ - b a r - b a r - r e (referring to the moongod).

28. (= 31)

For k u š_x - s u (- s u) cf. Sjöberg JCS 21 (1967 [1969]), 277; Angim 76 (ms. of Dr. J. Cooper) u r - s a g - d i n g i r - r e - e - n e k u š_x k a l a m - m a s u - s u - [d a] "the warrior of the gods was leveling the land"; the bil. version has u r - s a g - d i n g i r - r e - e - n e - k e₄ k a l a m - m a s ù - s ù - d a (var. omits - d a) = *qarrād DINGIR.MEŠ māta ina sapāni*, var. *na-ds-pa-nu x m[a-ti]*; ISET 1, p. 71 Ni. 9501 ii:11 k u š_x - g i n_x s u - s u - u n "I (Nergal) am like a destructive flood"; Dr. S. Cohen drew my attention to J.J. van Dijk, SGL 2, p. 26:18-19 where we now read a - m [a - r u] k u š_x s ù - s ù - k e m u - n i - d u₁₁ - g a n ì - ḫ u l - [g á] l - b i k u š_x (= SAĪAR) s ù - s ù - m e - e n: k u š_x s ù - s ù = k u š_x s u - s u; CBS 7908: 2' (Ningišzida) [x] x - d a a - g i₆ - i₇ - d a k u š_x - s u - g i n_x [s u - s u] "... , a current in the river, sweeping everything like a destructive flood."¹

29.

Restoration according to the parallel line 31. For s á - g a r = *māliku* see Sjöberg, OrSucc. 19-20 (1970-71) 168, 171; G.R. Castellino, Two Šulgi Hymns, p. 155.

40. (= 43)

For ú - s a₁₁ - a n - s i g₇ - g a cf. Sjöberg, AfO 24 (1973), 37. For the second part of this line cf. AfO 24 (1973), 28:3 n í s u - a r u - r u - g ú "fear of it touches the flesh" with commentary p. 36 where our ref. is quoted. Ashm. 1937-646:7 (unpubl. hymn to Nininsima) n í s u - a r u - r u - g ú.

41. (= 44)

i z i - g a r = *dipāru* "torch". A. Falkenstein, ZA 52 (1957), 73 read our line as a n - u r a š - ḫ ù - g i m u š u m - s u - l i m - m a i z i - g a r - ḫ u š í l - í l - i and translated "wie die heiligen An und Uraš ist er ein

¹ In JCS 21 (1967, [1969]), 30 UM 29-15-566+ iv:19-20. M. Civil reads n a m - l ú - u_x - b a s a ḫ a r i m - m i - 'z u¹ and translates "Taught their men submission". His copy permits also a reading - s u : k u š_x i m - m i - s u. After collation I read the sign as - s u¹.

schrecklicher Drache, der schreckliches Licht aufsteigen läßt"; cf. also Å.W. Sjöberg, OrSuec. 22 (1973), commenting on TCL 15, 7:15'. If we read *du ra š* the deity can be either the spouse of An (cf. Falkenstein, ZA 52 (1957), 72ff.) or the god Uraš (cf. Tallqvist, Götterepitheta, p. 480: Driver-Miles, The Babylonian Laws 2, p. 133).

45.

ne (A) = *nè* (B) = *emūqu*, cf. TCS 3, p. 65 for *ne* as a phonemic writing for *nè* "strength". While text A has *nir-gál* with the comitative (-da), text B has the postposition -ta (*nè-ni-ta*) which is normal at the verb *nir-gál* = *takālu*. Cf. UM 29-15-132 i:7 and ii:21 (Ninurta) *nè-ni-da nir-gál*.

51. (= 54)

na₄-ZA.MIR is the older writing for *na₄-ZA.TÙN* = *na₄-nír* = *ḫulālu*. Cf. Römer, SKIZ, p. 73 n. 412; see further Lugal old version line 533 *na₄-ZA.MIR*, bil. version (Abel-Winckler Keilschrifttexte 61 VAT 251:31) *na₄-ZA.TÙ[N]* = *ana ḫu-[la-li]*. *kù-su-lim-ma* for *su-lim-kù-ga*?

53. (= 55)

For *á-ma ḫ-z a DU* cf. Sjöberg, OrSuec. 19-20 (1970-71), 143:46' f., 50' f. *á-ma ḫ-a-n a gal-bi š-i-im-mi-in-DU* (no translation).

61.

For *gú-guru₅-(u š) e / du₁₁* (= Akkadian *kuppuru*) see B. Landsberger, Date Palm, p. 30; LSUr line 423 *giš-zé-na-bi gú-guru₅-u š ba-ab-du₁₁* (different in dupl. UET 6/2, 132:64); UET 6/1, no. 70:17 *ku₅-ku₅-ru im-[me* with var. *gú-guru₅ àm-me* in CBS 1558:17 (unpublished). Cf. *gú-guru₅-du₁₁-du₁₁* in Angim old version 140; the bil. version has *gú-guru₅-du₈-du₈* = *muššir kišādāti* "which cuts off necks". Cf. TCS 3, pp. 132f.

63.

The meaning of *gìri-nigín-a* remains uncertain. Is there a connection with Cohen, ELA 393 *inim-ma še anše-kú-a-gin_x gèri mi-ni-ib-nigin-e* which S. Cohen translates as "he circulated with (this) message as if it were barley eaten by a donkey"?

65.

For *sag dúb-du₁₁b* cf. TCS 3, p. 103.

67.

giš-gu₄-si-AŠ = *ašibu* "battering ram". Cf. line 4 *gu₄-si-AŠ* "unicorn" as an epithet of Ninurta. The meaning of the verb *gu₈* remains uncertain.

69.

an-za-kàr = *dimtu* "tower, fortified area". For *kuš-šuru_x-ùr* see B. Eichler's forthcoming edition of Inanna and Epilḫ, commentary to line 3.

70.

The sign inscribed in KA_x might be NE: KA_xNE = *murgu_x* = *libbātu* "wrath".

74.

For *pa₅-še š* see Å.W. Sjöberg, Falkenstein Studien, pp. 216f. I have interpreted it here as corresponding to *ašarēdu*, not as a kinship term. Cf. B. Alster, JCS 24 (1972), 123 commentary to line 6.

86.

ḏnin-nibruki is the consort of Ninurta, see A. Deimel, Pantheon, 2682; K. Tallqvist, Götterepitheta, p. 416. *nin-nibruki* (without determinative DINGIR) is an epithet of Ninlil, cf. Falkenstein, SGL 1, pp. 113f.; Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 22; however, *nin-nibruki* = *šarrat nippuri* in ArOr 21 (1952), 371 r. I:15 is Ninurta's wife.

90.

sa-gar-ra-àm is here not the liturgical notation since it is not written in one line separately. See also line 58 which has to be restored according to this line.

92.

For *pa-mul* see Å.W. Sjöberg, ZA 63 (1973), 24 commentary to line 7'.

93.

(*giš-*)*tukul-mè* also occurs in Gilgameš and Agga 44 *giš-tukul-mè*; line 86 *giš-tukul-ḫu š-mè. kùš-tag(-ga)* would correspond to *pašālu* (see AHw, p. 841 p. I "kriechen"); see further *kušum* (= U+PIRIG)-tag = *la-a-pu*, *kušum-tag-tag* = *na-a-[q]u*. var. *la-a-qu* (*nāqu* "verstreut) laufen, gehen", = *alāku*, cf. AHw, p. 744 n. II), Imgidda to Erimḫuš A 17ff., vars. from Erimḫuš II 9ff.; *ki-tag-ga* = *la-a-pu*, 5R 16 and dupl. (group voc.), see CAD L, p. 97 s.v. *lāpu* (mng. unknown). The other Sumerian equivalents of *pašālu*, *pitaššulu* are: *kùš-SAR-ki-tag-ga* = *pašālu*, *kùš-tag-tag* = *pitaššulu* (cf. Or. NS 39 (1970), 87 where I erroneously read *Ú.ŠÁR-*); Izi E 329-33- *kùš-ki-tag-ga* = *pašālu*, *kùš-ki-tag-tag-ga* = *pitaššulu*. Literary refs. for U.PIRIG.DI-tag and U.PIRIG-tag-tag(-ga) are quoted in Or. NS 39 (1970), 87 where now U.PIRIG(DI) has to be read *kušum*. A reading of U.PIRIG as *kušum* is attested, see MSL 3, p. 175:577 (cf. ŠL 448, 2), the Akk. equivalent is there *būlu* "herd, wild animals", see CAD B, p. 313 where there are also refs. for readings *kuš_x* and *kiš_{i10}*.

95.

Reading *gaba¹-zi* is not certain; cp. line 118 *gaba-zi-ga*, cf. Sjöberg, AfO 24 (1973), 39b on *gaba-zi* and *gaba-zi-ga*. *zà-è* would probably correspond to *ašarēdu*; W. Heimpel, Tierbilder, p. 296 (36.26), translates "Loewe mit hervorragender Kraft".

105.

zà-dib(-ba) = *šutuqu*, cf. ZA 49 (1950), 122f.; ZA 52 (1957), 62; Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 107. See also l. 160 = 161 *ušum-zà-dib*.

107.

I prefer to read *ní-gìr(i)* or *ní-ir₉* (instead of *ní-ḫu š*) probably corresponding to *mugdašru*, cf. Sjöberg, Or. NS 35 (1966), 300 commenting on Römer, SKIZ, p. 92:40.

108.

-gìr-ra (*izi-gìr-ra*) is ambiguous: (1) = *gašru* "strong"; (2) = *dāku*, *ḫepū*, *maḫāšu*, CT 51, 168 vi:59-61.

109.

The meaning of *sag-DU* (*sag-DU-ki-bal-a*) remains obscure. *sag-DU* is hardly = *ina maḫri alāku*, cf. B. Hruška, ArOr 37 (1969), 496. *sag-du* (lit., "head", *qaqqadu*) may here correspond to *išānū* "powerful". *sag-DU* = *sanāqu ša rēši* MU UD, 5R 56 (cf. AHw, p. 1021a) is obscure.

113.

]x-zi-šul-gi-ra "the true . . . of Šulgi" is obviously Šušan, cf. A. Falkenstein, ZA 49 (1950), 97 n. 1 (Falkenstein read -dšul-gi-ra but there is no DINGIR determinative on the original). Cf. line 126. — It would be tempting to restore the subscript as [ti-g]i₄ = tigi (= NAR.BALAG); cf. Gudea Cyl. B 10, 9; 18, 22.

117.

Cf. TCS 3, p. 133 (443.).

119.

IGI.DU = palil = ašarēdu but also readings igišt_u or gešt_u are possible, cf. CAD A/2, p. 416 ašaridu lex. sect.

120.

For KA-HUR-ak cf. TCS 3, pp. 84f.; 152 (154.). MSL 12, p. 181:50 reads lú-kiri₄-ur₅-ra when corresponding to *gunnušum*.

123.

For the expression ki-bi-šè gar see most recently Å.W. Sjöberg, ZA 63 (1973), 15f.

133.

sag-tab = rēš_u "helper"; = šulūlu.

134.

dumu-dišk_u-ra "the son of Iškur" obviously refers to Būršān; also his predecessor Urninurta was considered to be the son of the weathergod, cf. Å.W. Sjöberg, Or Suec. 21 (1972), 95 with n. 5. (Also Šiniddinam of Larsa appears as the son of Iškur, even as his firstborn son, cf. Or Suec. 21 (1971), 96). Our passage has now to be added in Or Suec. 21 (1971), 95.

141.

ní-tuku = na'du "attentive, observant, reverential", cf. Sjöberg, Studia Geo Widengren oblata 1 (Studies in the History of Religions, 21) 67; cf. BA 5, 642:1ff. ur-sag-dingir-re-e-ne ní-tuku è-a kala-ga dumu-de-n-líl-lá = luttā'id qarrādu ilī gašru šūpū <dannu> mār denlil, where ní-tuku = gašru "strong".

145.

For g'ri-KIN(= sag/sig/sag_x)-di/du₁₁ see most recently J. Cooper, RA 66 (1972), 81ff.; see further Šulgi X:88 (ms. of Dr. J. Klein; text: TLB 2 no. 2:91) bára-bára-ge g'ri-sa-ga ì-mi-d[u]₁₁ "he trampled upon all rulers", cf. J. Klein, Šulgi and Gilgameš, the two Brother-Peers" commentary to line 75, published in this volume where -sa-ga = sag_x(= KIN).

146.

For da-da-ra, da-da-ra-šè du₁₁ see W.Ph. Römer, SKIZ, p. 162.

150.

My restoration depends on BE 29, 4 r. 9b = 10b (cf. A. Falkenstein, ZA 49 (1950), 95) giš-gána-ùr gána-ki-bal-a sè-sè-ke referring to Ninurta; also Inanna and Epih 76 (A 30294 r. i:3 and dupl.) giš-gána-ùr gána-ki-bal<-a> sè-sè-[ke].

160. (= 161)

ušum-zà-dib as an epithet of Ninurta also occurs in UM 29-15-132 ii:19 (Hymn to Ninurta with a prayer for Išmedagan) ur-sag-gal ušum-zà-dib.

Bemerkungen zum Adapa-Mythos

Wolfram von Soden, Münster

Für die große Mehrzahl der babylonischen Mythendichtungen und Epen fehlen heute Bearbeitungen, die auf der Basis aller verfügbaren Fragmente einen im Rahmen des derzeit Erreichbaren zuverlässigen Text bieten. Eine Ausnahme macht außer den teilweise erst kürzlich bekannt gewordenen Atramhasis-Dichtungen¹ lediglich der Erra-Mythos.² Für das Gilgameš-Epos hingegen und Enūma eliš müssen wir uns noch immer mit älteren Bearbeitungen zufrieden geben, die heutigen Ansprüchen nicht mehr genügen können. Das Gleiche gilt für die meisten kleineren Mythendichtungen wie etwa die Mythen von Etana und dem Adler und von dem Sturm-vogel Anzu. Während der Text dieser Dichtungen sich schon aufgrund veröffentlichter Tafelbruchstücke besser herstellen läßt, liegt es beim Mythos vom weisen Adapa etwas anders. Seit P. Jensen's grundlegender Bearbeitung in KB 6/1 (1900), S. 92ff. und XVIIIf. wurden keine neuen Fragmente mehr veröffentlicht. Das größte unter den vier bekannten Fragmenten stammt aus dem Tontafelfund von el-Amarna und wurde zusammen mit diesem von J.A. Knudtzon 1915 in VAB 2 als Nr. 356 in einer mehrfach verbesserten Neuausgabe vorgelegt. Die anderen Bruchstücke stammen aus Ninive. Stück I in KB 6/1 gelangte seither in die Pierpont Morgan Collection, die heute einen Teil der Yale Babylonian Collection in New Haven bildet. Es wurde unter Beifügung einer Photographie neu bearbeitet von A.T. Clay in A Hebrew Deluge Story (YOS Researches 5/3, [1922]); Keilschriftkopie und Photographie wurden in BRM 4 Nr. 3 wiederholt. Eine neue Übersetzung aller Fragmente bot E.A. Speiser in ANET, S. 101-103 (1. Auflage [1950]) mit einigen neuen Deutungen. Als vorläufig letzter hat dann F.M.Th. De Liagre Böhl in seinem Aufsatz "Die Mythe vom weisen Adapa" in WO 2 (1959), 416-431 paraphrasierende Teilübertragungen gegeben, auf denen er eine feinsinnige Deutung der ganzen Dichtung aufbaute. Für die beiden Fragmente aus dem British Museum gab er Photographien bei.³

¹ Vgl. W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, Atramhasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood (Oxford, 1969), und die sich an dieses Buch anschließenden Erörterungen und Vorschläge zum besseren Verständnis von mehreren Gelehrten z.B. in Or.NS 38 (1969) und folgenden Bänden.

² Vgl. L. Cagni, L'Epopea di Erra (Rom, 1969) mit dem Ergänzungsheft Das Erra-Epos. Keilschrifttext (Rom, 1970). Die umfangreiche Literatur zum Erra-Mythos wurde von Cagni genannt und verarbeitet; vgl. heute noch B. Hruška in BiOr 30 (1973), 1ff. und meinen Vorschlag, das Epos auf etwa 764 v.Chr. zu datieren, in UF 3 (1971), 255f.

³ In ANET und in dem Aufsatz von De Liagre Böhl ist auch weitere Literatur zur Dichtung zitiert. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit ihr ist im Rahmen dieses kurzen Beitrages nicht möglich.

Ich habe die Dichtung erstmalig im Sommer 1973 in einer Übung behandelt und gelangte dabei zu einigen neuen Lesungen; weitere steuerte mein Schüler Werner Mayer bei. Im Herbst habe ich dann im British Museum die neuen und überkommenen Lesungen überprüft und fand dabei zu meiner Überraschung, daß in KB 6/1 zwar das auf S. XVIII. nur provisorisch bearbeitete Fragment K. 8743 in allem wesentlichen korrekt wiedergegeben war, daß aber der Text von K 8214, den Jensen aufgrund der älteren Ausgabe von S.A. Strong in PSBA 16 (1894), 274ff. bearbeitet hatte, verbesserungsbedürftig ist. Auch die Bearbeitung beider Stücke durch St. Langdon in PBS 10/1 (1915), 42ff. mit einer ersten Kopie von K. 8743 bietet keinen ganz zuverlässigen Text.⁴ Eine Neubearbeitung des Mythos wäre dringend an der Zeit. Sie müßte auch zwei weitere Stücke berücksichtigen, die wahrscheinlich zu dieser Dichtung gehören⁵, und den religionsgeschichtlichen Problemen einen angemessenen Raum widmen. Da ich selbst eine solche wegen der Arbeit am AHw. vorläufig nicht ins Auge fassen kann, möchte ich hier nur meine Vorschläge für neue Lesungen und Übersetzungen vorlegen und kurz auf die Fragmente K. 9994 und 10147 eingehen. Außerdem sollen auch einige Fragen zum Verständnis der Dichtung ganz knapp zur Sprache kommen.

Stück I (BRM 4,3).

Für die Lesung der Reste von Z. 1f. kann ich keine einleuchtenden Vorschläge machen. Für Z. 3 erscheint mir die Annahme eines Schreibfehlers MU-lu-mu statt kul-lu-mu nach der Photographie nicht zwingend notwendig; das Zeichen kul ist dem Schreiber allerdings etwas mißglückt. Schwierigkeiten bereitet in Z. 6 die Deutung von kīma riddi. Für Speiser's Vorschlag in ANET, "as the model" zu übersetzen, kann ich unter den in AHw, S. 981 verzeichneten Belegstellen für rīdu/riddu keine Rechtfertigung finden. Mein Übersetzungsvorschlag "Ea erschuf ihn (Adapa) als Nachfolge unter den Menschen" kann auch nicht als ganz gesichert gelten. Wenn er richtig ist, besagt der Vers, daß Ea dem weisen Adapa als "Nachfolger" einige der bisher von ihm selbst wahrgenommenen Funktionen in der Beratung der Menschen übertragen hat. Das würde zur Konzeption des Atramḥasīs-Mythos passen, daß die Götter den Menschen zunächst nur einen sehr begrenzten Auftrag auf den Weg gegeben hatten.⁶ Adapa sollte als "Weiser, Tüchtiger, überaus Kluger" seine Mitbürger über ihren ursprünglichen Stand hinausführen. Dafür wurde ihm die in Z. 9ff. gerühmte Vielseitigkeit mit auf den Weg gegeben.

Z. 14 Anfang [in]a! ba-lu-uš-šu "ohne ihn". pa-dš-šu-ra statt des Nominativs paššūru ist durch pa-dš-šu-ra in Z. 13 verursacht. Z. 15: Das m.W. nur hier belegte Wort šu-ku₆-ud-da-ka-tú "Fischerei" wird in seiner Lesung bestimmt durch die Gleichung šu-ku₆ = šu-ku-ud? -d[a? -ku] HS 1950 (früher C. Bezold, Janus 117), 12.⁷ Z. 16

⁴ Eine weitere Kopie von K. 8743 gab R.C. Thompson, Epic of Gilgamesh, pl. 31.

⁵ Das sehr kleine Fragment K. 10147 wurde schon von G. Bezold in seinem Catalogue als Stück des Adapa-Mythos bezeichnet. Ich verdanke der Freundlichkeit von E. Sollberger eine Abschrift. Auf K. 9994 machte mich W.G. Lambert freundlichst aufmerksam; ich habe es in London kopiert. Ich danke Herrn Dr. E. Sollberger für die Erlaubnis, beide Stücke hier bekannt zu geben.

⁶ Zu dieser Konzeption, die auch ich zunächst nicht erkannt hatte, vgl. meinen Beitrag zur Festschrift für F.M.Th. De Liagre Böhl zum 90. Geburtstag "Der Mensch bescheidet sich nicht: Überlegungen zu Schöpfungserzählungen in Babylonien und Israel" (S. 349-358). Weiterführende Gedanken habe ich in meinem Aufsatz "Verschlüsselte Kritik an Salomo in der Urgeschichte des Jahwisten?" (WO 7 [1974], 228-240) vorgetragen.

⁷ Das an sich sehr schön geschriebene Bruchstück aus der Bibliothek Assurbanipals vom Anfang und Ende der 31. Tafel der Serie sig₆-alam = nānītu weist einige nicht ganz korrekt geschriebene Zeichen auf, wie ich einer Photographie entnehme, die ich der Freundlichkeit von J. Oelsner verdanke. Das Zeichen ud ist im oberen Teil verklebt, das größtenteils erhaltene da auffällig schmal. Eine andere Lesung erscheint gleichwohl ausgeschlossen. Vorläufig dahingestellt bleiben muß es, ob wir mit J. Krecher, SKLy, S. 217 im Sumerischen noch mit einem weiteren Wort für den Fischer zu rechnen haben, das etwa šu - p e š d a gelautet haben könnte. Nicht beweisbar ist, soweit ich sehen kann, B. Landsbergers Vermutung in JNES 8 (1949), 252 n. 30, šukuddaku bezeichne nur den Binnenfischer, aber nicht den Meeresfischer.

Ende Eri-du₁₀, Schreibung wie sonst. Z. 17 ist (trotz der merkwürdigen St.cstr.-Form) [ni-]ru dē-a ina ma-a-li ina šā-da-di "indem er das Joch Ea's (sogar) auf dem Nachtlager zog" zu lesen. Diese bei wörtlicher Auslegung in sich widerspruchsvolle Aussage – auf dem Lager kann man doch kein Joch ziehen! – ist ebenso als humoristische Übertreibung zu verstehen wie Z. 18 "Täglich betreut er die 'Halszwinge' von Eridu", ein sehr pointiert formulierter Hinweis auf die den Bewohnern von Eridu auferlegten Arbeiten. Obwohl es auch in anderen Mythen-dichtungen nicht an humoristischen Formulierungen fehlt, die bisher nicht genügend gewürdigt wurden, finden sich diese in der Adapa-Dichtung besonders häufig. Ihre besondere Stellung unter den Lebenssucher-Mythen wird nicht zuletzt auch dadurch bestimmt.

Z. 20 las man bisher [šā-a-r]u i-zi-qa-an-ni "[der Wind] wehte heran". -anni ist aber das Pronominal-suffix des Akkusativs der 1. Person, darf also nicht in eine Ventivendung umgedeutet werden. Für die anderwärts gut bezeugte Ventivform izīqa(mma) vgl. CAD Z, S. 64f. Da im Text hier niemand in der 1. Person spricht, kann die bisherige Lesung nicht richtig sein. Nun erinnern wir uns, daß gišZI.GAN das Wortzeichen für das sumerische Lehnwort sikkannu "Steuerruder" ist (vgl. dazu AHw, S. 1041a). Wir werden jetzt also lesen:

[(ina) ba-lu giš]ZI.GANⁿⁱ-ma gišeleppa-šū iq-qé-lep-pu
"[ohne] Steuerruder treibt das Schiff dahin".

Durch diese aus grammatischen Gründen notwendige Korrektur wird der Vers zu einer für das Weitere sehr wichtigen Aussage: Auch Adapa hatte noch nicht gelernt, durch Anbringung eines Steuerruders Schiffe bei starkem Wind manövrierfähig zu machen. Obwohl er damit die von den Göttern den Menschen zugestandenen Möglichkeiten, mit den Schwierigkeiten des Lebens zurechtzukommen, keineswegs ausgeschöpft hatte, vermaß er sich, den Südwind zu züchtigen, als dieser zu heftig wehte⁸. Adapa handelt damit typisch menschlich: der – als solcher nicht immer bewußte – Ärger über eigene Versäumnisse führt zu aggressivem Verhalten gegen andere. Der aufmerksame Leser bzw. Zuhörer mag sich schon hier fragen: Können die Götter einem Menschen, der trotz besonderer Weisheit so handelt, die Gabe des ewigen Lebens zugestehen?

Mit Z. 22, die auf "das weite Meer" hinweist, bricht "Stück I" ab.

Ein neues Stück?

Auf K. 9994 kommt der Name Adapa nicht vor. Auf die Vermutung, daß hier gleichwohl ein Bruchstück des Mythos vorliegen könne, wurde W.G. Lambert offenbar durch die dreimalige Erwähnung von šūtu "Südwind" geführt. Für sich allein beweiskräftig ist diese Beobachtung nicht, da das gleichzeitige Vorkommen von abūbu "Sintflut" auch an eine Sintflutdichtung denken lassen könnte. Erst die Vergleichung mit "Stück II" aus el-Amarna macht es in der Tat sehr wahrscheinlich, daß ein Adapa-Fragment vorliegt. Der Text lautet:

⁸ Ein Leser der Reclam-Gilgamešeposübersetzung beanstandete wohl mit Recht meine ohne viel Nachdenken von A. Schott übernommene Wiedergabe von mešū durch "Südsterne" in Z. 108ff. der Sintfluterzählung. Er wies darauf hin, daß in Südbabylonien schwere Stürme fast nur von Nord(west)en, aber nicht von Süd(ost)en kämen. Wenn das richtig ist – ich kann es derzeit nicht nachprüfen –, läge in der Nennung gerade des Südwindes im Adapa-Mythus ein weiterer feiner Spott: Adapa konnte sein Schiff nicht einmal vor einem (leichten) Südoststurm schützen; wie wollte er dann vor einem Nordweststurm bestehen? – Die Charakterisierung der Stürme aus den vier Himmelsrichtungen in AAA 22 (1935), 78,47ff. ist leider schlecht erhalten. Nach ihr ist šūtu der Staubsturm-Wind aus der Wüste. Vgl. im übrigen die Belege in CAD Z, S. 64f. zu zaqu "wehen". [Korr.-Zus. In Isin erlebte ich 1974 Regenstürme von Südosten; die Nordweststürme brachten keinen Regen.]

Anfang fehlt

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | ZA? (IR?) ? [| [|
| 2 | a-la (ŠU?) [| [|
| 3 | i-šū-ú[| sie haben [|
| 4 | a-bu-b[u | der Flutsturm [|
| 5 | šū-ú-tu[m | der Südwind [|
| 6 | bušē (NÍG.ŠU) É-a[bzu ? | die Habe von E-a[bzu ? [|
| 7 | ina naplušī (IGI.BAR)-šū[| Als er ansah, [|
| 8 | šū-ú-tum? [| der Südwind |
| 9 | i-nu u ₄ -mi? [| damals? [|
| 10 | a-ma-tum šī-i [| Dieses Wort [|
| 11 | ina qí-bi-ti-šā KI [| auf seinen Befehl . . . [|
| 12 | se-bet ur-ri u [se-bé mu-šā-ti] | Sieben Tage [sieben Nächte]. |
| 13 | šū-ú-tum a-n[a? māti ul i-zi-qa] | [wehte nicht] zum [Lande] der Südwind. |
- (bricht ab)

Die Spuren in Z. 1f. sind nicht ganz deutlich. In Z. 6 ist nach É ein waagerechter Keil zu sehen. Es liegt daher nahe, den Namen des Ea-Tempels in Eridu zu ergänzen. Sicher ist die Ergänzung aber nicht. In Z. 8 folgen auf *tum* ein waagerechter und zwei schräge Keile übereinander; das Zeichen *na* wäre denkbar. In Z. 9 folgt auf *mi* der Kopf eines waagerechten Keils, sodaß die in der Übersetzung zugrundegelegte Ergänzung zu *i-nu* (nicht *na*!) *u₄-mi-šū* möglich erscheint. Z. 12f. ist nach Z. 7ff. der Amarna-Tafel ergänzt. Wenn die Ergänzung richtig ist, wäre sie neben dem dreimaligen *šū-ú-tum* die stärkste Stütze für die Zuweisung des Bruchstücks zum Adapamythus. Ohne die Auffindung eines Anschlußstückes wird sich die Ergänzung nicht sichern lassen. Wir können daher vorläufig K. 9994 nur mit Fragezeichen als ein dem Anfang der Amarna-Tafel parallel laufendes Bruchstück des Adapa-Mythus bezeichnen.

Stück II

Die wenigen Bemerkungen, die ich zu der Amarna-Tafel als dem größten der erhaltenen Bruchstücke machen kann, gehen von der Textgestalt in Knudtzon's Ausgabe in VAB 2, 356 aus.

In Z. 3 und 53, wo Jensen und Knudtzon verschieden lesen, ist es sehr schwierig, zu einem mit den Spuren vereinbaren befriedigenden Text zu gelangen. K.s *bīt be-lí(-ia)* ist sachlich sehr unbefriedigend. Gegen Jensens *bīt nu-ni* ist ausser dem graphischen Befund – Knudtzon sah ein *be!* – einzuwenden, daß die an sich denkbare Bezeichnung des Meeres als "Haus der Fische" m.W. bisher weder sumerisch noch akkadisch belegt ist. Zu *šumšulu(m)* etwa "den Tag verbringen" vgl. C.Wilcke, AfO 23 (1970), 85 mit Anm. 3, die auch auf unsere Stelle eingeht. Hinzuzufügen ist aus einem Kommentar zur Liste Aa *ina šī-mé-tan ár-ki amēlē^{me} šum-šil* "abends nach den Menschen verbringe den Tag" (RA 11 [1914], 124, 15), ein leider wenig fördernder Beleg (sum. entspricht *z a l!*). In Z. 3 ist entweder *ana* Fehler für *ina* oder die Ergänzung nach Z. 53 ist falsch; es wäre *ú-šam-ši-i-š[u?]* "er ließ ihn entsprechen" zu lesen und dann am Anfang ganz anders zu ergänzen. Ich kann vorläufig keinen plausiblen Vorschlag machen.

In Z. 4 ist die Ergänzung von De Liagre Böhl in WO 2, (1959), 423 Anm. 3 teilweise gewiss richtig (*ah!-še-e-ki ma-la i-[ba-aš-šū-ú]* "deine Brüder, soviel ihrer [sind]"). Der Imperativ davor könnte vielleicht *[šū-um-ši]-ra-ni* "laß mich begegnen!" sein; voll befriedigend ist diese Ergänzung jedoch nicht.

In Z. 13 ist die Emendation zu *šū-<a>-t[u li-i]l-qd-ni-šū* "ihn [soll] man zu mir holen!" naheliegend, da ohne diese eine befriedigende Lesung kaum möglich erscheint. Allerdings ist zu beachten, daß diese Tafel offen-

bar sorgfältig geschrieben ist, Zeichenauslassungen also nicht zu leicht angenommen werden sollten. In Z. 14ff. trifft Speisers Übersetzung zu, also: "Hier berührte der 'Ea des Himmels' [ihm] die Arme und (15) ließ den [Adapa] schmutziges Haar ([*m*]a-la-a, s. AHW, S. 597 a: *malû* II 1) tragen und [kleidete ihn] ([*ul-ta-al-bi!-is!-su*]) in ein Trauergewand".

Im folgenden wurde die frühere Übersetzung "staunen" für *šāhu* längst in "lachen" berichtigt. Zu Z. 51 vgl. AHW, S. 623b: *mašālu* G 2 c. Für Z. 53 vgl. oben zu Z. 3. Z. 54 lies mit Speiser *[šū-t]a at-ta-za-ar* "den Südwind verfluchte ich". Eine sinnvolle Ergänzung von *i-da-?* [-x] ist mir noch nicht gelungen. In Z. 55 nach ^d*Giz-zi-da* gewiss *a-ma-sú* "sein (d.h. Adapas) Wort"; danach wäre am ehesten *an-ni-ta* "dieses" zu erwarten, doch scheint das zu den Spuren nicht zu passen. Speiser las *ba-ni-ta*; wenn das richtig ist, wäre "ein gutes Wort über ihn (Adapa)" zu übersetzen. Z. 56 Ende *is-sà-ku-at* "(Anu) schwieg" (statt *issakut*).

Z. 58f. steht *li-ib-ba ka-ab-ra* kaum mit CAD K, S. 23a: *h* für *libba gamra*, sondern ist vielleicht mit De Liagre Böhl, S. 425 als "überhebliches" bzw. "anmaßendes Herz" zu verstehen. Danach ist *šū-ú-ma* gegen die bisherigen Übersetzungen wohl als Pronomen zu verstehen: "er (Adapa) tat es", nämlich infolge des ihm von den Göttern gegebenen anmaßenden Herzens. In Z. 68 ist trotz des etwas knappen Raumes wohl zu lesen *a-a ni-ši da-a[-ša-]ti* (s. AHW, S. 167 b; CAD D, S. 129 b) "wehe über die sich mehrenden Menschen!" Davor "du sollst nicht (ewig) leben!".

K. 8743 (KB 6/1, S. XVIII.)

K. 8743 setzt nach einer Lücke den Text von K. 9994 fort und entspricht den Zeilen 12 -21 der Amarna-Tafel in einer etwas erweiterten Fassung. In Z. 1 wurde längst zu *ina šē!-mi-šū* "als er hörte" verbessert. In Z. 5 ist am Anfang vor *MEŠ* nicht deutlich, ob die Reste von zwei waagerechten Keilen vorliegen oder die eines gebrochenen senkrechten Keils. Die dann folgenden Zeichen gab Jensen richtig wieder. Eine Lesung *i-bar-rù-u* wäre orthographisch sehr ungewöhnlich; *i-bar ina ? []* befriedigt auch nicht, da an *bāru* "fangen" hier kaum zu denken ist. Z. 12 entspricht Amarna Z. 15. Z. 13 [] *ú-ba-lil!* "er verschmierte [mit Tränen? mit Schmutz?]". Am Ende von Z. 18 scheint kein Zeichen zu fehlen; Lesung als *iz-za-az*, was als Subjekt nur einen Gott voraussetzt.

K. 10147.

Wo die geringen Reste von K. 10147 einzuordnen sind, vermag ich nicht zu sagen. Die Zugehörigkeit zum Mythus ist trotz der Nennung des Adapa unsicher. Gehört das Stück an den Anfang der Dichtung vor Stück I?

(Anfang abgebrochen)

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 |]? ? [|
| 2 |]? UD (oder PI) [|
| 3 |]? <i>rab</i> ? [|
| 4 |]? <i>a-tu(-)ra</i> [|
| 5 | pit?]-la-te ta-pat-ti[-il? |
| 6 |]? KA <i>šū-nu</i> ? [|

- 7]? -RU giš-par-ra-ka šu-pa[r? -ru? -ur?]
 8]? BI tu-ú/šam[-
 9]? -ka-an iš-di(-)
 10] uk-ku-du GAR NA? [
 11]? a-na A-da-pa [
 12]? ana i-pe-e akli (NINDA) NA [
 13]? -šú? eli pi-is-nu-qí GA (šizba?) NA [
 14] , TI? KID? BU? ? , [] ? , šab/p-ti?
 (bricht ab)

Eine Übersetzung lohnt nicht. Einige Bemerkungen: In Z. 5 ist die vorgeschlagene Lesung ("du drehst Palmbaststricke") wahrscheinlicher als allenfalls mögliches [ed]-la-te ta-pat-ti "du öffnest [Ver]riegeltes"; edlāte wäre ein Assyriasmus. In Z. 7 sind von pa[r?] die beiden schrägen Keile erhalten, die auch andere Ergänzungen zulassen. Z. 8 ist vielleicht ein Präsens š zu ergänzen. Z. 9 [t]u? -ka-an iš-di oder iš-di-[ja] "du machst dauerhaft die Grundlagen" oder "den Gewinn"? Der Sinn von Z. 10 ist unklar. NĠG. NA = nignakku liegt gewiss ebenso wie in Z. 12 nicht vor. In Z. 12 sollte man a-na e-pe-e "für das Backen" bzw. "für die Bäcker" erwarten. In Z. 13 liegt es nahe, an šizbu "Milch" zu denken, weil in Z. 12 vom Brotbacken die Rede ist. Die größtenteils nicht sicher zu deutenden Reste vom Z. 14 bleiben ganz unklar.⁹

Stück III.

Für K. 8214 bietet schon die Übersetzung von Speiser wesentliche Verbesserungen; Die Kollation bestätigt seine Lesung von Z. 2f.

- 2 [šamna i]q-bi-šum-ma šu-ú ip-p[a-šiš]
 3 [šu-ba]-ta iq-bi-šum-ma šu-ú il-la-b[iš]
 [Öl] befahl er für ihn, darauf salbte er [sich],
 [ein Ge]wand befahl er für ihn, darauf bekleidete er [sich].

Z. 5 Ende man-nu ki-a-am ip-pùš! "wer handelt so?"

Z. 6 Anfang [qí]-bit-su ša! ki-ma qí-bit dA-nu Z. 9:

- 9 [i-nu-m]-i-šú dA-nu ša A-da-pa e-li-šú ma-šar! -ta iš-kun
 [Da]mals verhängte Anu über Adapa die Haft;
 10 nach ihr ([ár]-ki-šá) bewirkte Ea seine Freilassung.
 11 [A]nu, um seine Herrschaft (bēlu! -us-su) für immer herrlich zu machen, bestimm[te] das Schicksal;
 12 [er begna]digte ([ú-ram]-mi¹⁰) Adapa, den von Menschen Geborenen,

Das erste erhaltene Zeichen in Z. 13 kann ni oder ir oder der Rest von in sein. Nach Durchprüfung aller Möglichkeiten ist mir als einzige sinnvolle Ergänzung eingefallen [šá ší]-ni-šú . . .¹¹, also

⁹ Angesichts dieses Fragments muß daran erinnert werden, daß wir möglicherweise noch keineswegs alle Episoden des Adapa-Mythus kennen. Es ist daher gut denkbar, daß sich im British Museum und anderswo noch zugehörige Bruchstücke befinden, die wir als solche vorläufig noch nicht erkannt haben oder erkennen können.

¹⁰ rummū "lockern" (vgl. dazu AHW, S. 953f.) wird im Sinne von "(Schuld) lösen" (ebd. Nr. 7) babyl. sonst nur absolut oder mit hiṭtu als Objekt gebraucht, während neuass. auch Personen als Objekt vorkommen (ebd. Nr. 11). Eine andere sinnvolle Ergänzung von []-mi scheint aber nicht möglich.

¹¹ De Liagre Böhl l.c. S. 428 überträgt hier "mit bloßer Faust", ergänzt also anscheinend zu [ina up]-ni-šú. An den mir bekannten Belegstellen wird upnu aber nicht im Sinne von "(schlagende) Faust" gebraucht, sondern zumeist in Verbindung mit petū "(Hand) öffnen". Mein Verständnis des Schlusses der Dichtung weicht von der Deutung durch De Liagre Böhl mehrfach ab, muß sich aber auch einige Male auf nicht ganz sichere Ergänzungen stützen, sodaß einige Fragezeichen bestehen bleiben.

- 13 [der zw]eimal eigenmächtig des Südwind's Flügel zerbrochen hat,
 14 [danach? (ár? -kiš?)] zum Himmel aufstieg; so bleibt es!
 15 [Die¹²] die ihr Wehen ([š]á zaq! -šá) böse gegen die Menschen richtete;
 16 [die simmu-Krankheit,] die Krankheit, die am Leib der Menschen (schlimmes) anrichtete;
 17 [Wenn ([e? -nu? -ma?)] die) reine (elle(KÜ)-tum) Ninkarrak beruhigt,
 18 [möge die sich] aufmachen, simmu (und) Krankheit sich wenden!

Wie bereits gesehen wurde, beginnt mit Z. 15 ein vermutlich jüngerer Zusatz, der die Adapa-Erzählung für die Magie nutzbar zu machen sucht. Die so knappe Formulierung läßt vermuten, daß bereits die für uns verlorene Einleitung auf die Krankheit Bezug genommen hat. In Z. 19 scheint ein Fluch gegen eine vielleicht am Anfang von Z. 19 genannte Person zu beginnen, dessen Zusammenhang mit dem Vorangehenden vorläufig rätselhaft bleibt. In Z. 20 ist vor šit-tum noch der Rest eines [š]u oder [H]A zu sehen; ob [. . . mar-š]u "kranker [.]" zu ergänzen ist? Ganz unklar bleibt Z. 21f., weil in Z. 21 BU-ú-du unverständlich bleibt; weder b/pūdu "Schulter" noch pūdu II (s. AHW. 875a) scheinen zu passen. Vor BU ist noch ein ME oder eines der wie ME endenden Zeichen (ŠI, PI, GAL) zu sehen. In Z. 22 bleibt rechts ein Raum von 2-3 Zeichen Breite frei. Davor steht -d/ta-bi und vor d/ta als Zeichenrest ein kurzer waagerechter Keil, der weder zu der auf der Tafel üblichen Form von ú noch zu der von i ganz paßt. Wenn zu [ú]-ta-bi "er tauchte unter" zu ergänzen ist, wäre auf das Untertauchen durch den Südwind im ersten Teil des Mythus Bezug genommen. Anderenfalls könnte man zu [libba-šú i]-ta-bi "sein Herz wird froh" ergänzen. Dann aber müßte mit Z. 21 etwas Neues begonnen haben, das zum Fluch in Z. 19f. nicht mehr gehören kann. Ohne ein Duplikat oder ein Anschlußstück wird sich das Problem des Schlusses der jüngeren Fassung der Adapa-Dichtung nicht lösen lassen.

Zum Schluß noch ein Wort über die etwas verschiedene Motivierung der Begnadigung Adapa's durch Anu in der älteren (Amarna-) Fassung und in der jüngeren. Das Motiv des göttlichen Lachens über die Hilflosigkeit selbst eines "weisen" Menschen und der Entschluß Anu's großzügig zu schenken, anstatt zu strafen, findet sich in beiden Fassungen. Nur die jüngere macht aber den Wunsch Anu's, "seine Herrschaft für immer zu verherrlichen", zu einem entscheidenden Motiv seines Handelns. Sie setzt damit an die Stelle eines spontanen Aktes göttlichen Mitleids und souveräner Großzügigkeit im Vergeben eine wohlüberlegte Handlung des Gottes, der eben als Gott seine Herrschaft wahren muß. Das reflektierte Gottesbild der jüngeren Hymnen und Gebete sowie von Ludlul bēl nēmeqi war mit der Vorstellung des alten Mythus, daß ein Gott wie ein Mensch auch einmal ohne Nachgedanken aus dem Augenblick heraus überreich schenken könne, nicht vereinbar und forderte die Einfügung einer angemessenen Motivierung für das nicht einmal von dem weisen Gott Ea geahnte erstaunliche Handeln Anu's.

¹² Der Text nannte hier gewiß eine Krankheitsdämonin oder eine als Femininum konstruierte Krankheitsbezeichnung. Da am Anfang der Zeile wahrscheinlich nur wenig Platz ist, erscheint ein Wort wie šim-ma-tá schon reichlich lang. pāšittu als Benennung der Lamaštu ist mir weniger wahrscheinlich.

Some Legal Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur

Edmond Sollberger, London

Others, better qualified, are in this volume honouring the scholar who presented us with Sumerian literature. May one who treads humbler paths be allowed to do homage to the inventor and first editor of our earliest (to date!) Sumerian 'code of laws'. The texts published here in transliteration¹ and translation, with a brief commentary, all deal, in a way or another, with the process of law under the kings of Ur. Their provenance is certainly Tellō.

1. BM 14821 = 96-4-8,16 (cf. Figulla, Cat. p. 235). *Court proceedings*, year Šulgi 45, 8th month.

Obv.	1	di til-[la]
	2	'à šà-uru lu[gal-. . .]
	3	lugal-[. . .]
	4	UR- ^d nun-gal du[mu PN-ra]
	5	in-na-ba-[a]
	6	šà-kù-ge ba-na-[gi]-in
	7	šà-bi-ta
	8	2 SAR ká gu-la
	9	'à g ⁱ š ² gu-za-š ²
	10	UR-sa ₆ -ga ba-na-sumu
	11	2 SAR 'à šá-nun
	12	UR-sa ₆ -ga-a
	13	šà-kù-ge ki-ba in-na- šá-šá

¹ As no copies are attached I have refrained from using 'non-canonic' or 'grammatical' transliterations of signs.
² Written as TÚG.

- 32 ab-ba- $\tilde{g}u_{10}$ dumu lú- \tilde{d}^1 [. . .]
 33 nam-erím-àm
 34 a-tu dumu lugal-du $_{24}$ -ùr-
 re maškim
 35 1 UR-zikum-AMA⁸
 36 lú- $\tilde{d}nanna$ -ra
 37 ba-n[a-g]i-in
 38 1 lú- $\tilde{d}i\tilde{g}ir$ -ra
 39 $\tilde{d}nanna$ - $\tilde{h}i$ -li-ra
 40 ba-na-gi-in
 iv 41 [PN $_9$ dumu PN $_{10}$]
 42 [PN $_{11}$ dumu PN $_{12}$]
 43 [nam-erím-àm]
 44 [PN $_{13}$ dumu PN $_{14}$]
 [maškim]
 45 5 gín igi-4- $\tilde{g}i\tilde{a}l$ k[\tilde{u}]
 46 ki $\tilde{d}ba$ - \tilde{u} -zu-ta
 47 $\tilde{g}emé$ -gú-en-na-ra
 48 ba-na-gi-in
 49 $\tilde{g}emé$ -gú-en-na
 50 nam-erím-àm
 51 UR- $\tilde{d}lama$ maškim
 52 mu ús-sa ki-maš
 ki ba- $\tilde{h}ul$

(1) Concluded cases:

I (2) (That) two royal gur of barley (5) were assigned (4) to Lugal-muzuda⁹ (3) from (the estate of) Henebe's son, (6) Nasa, son of Sur-Suena; (7) Lugal-nangara, son of Lugal-. . .; (8) (and) Lugal-muzuda (9) took the oath. — (10) Gu-dea, son of the Elder,¹⁰ (was) the bailiff.

II (11) (That) [PN], son of $\tilde{d}i\tilde{g}ir$, (13) married (12) [PN $_2$], (14) Nin-kala, daughter of Lu-Nanše, (15) (and) Sur- $\tilde{g}ar$, son of Atu, (16) took the oath. — (17) Ni $\tilde{g}u$ (was) the bailiff.

III (19) (That) Nasa ha[rvested? bar]ley? (18) [in] the field [of] Sur-Bawa; (20) (and) it was brought [into] the house [of] Sur-Bawa; (21) (and) Nasa renounced all claims (on it), (22) Igi-zi-b[ara, son of PN $_3$] (23) (and) Atu, [son of PN $_4$] (24) took the oath. — (25) PN $_5$ (was) the bailiff.

IV (26-28) (That) [PN $_6$ was assigned to PN $_7$]; (29-31) (and) Sur[. . . , son of PN $_8$], was [assign]ed to Lu[. . .], (32) Abba $\tilde{g}u$, son of Lu[. . .], (33) took the oath. — (34) Atu, son of Lugal-dure, (was) the bailiff.

V (35-37) (That) Sur-zikuma was assigned to Lu-Nanna; (38-40) (and) Lu- $\tilde{d}i\tilde{g}ir$ was assigned to Nanna- $\tilde{h}ili$, (41-44) [PN $_9$, son of PN $_{10}$, (and) PN $_{11}$, son of PN $_{12}$, took the oath. — PN $_{13}$, son of PN $_{14}$, (was) the bailiff].

⁸ Note the spelling -AMA for m a.

⁹ '(O) King, by your name . . . '?

¹⁰ If, as it seems likely, this is the same Gu-dea who is known as an Elder from the seventh year of Amar-Suena on, our text would appear to suggest that the Eldership may have been an hereditary function. The name of his father, Lu-Bawa, occurs on some tablets and seal impressions: see Falkenstein, Gerichtsurkunden 1, p. 18, No. 12 and n. 4. I do not think, however, that Falkenstein is justified in distinguishing him from 'Gu-dea the Elder'.

VI (45) (That) 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ shekels of silver (48) were assigned (47) to $\tilde{G}eme$ -Gu.ena (46) from (the estate of) Bawa-izu, (49) $\tilde{G}eme$ -Gu.ena (50) took the oath. — (51) Sur-Lama (was) the bailiff.

(52) Year following (the year) Kimaš was sacked.

3. BM 14440 = 96-4-6,138 (cf. Figulla, Cat. p.197). *Archive label*, year Amar-Suena 6.

Obv.	1	pisan dub-ba
	2	im di til-la
	3	$\tilde{d}šará$ -kam PA.
		TE-si-ka
Rev.	4	\tilde{i} - $\tilde{g}ál$
	5	mu $\tilde{š}a$ -aš-ru
		ki ba- $\tilde{h}ul$

(1) Tablet container: (4) (herein) are (2) records of cases concluded (3) by Governor $\tilde{š}arakam$ (5) (in) the year $\tilde{š}ašru$ was sacked.

4. BM 19359 = 95-10-14,7. *Court proceedings*, year $\tilde{š}u$ -Suen 3+1.

Obv.	1	di til-la
	2	1 nin-zà-ge-si dumu
		ùr-re-ba-du $_7$
	3	sa $_{10}$ -àm til-la 3 gín kù-babbar- $\tilde{š}è$
	4	ùr-re-ba-du $_7$ ti-la-ra
	5	$\tilde{š}u$ UR- $\tilde{d}lama$ en $_x$ -si- ka-ta
	6	a-kal-la dumu UR-ni $\tilde{g}in$ - $\tilde{g}ar$ - gé
	7	in- $\tilde{š}i$ -sa $_{10}$ -a
	8	a-la dumu á-ra-da-na
Rev.	9	lú-URUXKÁRki 'dumu UR 1 -ni $\tilde{g}in$ - $\tilde{g}ar$ 1 -[r]a
	10	lú inim-m[a-b]i-me
	11	nin-zà-ge-si ù ama-ni-e
	12	lú inim-ma bí-gur
	13	a-kal-la
	14	nam-erím-àm
	15	$\tilde{g}emé$ a-kal-la ba-na- gi-in
	16	ti-'à-ma \tilde{h} -ta maškim
	17	lú- $\tilde{d}šará$
UE.	18	UR- $\tilde{d}KA$.DI
LE. i	19	di-ku $_5$ -bi-me
ii	20	mu ús-sa si-ma- núm ki ba- $\tilde{h}ul$

(1) Concluded case:

(6) That A-kala, son of Sur-niġin.ġara, (4) when Ure-badu was still alive, (7) had bought from him (2) Nin-zage-si, daughter of Ure-badu, (3) for the full price of three shekels of silver, (5) under the authority of Governor Sur-Lama¹¹, (8) Ala, son of Aradana¹², (9) (and) Lu-Uruba¹³, son of Sur-niġin.ġara, (10) were witnesses thereof. (11) Nin-zage-si and her mother (12) challenged the witnesses, (13) (but) A-kala took the oath (15) (and) the maidservant was assigned to A-kala.

(16) Ti-'a.maġta (was) the bailiff.

(17-19) Lu-Šara (and) Sur-Ištarana were the judges.

(20) Year following (the year) Simanum was sacked.

This document is a quasi-duplicate of ITT 3, 6516 (= Falkenstein, Gerichtsurkunden 2, p. 37). The latter records the same lawsuit in a slightly different form. It opens with a declaration by Nin-zage-si that A-kala had not bought her from her father. There follows the two witnesses' testimony that the sale had indeed taken place, the witnesses¹⁴ being challenged by Nin-zage-si, with no mention of her mother's intervention. The rest of the text, as far as it is preserved, corresponds to that of our tablet.

The reason for the existence of two transcripts of the same lawsuit is not readily apparent, as there is no evidence that transcripts were given to the parties, which would have necessitated at least two copies. On the contrary, the labels for tablet containers clearly show that the transcripts were kept in the Court archives where they were filed under the names of the judges who had dealt with the cases. Be that as it may, the discrepancies between our two texts imply the existence of two court scribes taking down the proceedings independently. One of them omitted the girl's opening declaration as implied in the testimony of the two witnesses, since, obviously, A-kala would not have needed to seek a court decision if his ownership of the maidservant had not been challenged. Though why the other scribe should have left out the mother's intervention is by no means clear.

5. BM 19360 = 95-10-14,8. *Court proceedings*, year Šū-Suen 3+1.

Obv.	1	di til-la
	2	1 'à UR-tur MU
	3	mu silá-tur dam
		UR-tur-ge
	4	LUM ¹⁵ UR-tur ba-ug ₆ -ta
	5	dam kúr-e ba-an-tuku-
		a-šè
	6	UR. ^d lama dumu UR-tur-ra
	7	ba-na-gi-in
	8	silá-tur-e
	9	túg in-ùr
	10	uru-ì-da-zal ¹⁶ maškim

¹¹ In office from Šulgi 32 to 38 and from Šulgi 41 to Amar-Suena 3: cf. AfO 17 (1954-56), 36.

¹² Perhaps 'Of his servant', which would imply an 'allophone' /a r a d/ of /i r (i d)/.

¹³ For this possible reading, see Sollberger, Correspondence, Glossary 778.

¹⁴ One of whom seems to be a brother of A-kala!

¹⁵ This is the LUM written with only two rows of wedges: cf. Sollberger, Correspondence, Glossary 456. For a possible reading /m u r (g u)/, see, most recently, Landsberger, Date Palm, p. 29 n. 85 and MSL 9, pp. 11 & 24: 189; pp. 35 & 36: 35; and Civil, MSL 12, p. xiii; MSL 13, p. 26: 278.

¹⁶ Written DÙ but to be emended to NI = zal in view of the PN u r u - ì / i n - d a - z a l, Limet, Anthroponymie, p. 563 s.v.

Rev.	11	lú. ^d šará
	12	lú-eb-gal
	13	UR. ^d KA.DI
	14	di-ku ₅ -bi-me
	15	mu ús-sa si-ma-núm ^{ki}
		ba-ġul

(1) Concluded case:

(3) Because Sila-tur, the wife of Sur-tur, (4) after Sur-tur had died (5) had taken another husband,¹⁷ (2) the house of Sur-tur, the cook (7) was assigned (6) to Sur-Lama, the son of Sur-tur. (8-9) Sila-tur renounced all claims.

(10) Uru-idazal (was) the bailiff.

(11-14) Lu-Šara, Lu-Eb.gala (and) Sur-Ištarana were the judges.

(15) Year following (the year) Simanum was sacked.

This very important text seems to imply that had the widow not re-married she would have kept her late husband's house. Also, the fact that her son had to go to court to obtain possession of his father's house shows that he had no automatic inheritance rights. A somewhat different situation is described in §§ 170ff. of the Laws of Hammurāpi.

6. BM 19356 = 95-10-14,4. *Court proceedings*, year Šū-Suen 6.

Obv.	1	di til-la
	2	1 nin-kù-zu dumu UR. ^d nanše
		ARADXKUR a-tu maš-šu-gíd-gíd-gé
	3	igi-ni in-ġar-ra
	4	mu lugal
	5	tukum-bi
	6	u ₆ 2-kam-ka lú inim-ma
		na-ba-sa ₆ dumu a-tu-gé
	7	ama-GI ₄ .IGI ¹⁸ .ġu ₁₀ in-ġar-ra
	8	mu-tù nu-mu-tù
	9	ġemé ì-bí-la a-tu-
		gé-ne ġa-a-me-èn
	10	bí-in-du ₁₁ -ga
	11	mu u ₄ gub-ba 'mu' [lugal p]à-
		da-[a]
Rev.	12	nin-kù-'zu' lú 'inim'-ma
		ama-GI ₄ .IGI-n[i ġar]-ra
	13	nu-mu-'da'-[an]-tù-ma-a-šè
	14	ġemé ì-bí-la a-tu-
		gé-ne
	15	ba-ne-gi-in

¹⁷ I am sure I shall be forgiven a certain glee in pointing out that both 'subject' and 'object' show the controversial suffix -e.

¹⁸ On this spelling of /a m a (r) g i/, see Falkenstein, Gerichtsurkunden 1, p. 93 n. 1.

16 lú-uru-ka maškim
 17 lú-diğir-ra
 18 UR.^dKA.DI
 19 lú-diğir-ra
 20 di-ku₅-bi-me
 21 mu d_{šu}-^dEN.ZU
 lugal-e d_{na}-rú-a
 maḥ d_{en}-líl-lá mu-rú

(1) Concluded case:

(2) Nin-ku.zu, daughter of Sur-Nanše, a servant of Atu, the diviner, (3) appeared (before the Court) (10) (and) declared:

(4) 'By the king's name, (5) this is the position:¹⁹ (6a) Within two days (8a) I shall produce (6b) witnesses that Nabasa, a son of Atu, (7) has freed me. (8b) (If) I do not produce (them), (9) let me be a maidservant to the heirs of Atu!'

(11) Because on the appointed day²⁰ (as per her) oath by the king's name (12-13) Nin-ku.zu did not produce witnesses to her having been freed, (14-15) the maidservant was assigned to the heirs of Atu.

(16) Lu-uruka (was) the bailiff.

(17-20) Lu-diğira,²¹ Sur-Ištarana (and) Lu-diğira were the judges.

(21) Year King Šū-Suen erected the lofty stela of Enlil.

One can easily reconstruct the events culminating in this lawsuit. Obviously, Nin-ku.zu took advantage of the death of her father's master to make a bid for freedom. (A further proof, incidentally, that the daughter of a servant was *ipso facto* the property of his master.) The heirs of the late master, however, claimed her as their maidservant and she sought a court order to the contrary but failed to prove her case.²² It is, of course, remarkable that mere servants could seek the protection of the courts against their own masters: it is perhaps, alas! less remarkable that the courts very seldom, if ever, found for them.

7. BM 15839 = 96-6-12,59. *Court proceedings*, no date given (possibly reign of Šū-Suen: cf. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 1, p. 22 (b) 6).

Obv. 1 di-til-la
 2 UR.^dlama dumu UR-kù-nun-
 ka-gé
 3 igi di-ku₅-šè
 4 igi-ni in-ğar-ra

¹⁹ This is, of course, more an interpretation than a translation. *t u k u m - b i*, literally 'its condition, circumstance', corresponds to *šumma* and is usually translated 'if'. This, however, does not do full justice to cases such as the present one, since only the consequences of *not* fulfilling the condition is explicitly given. Falkenstein's analysis of the phrase *t u k u m - b i . . . m u - t ù n u - m u - t ù* (see *Gerichtsurkunden* 2, p. 224 ad 11) still fails to convince me.

²⁰ The translation of line 11 is obviously tentative. The phrase UD.DU- b a appears in another *d i - t i l a* text (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 2, p. 64) but unfortunately in a hopelessly broken context. In Hh I 209, *u₄ g u b - b a* is explained as *u₄-mu tur-rum*, translated by the editor, without any commentary, as 'the turning of the day, noon'.

²¹ Undoubtedly an error for *l ú - d ģ a r á*; cf. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 1, p. 22, c9.

²² For another example of the burden of the proof resting with the accused, see below, No. 10.

5 [m]u lugal tukum-bi
 6 [iti] ezen dli₉-si₄
 7 [u₄] 15 zal-la²³
 8 [ğemé-ğū₁₀] UR.^dba-^rú¹ dumu
 [U]R.^dKA.DI-ka-ra
 9 [nu-mu-n]a-gub-[bé]-in
 10 [ğemé-ğū₁₀ ġemé-ni ħé-a]
 11 [bí-in-du₁₁-g]a
 Rev. 12 [PN ka]s₄
 13 [PN₂] kas₄
 14 [PN₃] kas₄
 15 [ù UR.^d]ba-ú
 lugal ġemé
 16 [na]m-erím-bi íb-tar
 17 [ğe]mé UR.^dba-ú-ra
 18 ba-na-gi-in
 19 ti-³à-maḥ-ta
 maškim
 20 šu-ì-lí
 21 UR.^dKA.DI
 22 di-ku₅-bi-me
 UE. 23 lú-ğir-suki
 24 UR.^dnanše dumu lú-d
 igi-ma-šè
 LE. i 25 lú-kiri-zal dumu
 a-tu
 ii 26 [lú ki-ba gub-ba-me]

(1) Concluded case:

(12-15) [PN, the cou]rier; [PN₂,] the courier; [PN₃,] the courier; [and Sur]-Bawa, the (claimant) owner of the maidservant, (16) swore an oath (that) (2) Sur-Lama, son of Sur-Ku.nuna, (4) had appeared (3) before a judge, (11) (and) [declar[ed]: (5) 'By the king's name, if (7) on the 15th [day] (6) (of) [the month] of the Feast of Lisin (8-9) I [have not] put [my maidservant] in the service of Sur-Bawa, son of Sur-Ištarana, (10) [let my maidservant be his maidservant!]' (17-18) The maidservant was (therefore) assigned to Sur-Bawa.

(19) Ti-³a.mahta (was) the bailiff.

(20-22) Šū-ilī (and) Sur-Ištarana were the judges.

(23) Lu-Ğirsu, (24) Sur-Nanše, son of Lu-Igi.(a)maše, (24) (and) Lu-kiri-zala, son of Atu (26) [were in attendance].²⁴

8. BM 15798 = 96-6-12,18. *Court proceedings*, no date given (but see below, n. 26).

Obv. (Completely destroyed except for traces of the first sign of several lines and of the last sign of two lines.)

²³ Perhaps followed by an erasure.

²⁴ On these 'observers', sometimes mentioned in *d i - t i l a* texts after the court officers and judges, see Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 1, pp. 54ff.

Rev. (Between two blank spaces:)

- 1 1 gu₄
- 2 15 gín kù-babbar
- 3 ki UR-mes-ta
- 4 24 še gur-l[ug]al
- 5 ki lú-diğir-ra-ta
- 6 lú-dnanše-ra
- 7 ba-na-gi-né
- 8 di til-la lú-kiri-zal-kam
- 9 ḥé-sa₆ suka²⁵l maškim

[.]

(1-2) 1 ox (and) 15 shekels of silver (3) from (the estate of) Sur-mes; (4) (and) 24 royal g u r of barley (5) from (the estate of) Lu-diğira, (7) are assigned (6) to Lu-Nanše.

(8) (These) are cases concluded by Governor Lu-kiri.zala,²⁶ (9) Ḥesa, the messenger? (being) the bailiff.

9. Tablet (upper half only preserved) in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.²⁷ *Declarations in court*, no date given

- Obv. i 1 [1] lugal-zà-è
- 2 [1] ušumgal
 - 3 [a]ga_x-ús lugal-me
 - 4 [1] lú-diğir-ra
 - 5 [1] nam-ḥa-ni
 - 6 t[á]m-kàr-me
 - 7 'à-ki-ŠAG₅ lugal-
pa-è en_x-si-
ka in-ba-al-éš
 - 8 'à'-nin-'à-balağ-ni-
[k]a ba-ba bí-du₁₁
[lacuna]
 - 1' [1] lú-dèr-ra nimgir]
 - 2' [1 PN]
- ii 1 1 lugal-ezen
- 2 GUR.DA-me
 - 3 lú inim-ma-še
im-ta-è-éš
 - 4 ù lú-dèr-ra
nimgir-e
 - 5 u₄ 'à-ki-ŠAG₅
ba-ba-al-la-a

²⁵ The sign is written with the four horizontals decreasing in length from bottom to top and three slanting wedges before the end vertical.

²⁶ In office from Šulgi 25 to 28: see AfO 17 (1954-56), 36.

²⁷ Published with the kind permission of Mr. C. Aldred, Keeper of the Department of Art and Archaeology.

- 6 a-bu-ni kaskal-a
mu-ti-la-àm bí-
du₁₁
- 7 mu N[G-da nu-[. . .]
[á-a]?

[lacuna]

Rev. iii [lacuna]

- 1 [. . .] (*illegible traces*)
(*blank*)
 - 2 igi en_x-si-ka-še
 - 3 igi lú-dnanna suka₆-še
 - 4 ù igi ab-ba uru 5-še
 - 5 1 lugal-ezen kù-dím-e
 - 6 10 gín ḥar guškiğ
 - 7 a-ni-ni-še in-ši-sa₁₀
bí-du₁₁
 - 8 nu-sa₁₀-a a-ni-ni mu
lugal-bi in-pà
 - 9 1 a-du-du kù-dím-ma
 - 10 ba-an-RU-ub²⁸ nì-na-me
nu-zu bí-du₁₁
- iv [lacuna]
- 1 [PN₂]
 - 2 1 ḡiri-né-ì-sa₆
tám-kàr-a
 - 3 1/3 ma-na 3 gín kù-babbar
in-da-tuku bí-du₁₁
 - 4 kù-bi in-ni-lá
 - 5 UR-mes kas₄-kam uru-a
mu-tù
 - 6 mu 3-a 'à-ki-ŠAG₅
 - 7 lú-dutu²⁹-ka nu-ba-
al-e-da
 - 8 1/3 [ma]-na guškiğ
 - 9 U[R-ni]ḡin-ḡar-gé in-
[ni-l]á bí-du₁₁
- LE. i 10 [ki . . .]-igi-ba-sağ
lú-na-ta
- ii 11 šu ba-a-[an-ti]
(*end of text*)

²⁸ For this spelling of /š u b/, see Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 2, p. 333 ad 4.

²⁹ The scribe seems to have started writing INANA and then changed it to UTU.

I (i 8) In the 'A-nin-'a.balaḡani,³⁰ Baba declared (that) (1-3) Lugal-za.e (and) Ušumgal, the royal constables; (4-6) (and) Lu-diḡira (and) Namḡani, the merchants, (7) had dredged?³¹ in the 'à - k i - ŠAG₅³² of Governor Lugal-pa.e³³.

[.]

II (1'-2') [Lu-Erra, the herald; (and) PN₂] (ii 1) (and) Lugal-ezena, (2) the GUR.DA officials³⁴, (3) came forward as witnesses (4) and Lu-Erra, the herald, (6b) declared (that) (5) at the time the 'à - k i - ŠAG₅ was being dredged? (6a) Abūni was on a journey.³⁵

(7)

[.]

(iii 1) [. . .]

III (iii 2) Before the Governor, (3) before Lu-Nanna, the messenger, (4) and before five Elders, (5) Lugal-ezena, the silversmith, (6-7) declared (that) he had bought ten shekels of gold rings from Anini. (8) (However,) Anini swore by the king's name that he had not, (9-10) (and) Adudu declared that he did not know anything about what the silversmith was accused of.³⁶

[.]

IV (iv 1) [PN₂] (3) declared (that) he had (a credit of) one third mina three shekels of silver with (2) ḡirine-isa, the merchant. (4) He had paid that silver (5) (which) Sur-mes, being a courier,³⁷ took to town.

V (6-9) S[ur-ni]ḡin.ḡara declared that as, for three years, he would not be dredging? in the 'à - k i - ŠAG₅ of Lu-Utu, [he had paid] (him) one third [mi]na of gold. (11) He rece[ived] (it) (10) from [. . .]-igi-ba-saḡ,³⁸ his (Sur-niḡin.ḡara's) man.

³⁰ Or, 'in the house of Nin-'a.balaḡani'.

³¹ The translation is conjectural. The verb *b a - a l* (always spelt thus in Ur III) has the basic meaning of removing something out of something, and is translated, depending on the context, as 'to dredge (a canal)', 'to empty (a boat)', etc. The precise meaning in our text is not altogether clear, especially in view of the obscure 'à - k i - ŠAG₅ (see the following footnote). The fact that men of substance seem to have been liable to do this work (§1); that failure to do it had to be justified (§2), or substantial compensation paid in lieu (§5), points to a rather important duty.

³² As far as I am aware, the term 'à - k i - ŠAG₅ occurs only in this text. The literal meaning, 'house, pleasant place', calls to mind phrases such as *k i - t u ḡ - d u₁₀ - g a^{ki}* (Ammī-ditāna, year-name 20) or *[k i - t u ḡ] s ḡ - g a = ḡu-ba-at re-ḡa-a-tim* (Abī-eḡuḡ, Sollberger & Kupper, IRSA IVC8a, cuneiform text unpublished). It may denote a large country estate. (A reading *ḡi ḡ i m m a r* for ŠAG₅ is hardly in question; nor does the context support an interpretation of 'à - k i - ŠAG₅ as a variant spelling of 'à - k i - s ḡ - g a, ŠL 324: 271.)

³³ Known as governor of a rather obscure city, Iḡim-Šulgi(rā): Weidner, RSO 9 (1921-23), p. 472 (P 368; cf. Hallo, JCS 14 (1960), p. 90 and n. 20); Kang, Drehem Archive 1,188:143 (not in list of PN's!); HTS 139 (unpubl. tablet in the Hartford Theological Seminary, transliterated by me in 1955, courtesy Prof. M. Bailey), dated Šulgi 48.

³⁴ For this professional name, see Falkenstein, Gerichtsurkunden 3, p. 119 s.v., and 2, p. 82 ad 4. Misread by Deimel, ŠL 295:164, as *u g u l a 60 - d a* 'Vorsteher über 60 Mann' (following Legrain, TRU, text vol. p. 145, s.v. *p a g e ḡ - d a* 'chef de 60').

³⁵ §§ 1 and 2 may be part of the same case (to which line ii 7 too may belong). I have numbered the preserved cases consecutively for convenience.

³⁶ On *ḡu b*, 'to charge, accuse someone', see Falkenstein, Gerichtsurkunden 3, p. 163 s.v.

³⁷ The form *k a s₄ - k a m* is difficult as it implies either a word ending in -k or a genitival formation, neither of which is documented.

³⁸ I cannot offer an interpretation, nor therefore a restoration, of this name.

10. BM 13994 = 96-4-2,94 (tablet) & BM 13994a = 96-4-2,94a (envelope; cf. Figulla, Cat. p. 159). *Pledge to establish innocence*, year Ibbī-Suen 4 (tablet; envelope has year 2³⁹), 4th month.

Tablet

Envelope

Obv.	1	UR-DUB.UMBISAG-ḡé	Obv.	[]
	2	u ₄ -SAR iti munu _x -kú-ḡè		[	-ḡ]è
	3	lú la-ga udu zuḡ-a		[	z]uḡ-a
		lú-d ₁ nanna-ka		[	-k]a
	4	mu-tù nu-mu-tù		[	] -tù
	5	lú la-ga-bi	Rev.	lú la-ga-bi	
		ì-me-a		ì-me-a	
Rev.	6	zi lugal-bi		zi lugal-bi in-pà	
		in-pà			
	7	igi UR-diḡ-alim		igi UR-diḡ-alim dumu LUL.[A-ḡè]	
		dumu ka ₁₀ -ḡu ₁₀ -ḡè			
	8	igi ka-gi-na		igi ka-gi-na sukaḡ-ḡè	
		sukaḡ-ḡè			
	9	igi ḡeḡ-ḡeḡ-ḡu ₁₀		igi ḡeḡ-ḡeḡ-ḡu ₁₀ nu-bànda-ḡè	
		nu-bànda-ḡè			
	10	iti ḡu-numun u ₄ 14		iti ḡu-numun u ₄ 14-àm ba-[zal]	
		ba-zal			
LE.	11	mu en d ₁ nana ba-ḡuḡ		mu en d ₁ nana	
				máḡ-c ì-pà	

Seal: (1) UR-DUB.UMBISAG (2) dub-sar
(3) dumu d₁utu-ḡu₁₀ (4) ugula uḡ-bar-ra

(1) Sur-DUB.UMBISAG (6) swore by the king's life (2) (that) by the New Moon of the month of Eating the Malt (4a) he would produce (3) the thief⁴⁰ of Lu-Nanna's stolen sheep; (4b) (and if) he did not produce (him) (5) he would be the thief.

(7) Before Sur-Iḡalima, son of Kaḡu; (8) before Ka-gina, the messenger; (9) (and) before ḡeḡ-ḡeḡḡu, the overseer.

(10) Month of the Sowing, 14th day, (11) (tablet:) year the High Priest of Inana was installed (envelope: year the (omen-)kid chose the High Priest of Inana).

Seal: Sur-DUB.UMBISAG, scribe, son of Utuḡu, chief of the weavers.

Sur-DUB.UMBISAG was apparently in charge of Lu-Nanna's sheep when some of them disappeared, presumably stolen. Accused of stealing the sheep, Sur-DUB.UMBISAG asks for a fortnight's time in which to

³⁹ The contradictory dates are of course due to a clerical error. The scribe was probably less attentive when he was repeating the original text on the envelope and gave, mechanically the wrong ending to the year-name. A similar, though more remarkable, mistake occurs in Legrain, UET 3, 1602, where the tablet is dated to Ibbī-Suen 4 and the envelope to Amar-Suena 4: see AfO 17 (1954-56), 24 and n. 75.

⁴⁰ In the OB Lu series, *lú la-ga* is translated *ḡabbātum*; cf. MSL 12, p. 166: 282, and CAD s.v. *ḡabbātu*. As far as I could ascertain, the term occurs only on one other Ur III text, BM 19024 (= CT 5, 29) i 5f.:

[n a n ḡ] e s a ḡ a n ḡ e [l] ú l a - g a z u ḡ - a
[n a n ḡ] E.NITÁ SU.SU [l] ú l a - g a z [u ḡ - a]

Professor Kramer tells me, however, that it is found in some literary texts. [Cf. Sjöberg, JCS 25 (1973), 134].

catch the real thief; failing which he would accept responsibility. In due course either the real thief or (more likely, I suspect,) Sur-DUB.UMBISAG himself would appear in court, the witnesses to the pledge would take the oath, and sentence would be passed. A very clear illustration of the principle 'guilty unless proved innocent'.

11. BM 14977 = 96-4-8,172 (cf. Figulla, Cat. p. 250). *Certificate of manumission*, year Ibbī-Suen 2, 5th month.

Obv. 1 1 šu-bar lú-LALXSAR-bar-ra
2 'a dnanna ba-an-tur₅
3 nam-erím-bi
ba-tar
4 ugula lugal-sa₆-ga
Rev. 5 iti munu_x-kú u₄
20 ba-zal
6 mu en dīnana
maš-e ì-pà

(1) The freedman⁴¹, Lu-Usar.bara⁴², (2) was brought into the temple of Nanna (3) (where) the (required) oath was sworn. (4) Chief: Lugal-saga.

(5) Month of Eating the Malt, 20th day, (6) year the (omen-)kid chose the High Priest of Inana.

12. BM 14985 = 96-4-8,180 (cf. Figulla, Cat. p. 250). *Death certificate*, year Ibbī-Suen 1, 6th month.

Obv. 1 1 u₄-la-ba-da
ba-ug₆
2 dumu UR-sa₆-ga
nam-erím-bi i[n-ta]r
3 ġiri UR-mes dumu
en-si
Rev. 4 iti ezen ddumu-z[i]
5 mu di-b[í]-
dEN.ZU [lugal]
Seal: (1) lú-ba-gára⁴³ (2) dub-sar (3) dumu ba-sà

(1) Ulabada⁴⁴ died. (2) The son of Sur-saga swore the (required) oath. (3) Responsibility of Sur-mes, the Governor's son.

(4) Month of the Feast of Dumu-zi, (5) year Ibbī-Suen (became) [king].

Seal: Lu-Bagara, scribe, son of Basa.

⁴¹ šu-bar as a (verbal) noun is not, to the best of my knowledge, attested elsewhere.

⁴² usar-bar-ra could be another spelling of the GN ú-sà-ar-pa-ra (and variants): see Gelb, AJSL 55 (1938), 85; and, for /u s a r/, Sollberger, AfO 18 (1957-58), 107f. n. 15.

⁴³ The reading is certain although the sign begins as GÁRA but ends as ŠA.

⁴⁴ I cannot analyse this name.

13. BM 14909 = 96-4-8,104 (cf. Figulla, Cat. p. 244). *Death certificate*, no date given.

Obv. 1 1 ma-an-du₁₁
dumu pa₄-pa₄ kù-lá ba-ug₆
2 dnin-ġir-su-ì-sa₆
nam-erím-bi ì-tar
Rev. blank

(1) Mandu, son of Papa, the assayer,⁴⁵ died. (2) Nin.Ġirsu-isa swore the (required) oath.

Excursus: The Name of the Year Šulgi 45

A very interesting form of this year-name is found, as far as I could ascertain, on 14 tablets only, including the one published above. These are:

A BM 12231 (= King, CT 5, 17f.).
B-D Nikolski, Dokumenty II 456, 460, 467.
E-F Dhorme, RA 9 (1912), pl. I, SA 9 and SA 17.
G Legrain, TRU, 276.
H Barton, Haverford Coll. 1, 91 (pl. 31).
I Schneider, Or 18 (1925), pl. III, 7.
J Hussey, HSS 4, 106.
K MAH 16657 (now in Sauren, Wirtschaftsarkunden . . . Genf, 158).
L Keiser, BIN 3, 496.
M Kang, Drehem Archive 1, 128.
N BM 14821, published above, No. 1.

The first part of the year-name is fairly simple. Except for N, which mentions no R(oyal) N(ame), and A, which gives the full formula (RN and titles), all the texts have simply: m u R N l u g a l - e. The four cities are listed in the order Urbilum, Lullubu, Simurrum and Karahar, except in A, H and N where Lullubu and Simurrum are transposed. Minor spelling variations occur, the most interesting being k á r a - ħ a r k i - r a in A.

The main difficulties are in the second part of the year-name. The adverb qualifying the whole phrase, which appears in N as AŠ.EŠ (with EŠ written as 3 slanting wedges), is written AŠ.EŠ.ŠÈ in A (and, perhaps, G) and AŠ.ŠÈ in all other texts (broken off in H). I propose to reconcile these spellings by reading dili-eš, dili-éš and dili-eš-šè, possibly reflecting an 'original' /dili-eše/. I translate 'in one go' (literally, 'as one') rather than 'singly', 'in turn', which should have been /didli-eš/.

The direct object of the verbal phrase is normally written SAGxX-bi (broken off in H), in which X is a sign inscribed either in the first or in the second half of the SAG. It is not always clear but may safely be taken as DU in view of the writing SAG.DU-bi in F, K and L. SAG.DU is given by the vocabularies as a synonym of sa ġ = qaqqadum, which is confirmed by the variant sa ġ - bi in M.

⁴⁵ Cf. kù-lá = sanāqu šá KÙ.BABBAR, 5 R 41, 2: 60f. (correct ŠL 469:54a accordingly).

Finally, what I interpret as an adverb (broken off in N) qualifying the actual verb appears in various forms: ŠU.UŠUM.RA (A); ŠU.UŠUM.A (B-E, G, K-M: ŠÈ for ŠU in M may be a mistake of the scribe or the copyist); ŠU.UŠUM (H-I); UŠUM.A (F); and the unique UZU[?].U[M][?].RA (J). The occasional reading búr for UŠUM rests only on the single example of A. On the other hand, the occurrence of UZU[?].U[M][?], if correct, might point to a reading /u s u m/ though, admittedly the RA in both A and J is difficult to explain. The meaning of the word is not easy to establish either. (ŠU.)UŠUM = (š u -) b u l ú g = *qarāšum* hardly fits the context, which requires a meaning such as, for example, 'fiercely'.

Literally, the year-name would then read: 'Year (RN (with or without titles), GNs, in one go, their heads, . . . ly, smote'.

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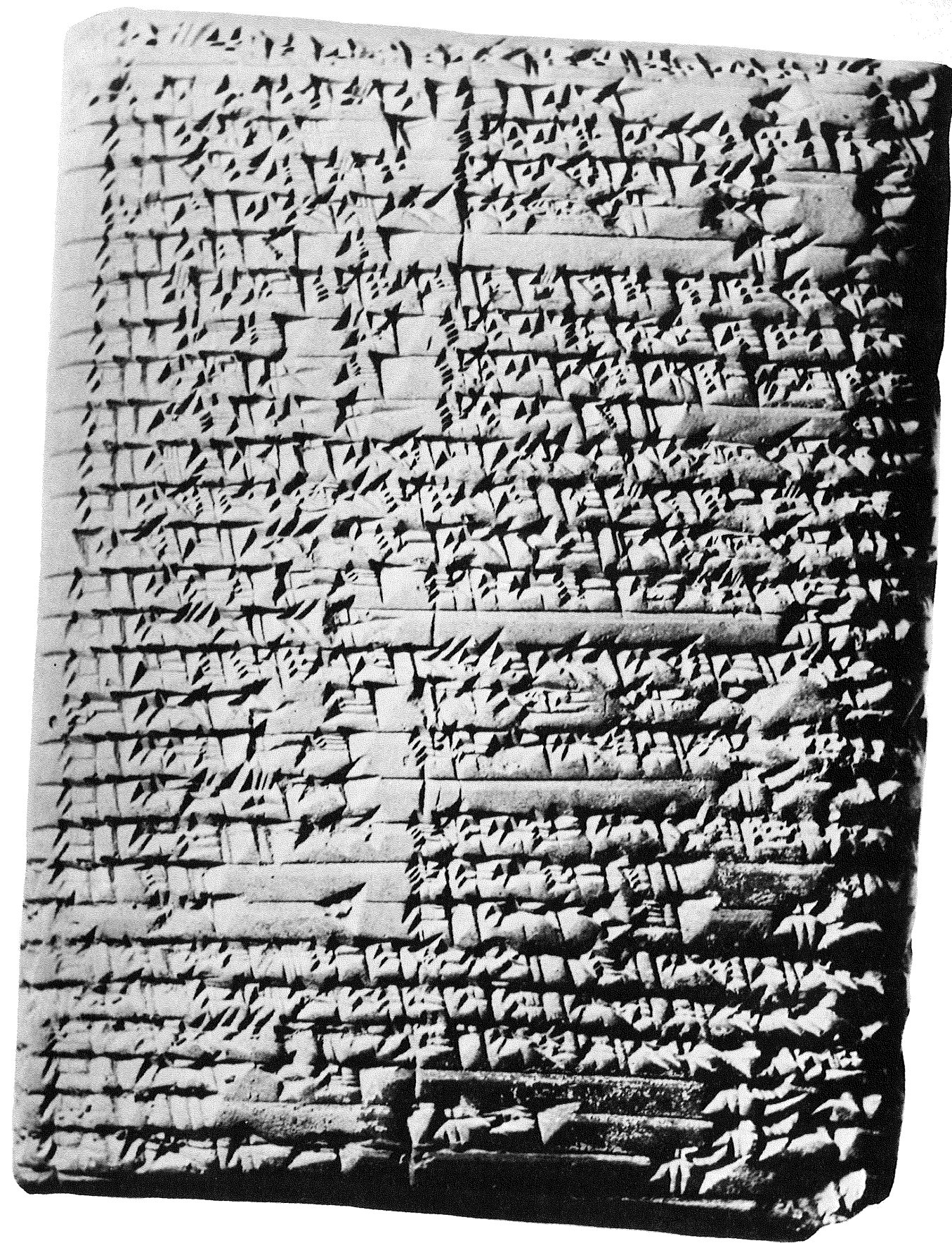
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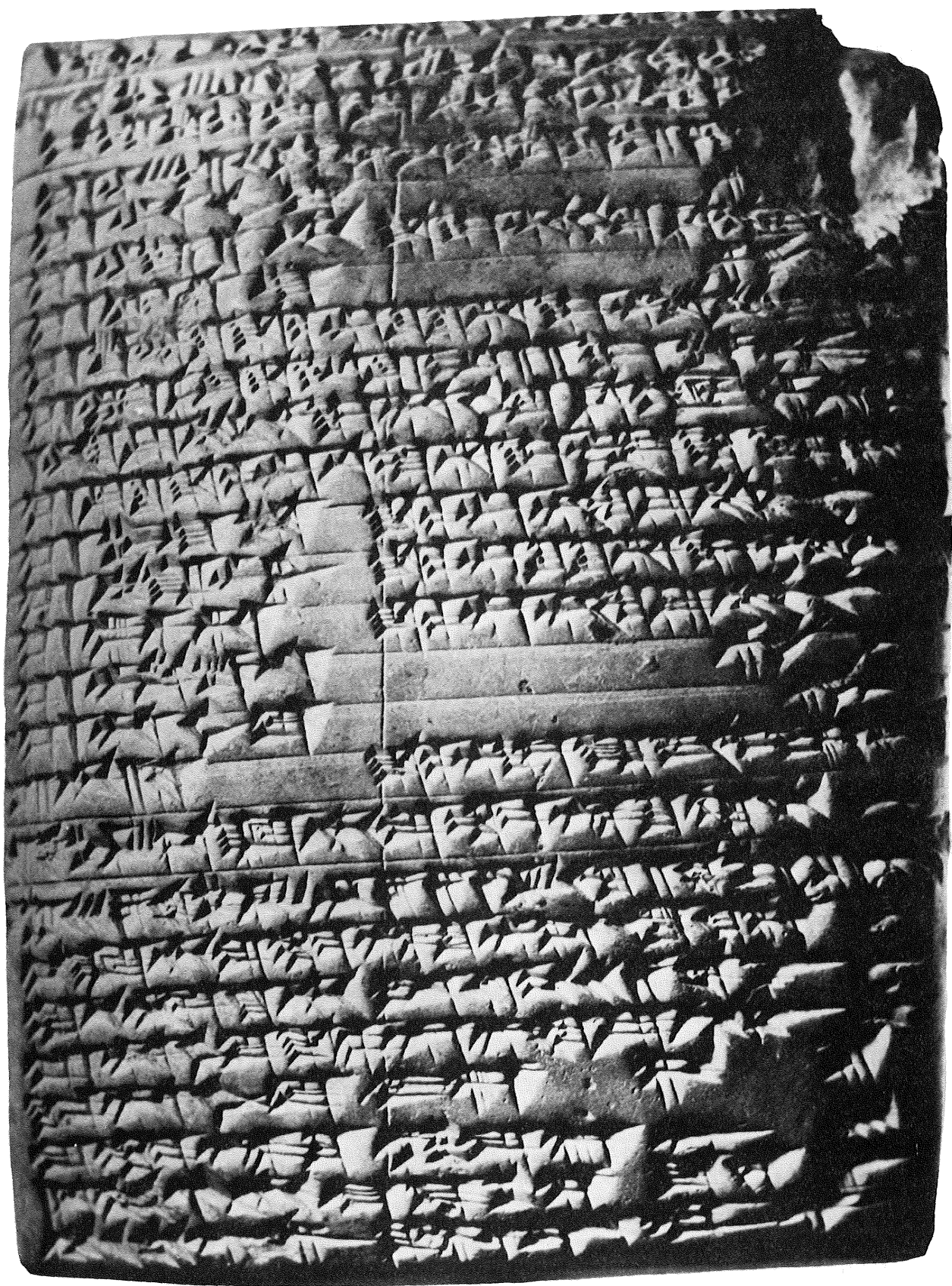
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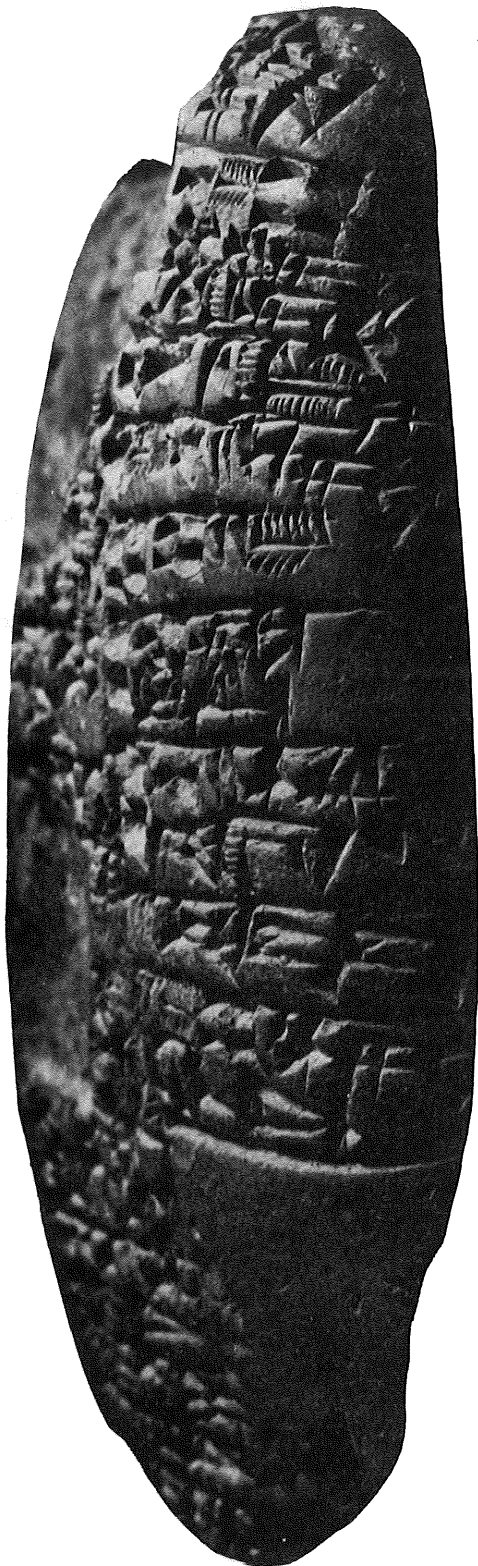
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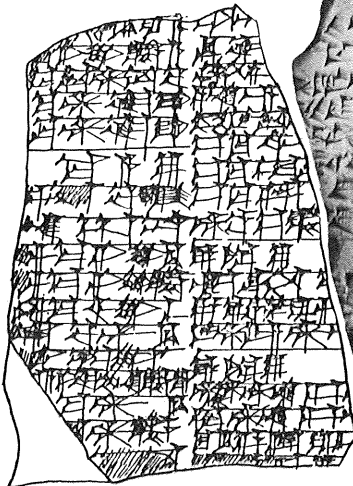
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Right Edge

C = Ni 1250 + UM 29-16-684 + N 1631



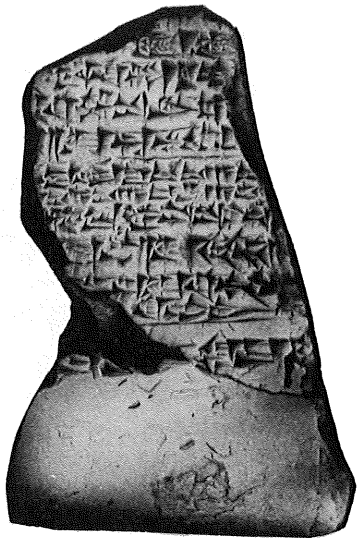
D₁ = UM 29-13-560



D₃ = N 3196



obv.



rev.

A = N 3517 + 3606

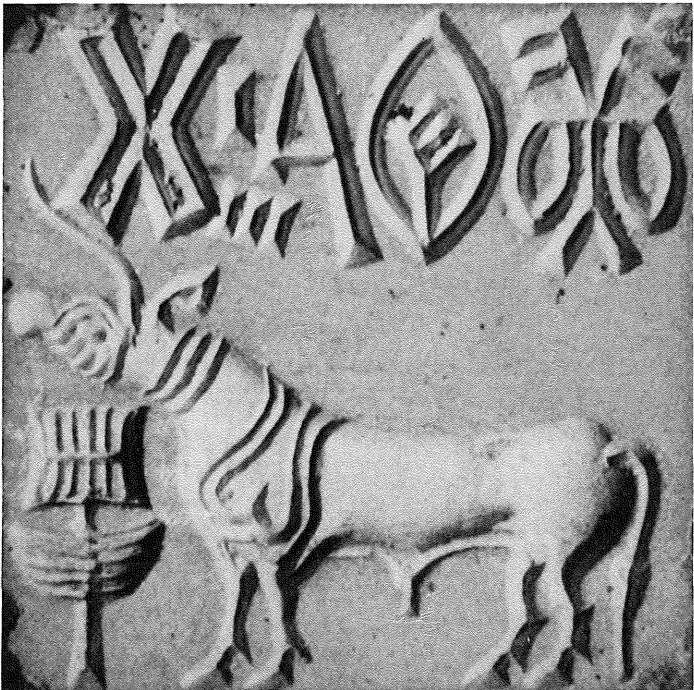


obv.



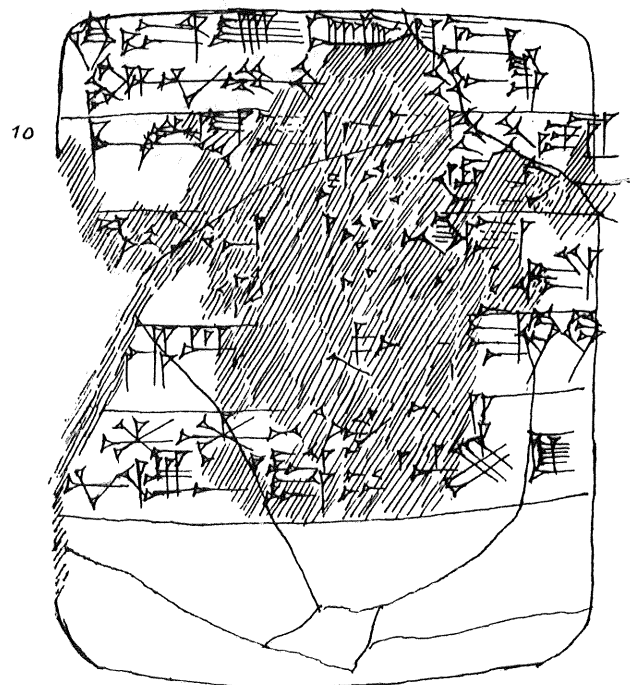
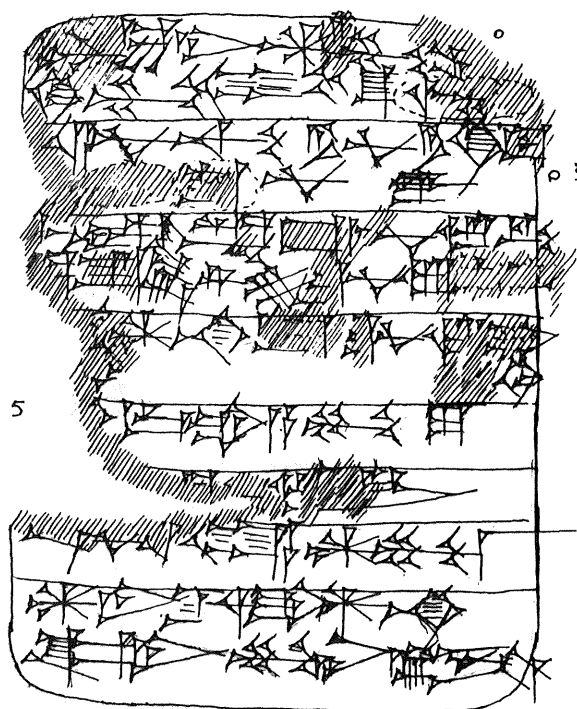
rev.

D₂ = N 3529



Photograph of Indus seal in the private collection of
Mr. Edward Gans, Berkeley, California

NBC 11108



NBC 11108

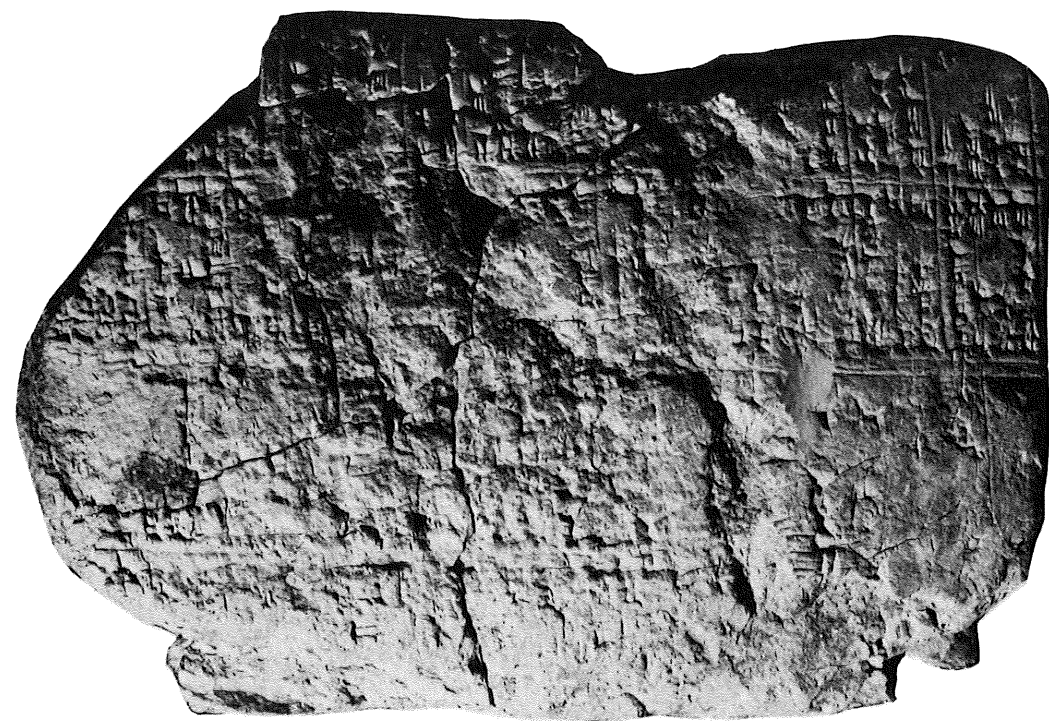


Obv.



Rev.

UM 29-13-357 + N 915 + N 1911



Rev.



Obv.

BM 59809



S 522

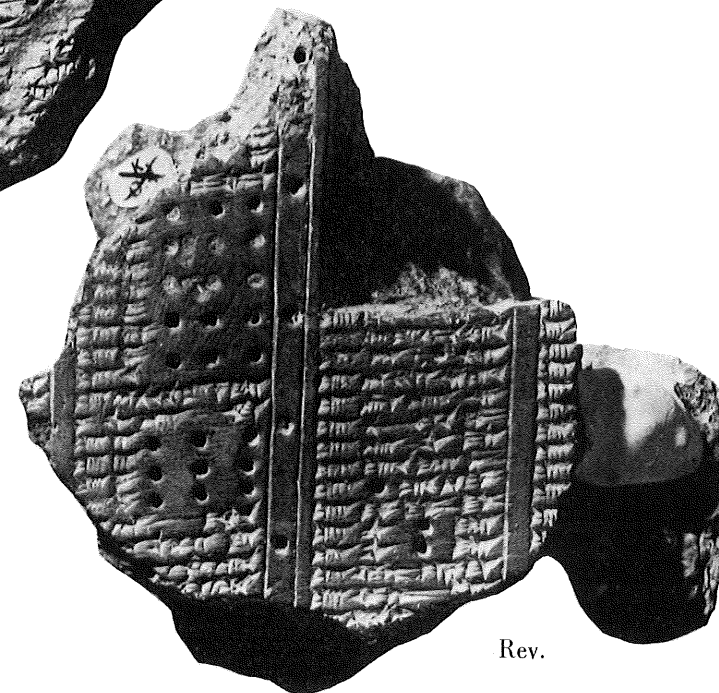


S 278



K 15262 +

Obv.



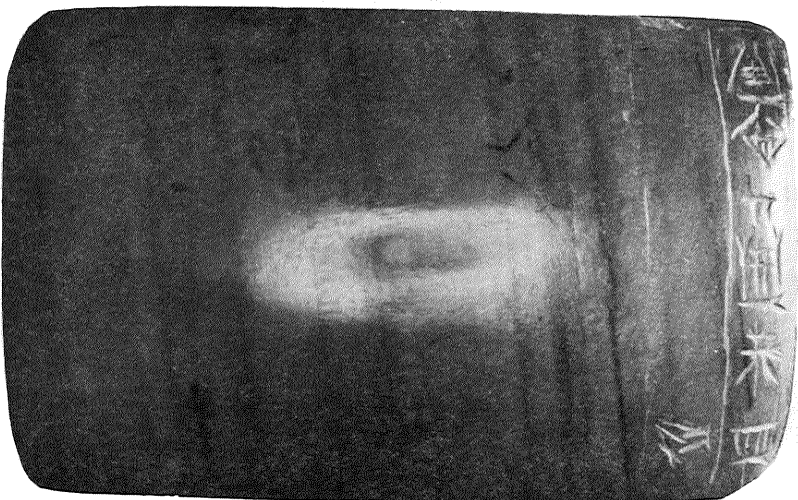
Rev.



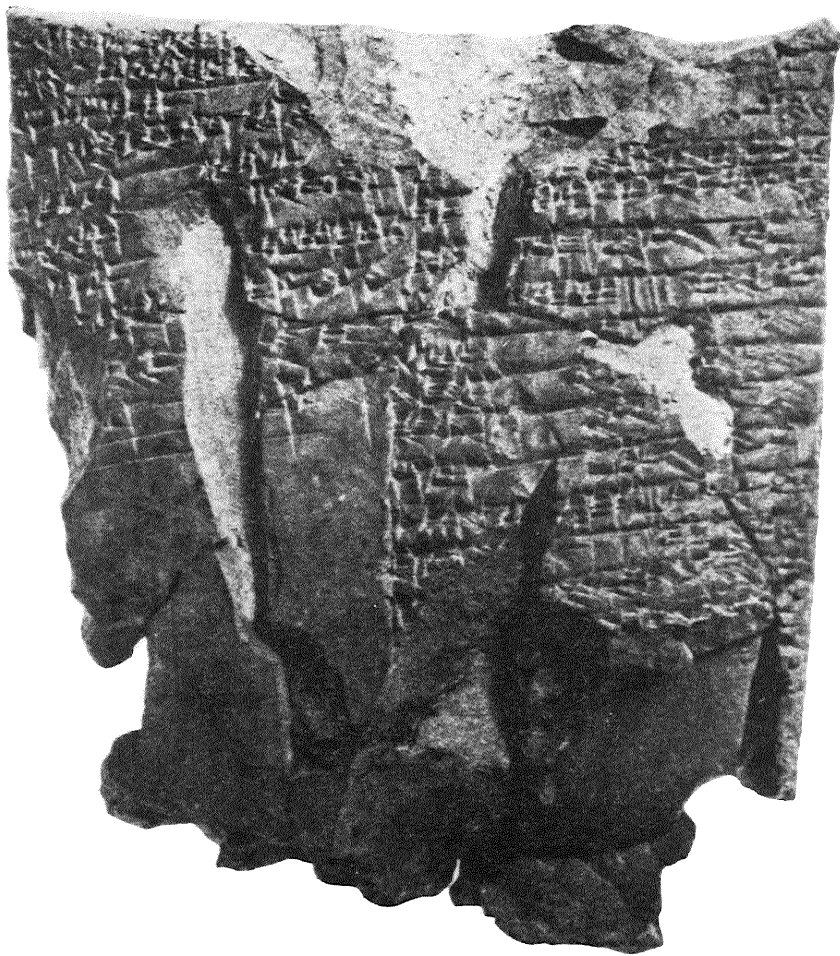
FLP 1300



YBC 2303



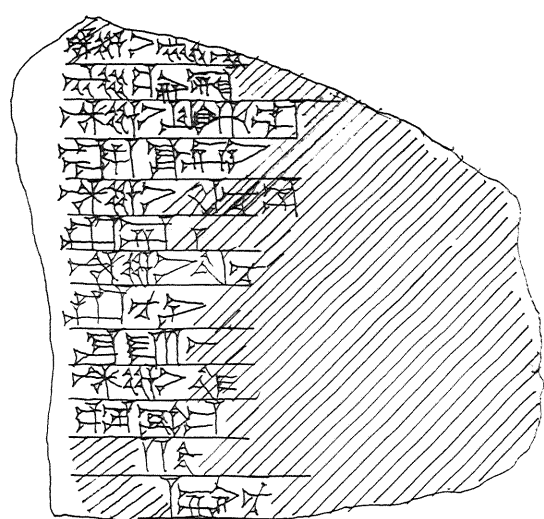
Obv.



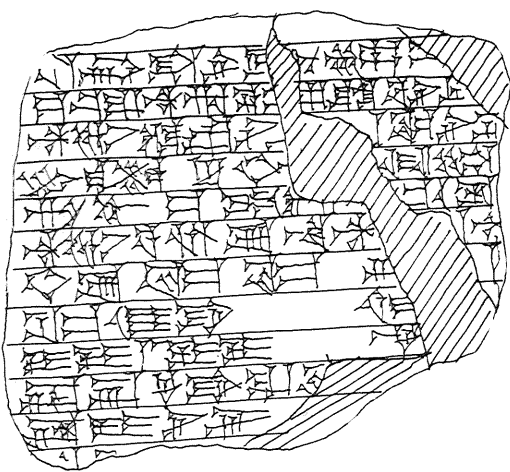
Rev.

Text B: Oxford 1932.156a

(Photo: Courtesy of Ashmolean Museum)



Obv.



Rev.

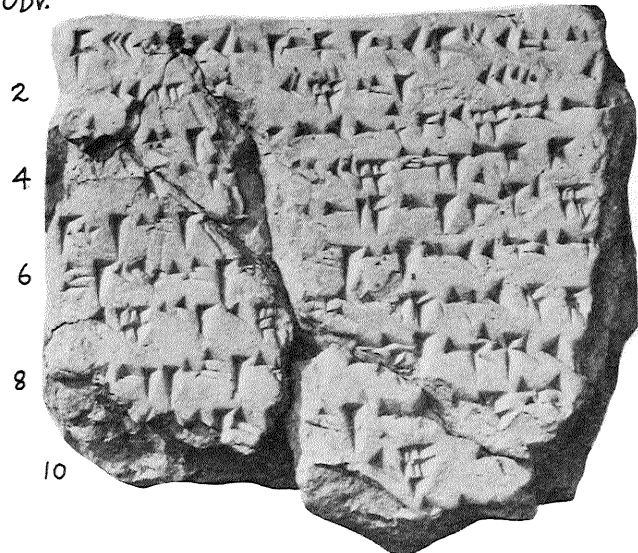
Text C: 3N-T213



Edge

Text B

Obv.



Rev.



Metropolitan Museum 86.11.354 (A.D. 31)

Obv.



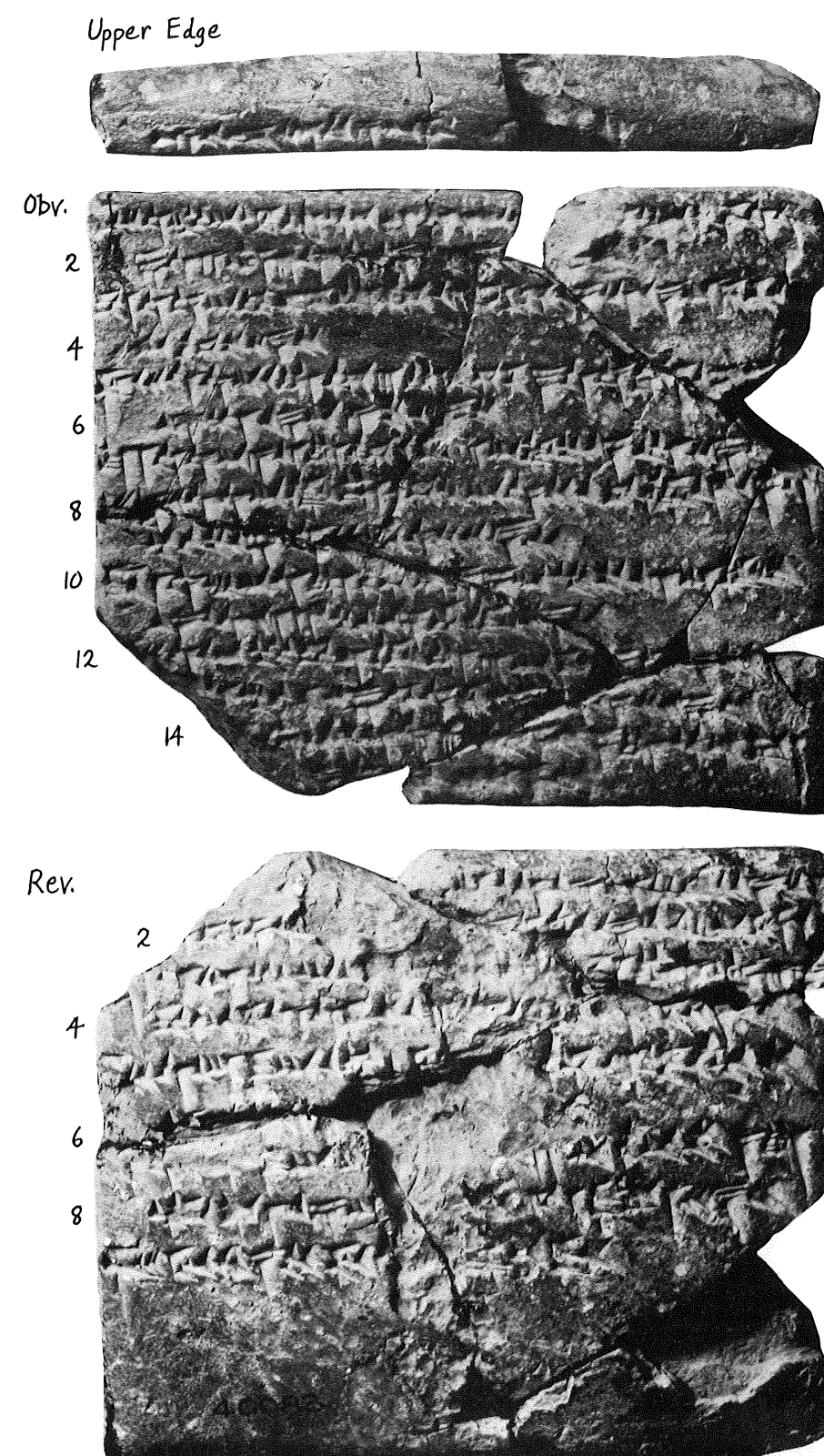
Rev.



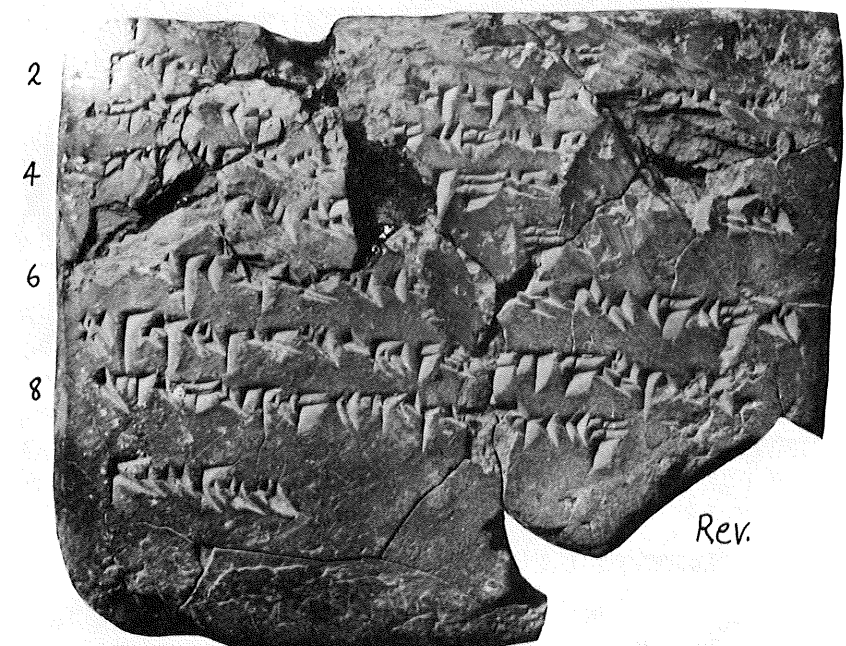
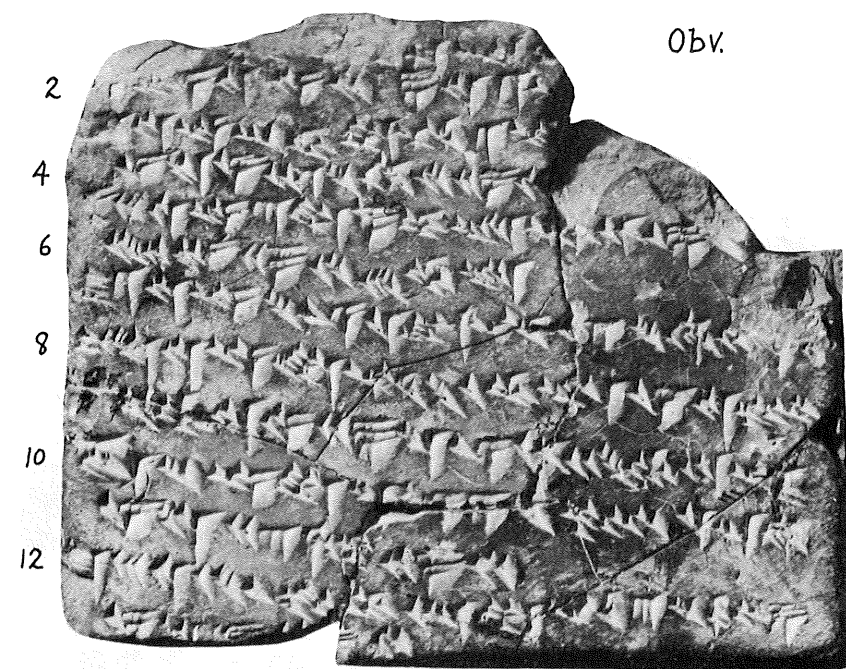
D.T. 143 (A.D. 36)



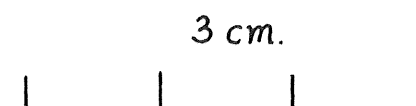
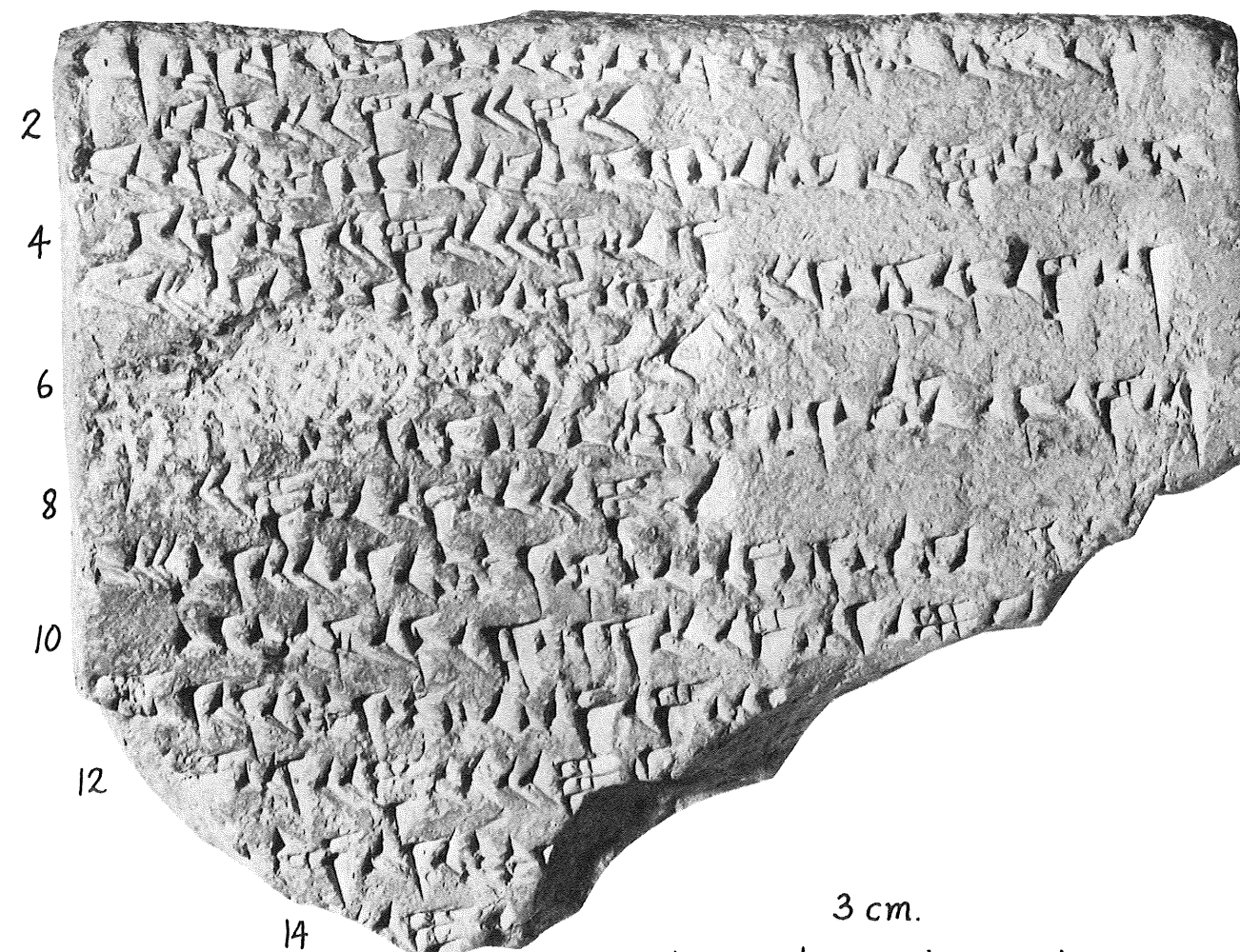
B.M. 45982 (A.D. 44)



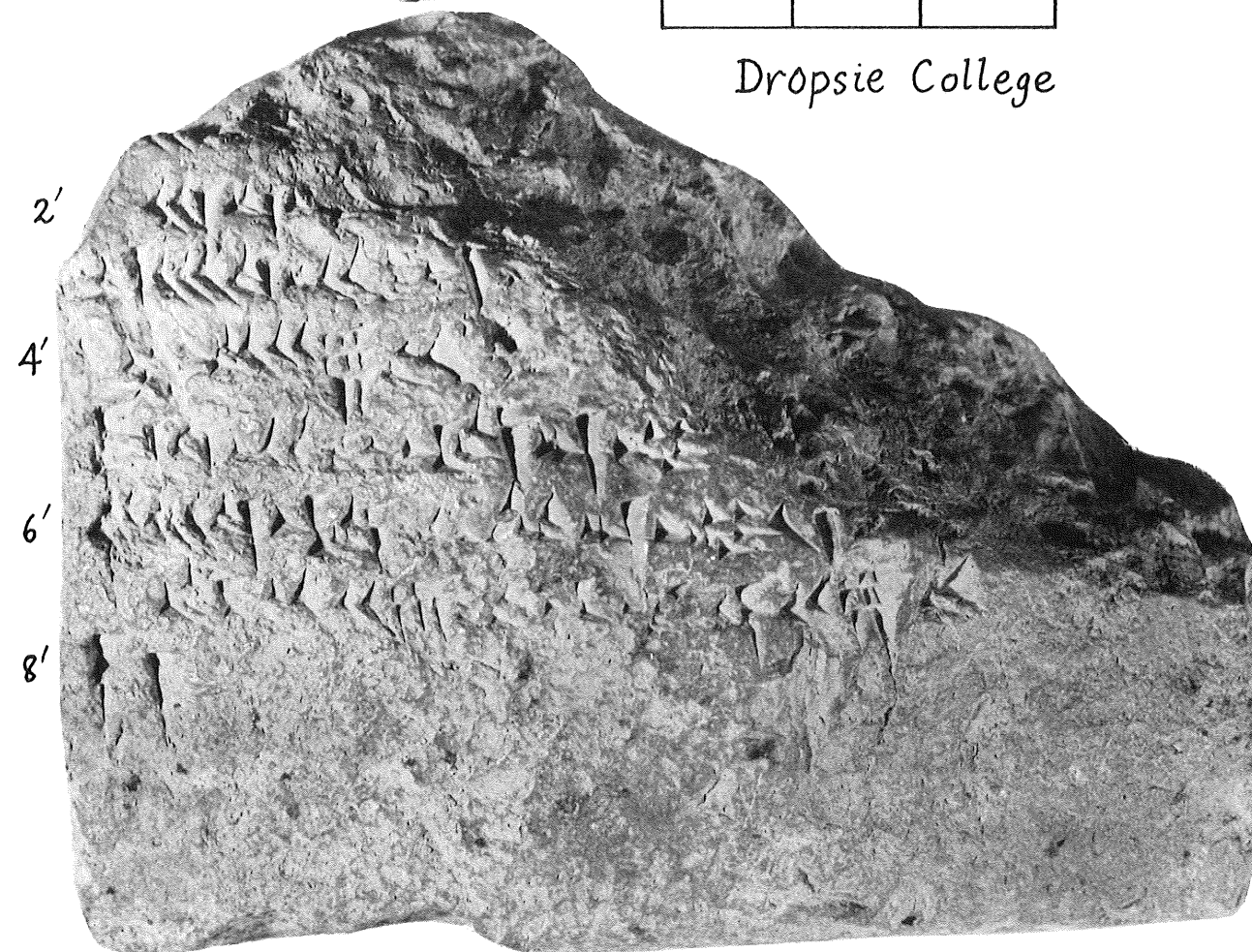
B.M. 40083 (A.D. 61)

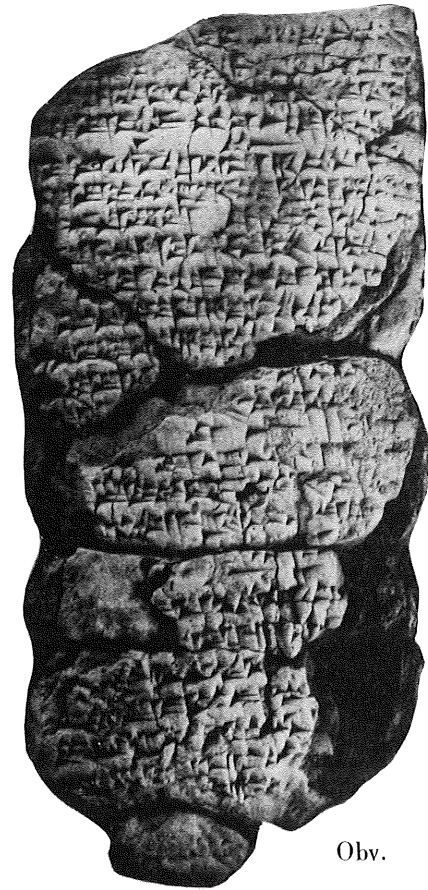


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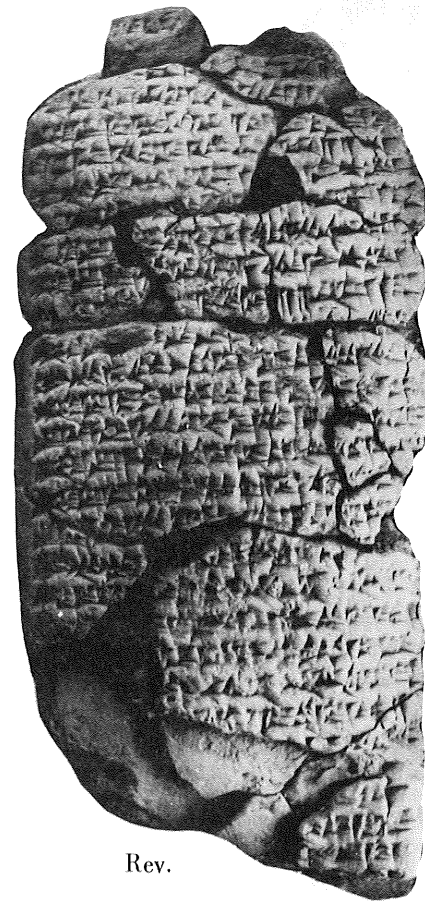


Dropsie College



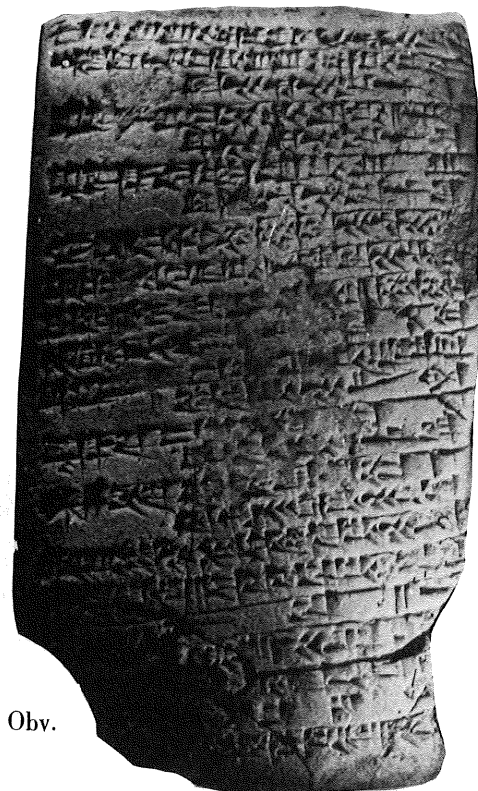


Obv.

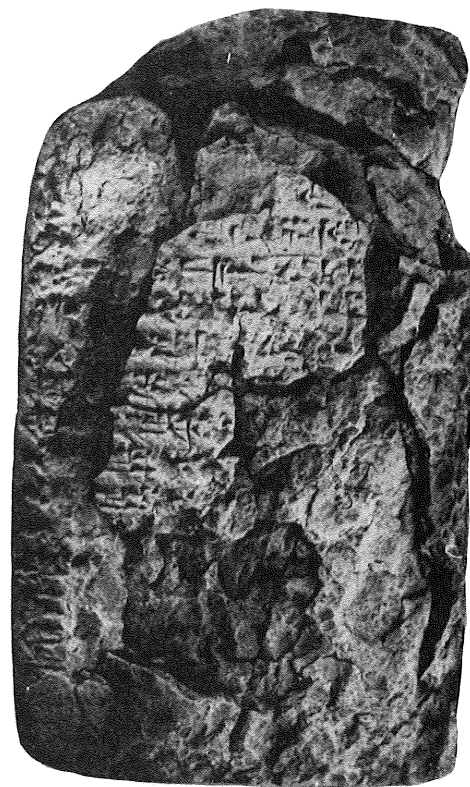


Rev.

CBS 15208



Obv.



Rev.

UM 29-16-7